THE SIDDHÂNTA KAUMUDÎ.



CONTENTS

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मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाव्य च ।
वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥ १ ॥

Having saluted the Three Sages, and reflected over their sayings, this Light of the Truth of Grammarians is composed *by me.*

Note —The three sages or founders and expounders of Grammar are Pâṇini, Kâtyâyana and Patanjali Their sayings or works are respectively known as the Sûtras, the Vârtikas, and the Bhâsya The word "Kaumudi" means Light, or the Revealer and "Siddhanta" (settled-end) means the Truth established after full investigation or discussion The word "Siddhanta Kaumudi" therefore, means the book that reveals to mankind the truths of Grammar as proved or demonstrated by the great Grammarians

CHAPTER I.

DEFINITIONS

संज्ञा प्रकरणम् ।

[१] अइउण् । [२] ऋऌक् । [३] एओङ् । [४] ऐऔच् । [५] हयवरट् । [६] लण् । [७] ञमङणनम् । [८] झभञ् । [९] घढधष् । [१०] जबगडदश् । [११] खफछठथचटतव् । [१२] कपय् । [१३] शषसर् । [१४] हल् ॥

इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राण्यणादिसंज्ञार्थानि ॥ एषामन्त्या इतः ॥ लण्सूत्रेऽकारश्च ॥ हकारादिष्वकार उच्चारणार्थः ॥

[1] a i u (ṇ); [2] ṛ ḷ (k); [3] e o (ñ); [4] ai au (ch), [5] ha ya va ra (t), [6] la (ṇ) or l (aṇ), [7] ña ma ṅa ṇa na (m), [8] jha bha (ñ); [9] gha ḍha dha (sh); [10] ja ba ga ḍa da (ś); [11] kha pha chha ṭha tha cha ta ta (v). [12] ka pa (y), [13] śa sha sa (r), [14] ha (l).

These fourteen aphorisms are called "the Maheśvara Sûtras" or the aphorisms of Maheśvara They are useful for forming technical terms or Pratyâhâras like अण् &c The final consonants in these (*e g* ण्, क्) are called इत् a word which is defined later on The अ in the Sûtra लण् is also इत् ॥ The अ in the other consonants like ह, य, व &c. is not इत्, but only for pronunciation

Note —The प्रत्याहार is a grammatical symbol or abbreviation and is formed by taking any letter which is not an इत् letter and joining it with any non-efficient letter that follows it This gives a name which stands for the former non-efficient letter and for all the other letters intervening between it and the non-efficient letter Thus अच् means all the vowels, हल् means all the consonants, जश् means all soft unaspirate consonants, चर् means all hard unaspirate consonants Though numerous pratyâhâras could be formed, practically however, there are only 43 pratyâhâras, as given below —

एङ् । यञ् । अण् । छव् । अट् ॥ झष् । भष् ॥ अक् । इक् । उक् ॥ अण् । इण् । यण् ॥ अम् । यम् । ङम् ॥ अच् । इच् । एच् ॥ ऐच् । यय् । मय् । झय् । खय् ॥ यर् । झर् । खर् । चर् । शर् ॥ अश् । हश् । वश् । झश् । जश् । बश् ॥ अल् । हल् । वल् । रल् । झल् । शल् and र ॥

Paribhâshâ I—The same letter ण् is made use of as अनुबन्ध or an indicatory letter both in the sixth sûtra लण् and in the first अ इ उण्। There arises consequently the doubt, whether the pratyâhâras अण् and इण् when they are employed in Pânini's Grammar are formed with the ण् of the former or with the ण् of the latter sûtra, and one might, on that account, consider it impossible to ascertain what Pânini intended to denote by अण् and इण् when he employed these terms. To remove this doubt there is the following paribhâshâ —

व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्नहि सन्देहादलक्षणम् ।

"The precise meaning of an ambiguous term is ascertained from interpretation, for a rule, even though it contain an ambiguous term, must nevertheless teach something definite"

Accordingly we learn from interpretation that the term अण् except in Sûtra I. 1 69, is formed by means of the ण् of the first sûtra and that the term इण् is formed by means of the ण् of the subsequent sûtra (Keilhorn)

Note :—The letter ह occurs twice in the above aphorisms, first in aphorism five, and then in the last The object of the first ह is to include that letter in the Pratyâhâras अट्, अश्, हश् and इण्, so that the rules applicable to these Pratyâhâras, should apply to ह also Thus अर्हेण, the न changed to ण though ह intervenes (VIII 4 2 S 197) देवा हसन्ति, here the visarga is elided before ह by VIII 3 17 S 167 देवो हसति, here the visarga is changed to उ by VI 1 114. S 166 लिलिहिध्वे or लिलिहिढ्व, here ध is optionally changed to ढ after ह by VIII 3 79

S 2325 The second इ in the last sûtra, is for the purpose of including it in the Pratyâhâras, बल्, रल्, झल् and शल् ॥ As स्वपिहि, रुदिहि, here इट् is added before ह by VII 2 35 S 2184 स्निहित्वा or स्नेहित्वा, here the ह is optionally changed into ए by I 2 26 S 2617 अदाग्धाम here स is elided by VIII 2 26 S 2281 अलिक्षत् here the aorist is formed with the affix क्स after the root ending in ह, by III 1 45. S 2336

Note —The अ in लण् is made इत्, for the sake of forming the Pratyâhâra र, so that र, may denote not only the single letter र, but the two letters र and ल ॥ This is useful in sûtra I 1 51 S 70, by which the Guṇa and Vriddhi of ऌ becomes अल् and आल् ॥

१ । हलन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

हलिति सूत्रेऽन्त्यमित्स्यात् ॥

1. In the (or of the) sûtra हल् (14th sûtra in the above) let the final letter (*i. e* ल) be इत् ॥

Note·—The sûtra has been explained in two different ways by the author First "In the (or of the) sûtra हल् (14 sûtra of the alphabet), the final consonant (*i e* ल्) is इत् ॥" The second explanation, and the authoritative one is that which is given later on in the text, *i e* "In upadeśa or technical formulæ and terms of grammar, the final consonant is non-efficient"

२ । आदिरन्त्येन सहेता । १ । १ । ७१ ॥

अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च सञ्ज्ञा स्यात् । इति हल्सञ्ज्ञायाम् ॥

2. An initial letter, with a final इत् letter as a final, is the name of itself and of the intervening letters.

Applying this sûtra to the technical term हल्, (*i e* to the word हल् taken as a सञ्ज्ञा or technical *term* denoting all the consonants beginning with ह of sûtra 5, and ending with ल् of the last sûtra, and not as the sûtra 14th, of the above alphabets, we come to the second interpretation of the sûtrâ हल् अन्त्यम् ॥

२ । हलन्त्यम् । १ । ३ । ३ ॥

उपदेशेऽन्त्यं हल् इत् स्यात् । उपदेश आद्योच्चारणम । ततो अण् अच् इत्यादि सञ्ज्ञासिद्धौ ॥

2 *a*. In an Upadeśa, let the final hal or consonant be called इत् ॥

Upadeṣa means the first enunciation of a term in Grammar. (Really it is the name of those technical terms of grammar which are formed for this purpose of *instruction* only, but which are not the current words of the language). Thus we get the sanjñâs or terms like अच्, and अण् &c.

All the final consonants of roots affixes &c are indicatory. As in the pratyâhâra sûtras अ इ उ ण्, here ण् is इत् ॥ ऋ ऌ क्; here क् is इत् ॥ ए

ओङ्, here ङ is इत् ॥ ऐ औच्, here च् is इत् ॥ It is only in upadeṣa, that a final consonant is इत् ॥ Not therefore, in अग्निचित् or सोमसुत्, which are complete words

Note —This sûtra आदिरन्त्येन सहेता explains the mode of interpreting pratyâhâras Thus the pratyâhâras अक् means those letters whose beginning is अ and whose final इत् is क् ॥

Why do we say with the '*final* indicatory letter?' Because a pratyâhâra like सुट् would be otherwise ambiguous It might be doubted whether it is formed with the final ट् of औट् and refers to the first five case-affixes, or whether it is formed with the initial ट् of टा and therefore refers to the first seven case-affixes The present sûtra clears up the doubt A pratyâhâra is formed with the final इत् and not with the initial इत् ॥

३ । उपदेशेऽजनुनासिक इत् । १ । ३ । २ ॥

उपदेशेऽनुनासिकोऽजित्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥ प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥ लण्सूत्रस्थावर्णेन सहोच्चार्यमाणो रेफो रलयोः संज्ञा । प्रत्याहारेष्वितां न ग्रहणम् । अनुनासिक इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । नह्यत्र ककारे परेऽच्कार्यं दृश्यते । आदिरन्त्येनेत्येतत्सूत्रेण कृताः संज्ञाः प्रत्याहारशब्देन व्यवह्रियन्ते ॥

3 The nasalized vowels are इत् in Upadeśa or original enunciation.

The followers (or knowers of) Pânini's Grammar say that the Anunâsika words in the sûtra should be inferred by the way in which it is treated by Pânini Thus the अ of the sûtra लण् (6th alphabet sûtra), is considered as anunânisika, and therefore, it is इत्, the result of which is that we can form a Pratyâhâra र with the र of the sûtra हयवरट् and the अ of the sûtra लण्, and thus this Pratyâhâra र *Ra* denotes the two letters र and ल ॥ (This gives the reason why अ of लण् was said to be इत् in the 1st page)

In counting the letters denoted by a Pratyâhâra the इत् letters should not be counted Thus अच् denotes all the vowels only, the इत् letters ण क्, ङ् and च, are not included. For letters ण्, क्, ङ् are not vowels, by Pânini himself treating them as consonants, as the word अनुनासिक in this very sûtra shows For had क् been a vowel, then the इ of anunâsika would have been changed to य before क् ॥ Similarly in other places also Pânini has shown that क् is not a vowel

The technical terms formed with the help of the sûtra, आदिरन्त्येन &c. (I 1 71 S 2) are called Pratyâhâra

Note —Anunasika or nasalized vowels are इत् that is indicatory, when occurring in technical words. Thus in क्विन्, विट्, क्विप्, the anunâsika इ is इत् The original sûtra contains the word 'upadesa' which we have translated as technical term 'Upadesa' literally means 'instruction' or the first mentioning of a thing either in a sûtrapâtha, or ganapâṭha or dhâtupâtha &c

Note —From this sûtra up to sûtra 9 of the third Pâda of the 1st Adhyâya of Pânini there is a description of servile or indicatory letters called इत् "In Pânini's Grammar there is no visible sign of the nasality of a vowel—hence we can know a vowel to be nasalized only from Pânini's explicitly asserting that it is so, or from our finding that he treats it in such a way that we must conclude he regarded it as nasal" An upadesa is defined as signifying an original enunciation, that is to say, an affix (pratyaya), or an augment (agama), or a verbal root (dhâtu), or in short, any form of expression which occurs only in technical treatises of grammar, and which is not a word ready for use, but one of the supposed original elements of a word Thus in the root एधँ 'to increase,' the final अ is indicatory, the real root is एध् ॥ So also the final अ of स्पर्धँ is इत् ॥

Note —If the word is not an upadesa, then the nasal vowel is not इत् ॥ As अभ्र भ्राँ अप ॥ A word may be an upadesa and nasal, but if it is not a vowel, it need not be इत् as the affix मनिन् in sûtra III 2 74 S 3418 (आतो मनिन् क्वनिब् वनिपश्च) It is only the nasal vowel of an upadsea that becomes इत्, and not all the vowels The word इत् occurs is sûtras VII 2 16 S 3036 (आदितश्च &c).

४ । ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतः । १ । २ । २७ ॥

उश्च ऊश्च उ३श्च वः । वां काल इव कालो यस्य सोऽच् क्रमात् ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतसंज्ञः स्यात् । स प्रत्येकमुदात्तादिभेदेन त्रिधा ॥

4. A vowel whose time is that of short *u*, long *û* and the prolated *u*, is called respectively *hrasva* short, *dîrgha* long, and *pluta* prolated.

उ+ऊ+उ३=व , that is, the वः is the plural of उ, (as साधवः is the plural of साधु) ॥ (This वः denotes the three kinds of उ ॥ The genitive plural will be वाम् meaning "of u's") Let the vowels whose time is like the three उ s, get respectively the name of hrasva, dîrgha and pluta Each one of these again will be of three sorts, according as it is udâtta, anudâtta svarita

The उ *u* having one mâtrâ or measure is short, having two measures is long, having three measures is pluta This sûtra defines the three kinds of vowels according to their *mâtrâ* The letter ऊ *û* has been taken to illustrate the rule The phrase ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत. is a Samâhâra Dvandva compound, in the singular, and is exhibited in the masculine gender, contrary to the general rule II. 4. 17 S 821.

The word *Kâla* means measure of time required for pronouncing a vowel.

As दधि 'curd' मधु 'honey' here इ and उ are short कुमारी, गौरी here ई is long. देवदत्त३ अत्रासि Devadatta! Here अ *a* is pluta or prolated.

These words are used in the following sutras I 2 47 S 318 VII 4 25. S 2298 VIII. 2. 82 S 93

५ । उच्चैरुदात्तः । १ । २ । २९ ॥

ताल्वादिषु सभागेषु स्थानेषूर्ध्वभागे निष्पन्नोऽजुदात्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । आ ये ॥

5. The vowel that is perceived as having a high tone is called *Udâtta* or acutely accented.

Let that vowel be called udâtta which is pronounced from the higher part of its proper place of pronunciation such as throat &c as आ, ये ॥ Here आ being an indeclinable is udâtta by the rule that declares all Nipâtas are acutely accented on the first (निपाता आद्युदात्ताः) ॥ ये is the nom. Plural of यत् 'who' यत् is acute on the final, being a substantive, for all फिट् (Prâtipadikas) are antodâtta by the rule फिषोऽन्त उदात्त· (Phit Sûtra I 1) यत्+जस् Here जस् being a सुप् termination is anudâtta by III 1. 4 S 3709 Then त् of यत् is replaced by अ, the affix जस् is replaced by शी (VII I 17 S 214), and we have यै+ई=ये, the ए the single substitute for अ+ई is udâtta by VIII. 2 5 S 3658.

With this sutra begins the description of the three sorts of vowel accents The accent placed on a vowel by raising the voice is callled udâtta or *acute* accent. The udâtta is not marked in writing in Sanskrit. We have followed the German system, by putting a small उ above the vowel. The word 'vowel' of the previous sûtra is understood in this also These accents are the qualities of letters, and are well known in the sacred and profane literature The vowel which is perceived as having a high tone is called udâtta. This tone depends upon the organ from which the vowel is pronounced In the various organs, such as the throat, palate &c. if a vowel is pronounced from a higher part of that organ, it is called udâtta. The vowel in the pronouncing of which there is the restraining and checking of the bodily parts, and in which there is dryness and roughness of tone, as well as a contraction of the larynx, is said to have the acute accent.

६ । नीचैरनुदात्तः । १ । २ । ३० ॥

स्पष्टम् । अर्वाङ् ॥

6. The vowel that is perceived as having a low tone is called *Anudâtta* or gravely accented.

The word "vowel" of s. 28 is understood in this sûtra. As अर्वाङ् ॥ This is a compound of the noun अर्वन् with the verb अञ्च (अर्वन्तमञ्चति) ॥ The word अर्वन् is formed from the root ऋ 'to go' with the affix वनिप्, there is guna of ऋ and we have अर्वन् ॥ The affix वनिप् is anudâtta, being a पित् affix, (III. 1. 4 S. 3709), and ऋ being a dhâtu is udâtta (VI. 1. 162 S. 3671.)

and so the word अर्वन् is also âdyudâtta The अ of अच is also udâtta, because it is a dhâtu (VI. 1 162 S 3671) Then by II 2 19 S 782 (उपपदमतिङ्) we compound the upapada अर्वन् with अञ्च्, and add the affix क्विन् by III 2 59. S 373 (ऋत्विग् &c) Then by samâsa accent (VI 1 223 and 3734) or by krit accent (VI 2 139 S 3873) the word अञ्च retains its accent, while the first member of the compound loses its accent Then the न् of अर्वन् is elided, and we have अर्व + अञ्च् = अर्वाङ् The loss of accent takes place by VI 1 158 S 3650. The vowel accent known as grave or anudâtta is pronounced by lowering the voice In writing, the anudâtta is marked by a line underneath the vowel The vowel which is uttered from the lower portions of its special place of pronunciation gets the grave accent

In pronouncing an anudâtta vowel, there is slackening of the organs, and mildness, as well as softness and sweetness of tone while there is expansion and widening of the larynx

७ । समाहारः स्वरितः । १ । २ । ३१ ॥

उदात्तानुदात्तत्वे वर्णधर्मौ समाह्रियेते यस्मिन्सोऽच् स्वरितसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

7. The vowel that has the combination of *Udâtta* and *Anudâtta* tones is said to be *svarita* or circumflexly accented.

The word "vowel" of I 2 28 S 35 is understood here also The svarita or circumflexed accent is pronounced by the combined raising and falling of the voice It is marked by a perpendicular line on the top of the letter

The word is used in sûtra VI. 1. 185 S. 3729 "The affixes having an indicatory त् *t* have svarita accent" As कन्या kanyâ शिक्यम् sikyám, क्व *kvà*

This sûtra is not to be understood to mean that a *svarita* is the resultant of the combination of two vowels, an udâtta vowel with an anudâtta vowel It means the accent midway between the two well-known qualities of letters known as *acute* and *grave* accents.

८ । तस्यादित उदात्तमर्धह्रस्वम् । १ । २ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वग्रहणमतन्त्रम्। स्वरितस्यादितोऽर्धमुदात्तं बोध्यम्। उत्तरार्धं तु परिशेषादनुदात्तम्। तस्य चोदात्तस्वरितपरत्वे श्रवणं स्पष्टम्। अन्यत्र तूदात्तश्रुति प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धा। क्व१ वोऽश्वाः। रथानां न ये१ राः। शतचक्रं यो३ ह्यः ॥ इत्यादिष्वनुदात्तः। अग्निमीळे इत्यादावुदात्तश्रुति। स नवविधोऽपि प्रत्येकमनुनासिकाननुनासिकत्वाभ्यां द्विधा ॥

8. Of it (svarita) the first portion is *udâtta*, to the extent of a half measure, or prosodial length.

The word *hrasva* in the Sûtra is redundant In a Svarita accent, the first half portion is to be understood to have the udâtta accent The remaining

half, will consequently be anudâtta If an udâtta or another svarita follows it then this anudâtta portion of the accent is distinctly heard Otherwise, according to Prâtiśâkhyas, the udâtta portion is only heard In the following, the anudâtta is heard क्व१वोऽश्वा ; रथानां न ये १ ऽराः , शतचक्रं यो १ ऽह्यः ॥ While in the following the udâtta is heard अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् ॥

Thus each vowel has nine forms, as it is hrasva, dîrgha or pluta, as it is udâtta, anudâtta or svarita Every one of these nine, has two more forms nasal and not nasal as is taught in the next sûtra.

Note —According to Siddhânta, the word ह्रस्व is useless. According to Kâsikâ, it is important, as given below

It has been defined that svarita accent is a combination of udâtta and anudâtta. It remained doubtful what portion was acute and what grave. The present sûtra clears up the difficulty, by declaring that in svarita, the first half is acute and the other grave

The phrase *ardhahrasva* is used to indicate half the measure of a short vowel Thus if a short vowel is *svarita*, its mâtrâ being one, half will be *udâtta* and the other half *anudâtta*. If a long vowel, whose mâtrâs are two, be *svarita*, then ½ will be *udâtta*, 1½ will be *anudâtta* If a *pluta* (protracted) vowel be *svarita*, then first half measure will be *udâtta*, and the remaining 2½ measures will be *anudâtta* In short, the udâtta portion of a *svarita* must not occupy more time than is taken in pronouncing a half short vowel Thus in शिक्यम् śikyam the *a* is *svarita*, half being acute, the other half, grave or monotony, in कन्या *kanyâ*, the long *â* is *svarita*, its first half measure is acute, the remaining 1½ is grave; in मानवका ३ manavakâ, here *a* prolated is svarita, its first ½ is acute, the balance 2½ measure is grave

In the above examples, क्व १ वोऽश्वा &c, the accents are thus formed. The word क्व is the Locative form of किम्, formed by adding the affix अत् (V. 3. 12. S 1959) and substituting क्व (VII 2 105 S 1960) The word क्व is therefore svarita-accented, because formed by the तित् affix अत् (VI. 1. 185, S. 3729). The word वः becomes anudâtta by VIII 1 18, S. 403. अश्वा is âdyudâtta, because it is derived from the root अश् with the affix क्वनिन्, the affix being नित् makes the word âdyudâtta (VI. 2. 197, S 3686) Now वः + अश्वाः = वोऽश्वाः, the anudâtta combining with udâtta becomes udâtta (VIII 2. 5, S 3658) therefore ओ of वो becomes udâtta The svarita क्व being followed by the udâtta वो, causes the latter half *i e* the anudâtta half of the svarita to be heard This is indicated by १ namely svarita above and anudâtta below This is a short svarita.

In the example रथानां न येऽरा, the svarita is a long vowel. The word ये is udâtta by Phiṭ accent, as shown above (S. 5). अराः is also finally udâtta by Phiṭ accent. The udâtta ए of ये combining with the anudâtta अ of अराः,

becomes svarita (VIII 2 6. S 3659), वें; this svarita followed by udâtta ऑ of आँ:, is heard in its anudâtta portion वे ३ ॥

In the third example शतचक्रं यो ३ ऽह्यः, the svarita is followed by another svarita, and in this case also, the anudâtta portion of the svarita is heard The word यः is antodâtta by Phit accent (See S 5), the visarga is changed to उ, and अ+उ=ओ by guna, and this ओ becomes udâtta, the resultant of udâtta plus anudâtta is udâtta In अह्यः the final अ is svarita, the first अ is therefore anudâtta. The anudâtta अ of अह्यः combining with the udâtta ओ of यो, becomes all svarita (VIII 2 6, S 3659) *i e* यो' ऽ; this-svarita ओ is followed by the svarita अ of ह्यः, and hence the anudâtta portion of svarita ओ is heard here also The word अह्यः is svarita ending because it is formed by adding the त्तित् affix ण्यत् to the root अह् (VI 1 185, S 3729) The अ of अह् does not take Vriddhi substitution, because of the

Paribhâshâ II—संज्ञापूर्वकविधेरनित्यत्वात् ॥

A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it, is denoted by a technical term

In the last example अग्निमीले पुरोहित, the ई of ईले is svarita, the ले has eka-śruti accent by the rule प्रचयापरपर्याया एकश्रुतिः ॥

Hence here the svarita being followed by anudâtta, the udâtta half of the svarita is heard

९ मुखनासिकावचनोऽनुनासिकः । १ । १ । ८ ॥

मुखसहितनासिकयोच्चार्यमाणो वर्णोऽनुनासिकसंज्ञः स्यात् । तदित्थम् । अ इ उ ऋ एषां वर्णानां प्रत्येकमष्टादश भेदाः ॥ लृवर्णस्य द्वादश । तस्य दीर्घाभावात् ॥ एचामपि द्वादश । तेषां ह्रस्वाभावात् ॥

9. That which is pronounced by the nose along with the mouth is called *Anunâsika* or nasal.

Let a letter which is uttered by the mouth in combination with the nose be called anunâsika

The result of the six sûtras given above, is this · The vowels अ, इ, उ, and ऋ have each eighteen forms. The vowel लृ has twelve forms, because it has no long form The diphthongs ए, ऐ, ओ and औ have also twelve forms, because they have no short forms. Thus there are altogether one hundred and thirty two vowels in Sanskrit.

१० तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् । १ । १ । ९ ॥

ताल्वादिस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्चेत्येतद्द्वयं यस्य येन तुल्यं तन्मिथः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ अकुहविसर्जनीयानां कण्ठः । इचुयशानां तालु । ऋटुरषाणां मूर्धा । लृतुलसानां दन्ताः । उपूपध्मानीयानामोष्ठौ । ञमङणनानां नासिका च । एदैतोः कण्ठतालु । ओदौतोः कण्ठोष्ठम् । वकारस्य दन्तोष्ठम् । जिह्वामूलीयस्य जिह्वामूलम् ।

नासिकानुस्वारस्य ॥ इति स्थानानि ॥ यत्नो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च ॥ आद्यश्चतुर्धा । स्पृष्टेषत्स्पृष्टविवृ-तसंवृतभेदात् ॥ तत्र स्पृष्टं प्रयत्नं स्पर्शानाम् । ईषत्स्पृष्टमन्तस्थानाम् । विवृतमूष्मणां स्वराणां च । ह्रस्वस्याव-र्णस्य प्रयोगे संवृतम् । प्रक्रियादशायां तु विवृतमेव । एतच्च सूत्रकारेण ज्ञापितम् । तथा हि ॥

10. Those whose place of utterance and effort are equal are called savarṇa or homogeneous letters.

Let those letters be called savarna, which have with each other a common place of utterance, such as throat, palate &c, as well as a common âbhyantara prayatna. That is, when the place and prayatna are the same, then the letters are savarṇa.

1. The letters अ, क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, ह, : have throat as their place and are gutturals or Kaṇtha

2. The letters इ, च, छ, ज, झ, ञ, य, श, have the palate and are palatals or Tâlavya.

3. The letters ऋ, ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण, र, ष, have the murdhâ, and are cerebrals or Murdhanya.

4. The letters ऌ, त, थ, द, ध, न, ल, स, have the teeth and are dentals or Dantya.

5. The letters उ, प, फ, ब, भ, म, × प, have the lips and are labials or Oshthya.

a. The letters ङ, ञ, ण, न, म, have also the nose, and are *also* nasal.
b. The letters ए, ऐ, have the throat and palate, and are Kantha—talavya *i. e.* gutturo—palatals.
c. The letters ओ, औ, have the throat and the lips, and are Kantha-oshṭhya *i. e.* gutturo-labials

d. The letter व has the teeth and the lips, and is dant-oshṭhya *i. e.* dento-labial.

e. The letter × क is Jihvâ-mulîya or root of the tongue.

f. The letter ं ṃ anusvâra is pure nasal.

The above are the *sthâna* or places of utterance of the letters.

The Prayatna is of two sorts, the inner called âbhyantara, and the external called bâhya. The first or âbhyantara is of four kinds, namely, sprishṭa, îshat sprishṭa, vivṛita and samvṛita.

1. The Sparśa letters have sprishta prayatna.

2. The antastha letters have îshat-sprishta prayatna.

3. The ushma letters and the vowels have vivṛita prayatna.

4 The short अ is samvṛita in usage (prayoga) but in Grammar, as a formative element, it is always treated as vivṛita. This fact is indicated by Pânini himself in the last sûtra of his Grammar, *i e.* in the sutra अ अ (VIII 4 68 S 11), which means that the letter अ which has been all along treated in Grammar as vivrita, is now made samvrita. (See the following sûtra).

११ अ अ इति । ८ । ४ । ६८ ॥

विवृतमनूद्य संवृतोऽनेनविधीयते । अस्य चाष्टाध्यायीं संपूर्णां प्रत्यसिद्धत्वाच्छास्त्रदृष्ट्या विवृतमस्त्येव । तथा च सूत्रम् ॥

11. The अ which was considered to be open (विवृत) in all the preceding operations of this Grammar, is now made contracted (संवृत) ॥

The first अ is here विवृत or open; the second is संवृत or contracted. The epen अ is now changed to contracted अ ॥ "In actual use the organ in the enunciation of the short अ is *contracted*, but it is considered to be *open* only, as in the case of the other vowels, when the vowel अ is in the state of taking part in some operation of Grammar. The reason for this is, that if the short अ were held to differ from the long आ in this respect, the *homogeneousness* mentioned in I. 1. 9. S 10. would not be found to exist between them, and the operation of the rules depending upon that homogeneousness would be debarred. In order to restore the short अ to its natural rights, thus infringed throughout the Ashtâdhyâyi, Pâṇini with oracular brevity in his closing aphorism gives the injunction अ अ, which is interpreted to signify—Let short अ be held to have its organ of utterance contracted, now that we have reached the end of the work in which it was necessary to regard it as being otherwise.' (Dr. Ballantyne)

The present sûtra occurs in the second division of Ashtâdhyâyî, *i. e.* the last three Padas. The whole Ashtâdhâyî has 32 padas; they are divided into two parts—the first 29 Padas forming one group, the last three, the second group For the purposes of the application of a rule in the first set ($7\frac{1}{4}$ Adhyaya) the rules in the second set are considered as non-existent. Therefore though the अ is made samvrita by this rule, it does not interfere with the अ being considered as vivrita throughout the rest of the Grammar. The sûtra which declares the rules in the last 3 padas (Tripâdi), as non-existent for the purposes of the rules in the 29 padas ($7\frac{1}{4}$ Adhyaya) is the following.

१२ पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् । ८ । २ । १ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । तेन सपादसप्ताध्यायीं प्रति त्रिपाद्यसिद्धा त्रिपाद्यामपि पूर्वं प्रति परं शास्त्रमसिद्धं स्यात् ॥ बाह्यप्रयत्नस्त्वेकादशधा ॥ विवारः संवारः श्वासो नादो घोषोऽघोषोऽल्पप्राणो महाप्राण उदात्तोऽनुदात्तः स्वरितश्चेति ॥ खयां यमाः खयः ×क×पौ विसर्गः शर एव च । एते श्वासानुप्रदाना अघोषाश्च विवृण्वते ।

कण्ठमध्ये तु घोषाः स्युः संवृता नादभागिनः । अयुग्मा वर्गयमगा यणश्चाल्पासवः स्मृता ॥ वर्गेष्वाद्यानां चतुर्णां पञ्चमे परे मध्ये यमो नाम पूर्वसदृशो वर्णः प्रातिशाख्ये प्रसिद्धः । पलिक्क्नी । चख्ख्नतुः । अग्ग्निः । घ्घ्नन्तीत्यत्र क्रमेण कखगघेभ्यः परे तत्सदृशा एव यमाः । तत्र वर्गाणां प्रथमद्वितीयाः खयस्तथा तेषामेव यमा जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ विसर्गः शषसाश्चेत्येतेषां विवारः श्वासोऽघोषश्च । अन्येषां तु संवारो नादो घोषश्च ॥ वर्गाणां प्रथमतृतीयपञ्चमाः प्रथमतृतीययमा यरलवाश्चाल्पप्राणाः । अन्ये महाप्राणा इत्यर्थः । बाह्यप्रयत्नाश्च यद्यपि सवर्णसंज्ञायामनुपयुक्तास्तथाप्यान्तरतम्यपरीक्षायामुपयोक्ष्यन्त इति बोध्यम् ॥ कादयो मावसानाः स्पर्शाः । यरलवा अन्तस्थाः । शषसहा ऊष्माणः । अचः स्वराः । ×क ×प इति कपाभ्यां प्रागर्धविसर्गसदृशौ जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ । अं अः इत्यचः परावनुस्वारविसर्गौ ॥ इति स्थानप्रयत्नविवेकः ॥ * ऋलृवर्णयोर्मिथः सावर्ण्यं वाच्यम् * ॥ अकारहकारयोरिकारशकारयोर्ऋकारषकारयोर्लृकारसकारयोश्च मिथः सावर्ण्ये प्राप्ते ॥

12. Whatever will be taught hereafter, upto the end of the work, is to be considered as not taken effect, in relation to the application of a preceding rule.

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra Therefore the Tripâdi rules are asiddha with regard to the 7¼ Adhyâyî rules Even in the Tripâdî, a previous rule is asiddha with regard to the subsequent

Thus the letter अ is samvrita really, though treated as vivrita.

As regards the Bâhya-prayatna, we have eleven modifications: namely 1 vivâra, 2 samvâra, 3 şvâsa, 4 nâda, 5 ghosha, 6 a-ghosha 7 alpa-prâṇa, 8 mahâprana, 9 udâtta, 10 anudâtta, 11 svarita

Verse—The double of khay (ख, फ, छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त, क, प) letters, the khay letters themselves, the ×क and ×प, the visarga, the śar letters (श, ष, स) are svâsa, aghosa, and expand the throat, *i e* are of vivâra prayatna The other letters (*i. e* the हश्, letters, the yamas of हश् letters and the anusvâra) are ghosha, samvâra, and nâda prayanta. The odd letters of the vargas, the doubles of first and third, and यण् letters are alpa-prâna

Explanation —The word यम is a Prâtisâkhya term. It is the name of the letter when doubled, on account of any one of the first four letters of the varga being followed by the fifth *i.e.* by a nasal Thus पलिक्क्नीः, चख्ख्नतुः, अग्ग्निः, घ्घ्नन्ति, here the doubled letters क्, ख्, ग् and घ् are yama *i.e.* only those letters which have the same form *i e* the second क्, ख्, &c. are called yama The खय् letters are the first and second letters of the varga: the ten letters क ख, च, छ &c The yamas of these खय् letters, so also the Jihvâmûliya, Upadhmânîya, the visarga and the sibilants are vivâra, svâsa, and aghosha.

Though the Bâhya-prayatna is of no use in determining the savarnahood of letters, yet they are of use in finding out the *nearest* equivalent to letters to be replaced &c.

The 25 letters क to म are sparsa The four letters य, र ल, व, are antastha. The four letters श, ष, स, ह are Ushma. The vowels are Svara The × क and × प are called Jîvamûlhya and Upadhmânîya (They represent the lost sibilants of क varga, and प varga)

अं ṁ अः ḥ these are anusvâra and visarga. Here ends the determination of sthâna (organ of utterance) and prayatna (effort)

1. vârt :—The letters ऋ and ऌ should be stated to be homogeneous with one another.

From the explanations in the above two sûtras (10 and 12), the letter.

अ	becomes homogeneous with		ह
इ	"	"	श
ऋ	"	"	ष
ऌ	"	"	स

To prevent this incongruity, we have the following sûtra which declares that there can be no homogeneity between a vowel and a consonant

Note —The following lines summarise the above, the *vowels* are vivâra, svasa, and aghosha The हश् letters are samvâra, nâda, and ghosha The first, third, fifth letters of the varga, and यण् letters are alpa-prâna, The second and the fourth letters of the varga, and शल् letters are mahâ-prâna.

१३ नाऽऽज्झलौ । १ । १ । १० ॥

आकारसहितोऽच् आच् स च हल् चेत्येतौ मिथः सवर्णौ न स्तः । तेन दधीत्यस्य हरति शीतलं षष्ठ सान्द्रमित्येतेषु परेषु यणादिक न । अन्यथा दीर्घादीनामिव हकारादीनामपि ग्रहणकशास्त्रबलादच्त्वं स्यात् । तथा हि ॥

13. There is however no homogeneity between vowels and consonants, though their place and effort be equal.

The words of this sûtra are न, आच्, हलौ ॥ The word आच् is a compound of आ + अच्; and means "a vowel along with आ" ॥ There is no homogeneity between the आच् letters and the consonants Therefore in दधि + हरति the इ of दधि is not changed to य् before ह्, nor in दधि + शीतल the इ is lengthened before श; nor in दधि + षष्ठ, and दधि + सान्द्र any change takes place. But for this sûtra, the letters ह &c would have been treated as vowels, just as long and pluta letters are also vowels.

१४। अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाऽप्रत्ययः। १। १। ६९ ॥

प्रतीयते विधीयत इति प्रत्ययः। अविधीयमानोऽण् उदिच्च सवर्णस्य संज्ञा स्यात्। अत्राण् परेण णकारेण ॥ कु चु टु तु पु एते उदितः ॥ तदेवम् अ इत्यष्टादशानां संज्ञा। तथेकारोकारौ। ऋकारस्त्रिंशतः। एवं लृकारोऽपि। एचो द्वादशानाम् ॥ एदैतोरोदौतोश्च न मिथः सावर्ण्यम्। ऐऔजिति सूत्रारम्भसामर्थ्यात्। तेनैचश्चतुर्विंशतेः संज्ञाः स्युरिति नापादनीयम् ॥ नाज्झलाविति निषेधो यद्यप्याक्षरसमाम्नायिकानामेव तथापि हकारस्याऽऽकारो न सवर्णः। तत्राऽऽकारस्यापि प्रश्लिष्टत्वात्। तेन विश्वपाभिरित्यत्र हो ढ इति ढत्वं न भवति ॥ अनुनासिकाननुनासिकभेदेन यवला द्विधा। तेनाननुनासिकास्ते द्वयोर्द्वयोः संज्ञा ॥

14. The letters of the Pratyâhâra अण् i. e. the vowels and semi-vowels, and a term having उ for its indicatory letter, refer to their own form as well as to their homogeneous letters, (except when they are used as pratyâyâs or affixes or) except when specifically so ordained.

The pratyâhâra अण् in this sûtra includes all the vowels and liquids. This is the only instance where अण् pratyâhâra refers to the second ण् of लण्. The letters included in अण्, and the letters having an indicatory उ refer to, and include their homogeneous letters also. Thus कु refers to all the five gutturals क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, similarly चु, टु, तु, and पु, as in sûtra I. 3. 8 S. 195 Similarly अ includes short, long and protracted अ. The words 'its own form' are understood in this sûtra, being drawn from the previous sûtra. Thus sûtra आद्गुण (VI. 1 87 S 69), 'when a vowel comes after अ, guna is the single substitute for both.' Here though the rule mentions only short अ, we take the long आ also. Thus not only नर + ईश = नरेशः, but महा + ईशः = महेशः। So also in sûtra अस्य च्वौ (VII. 4 32 S. 2118), 'there is long ई in the room of अ when the affix 'chvi' (V. 4. 50 S 2117) follows.' Here long आ is also included, thus कृष्ण + करोति = कृष्णीकरोति and खट्वा + करोति = खट्वीकरोति. So also in sûtra यस्येति च (VI. 4. 148 S 311) 'When long ई follows, there is elision of the इ or अ of the base,' the rule applies to the bases ending in long ई and आ also.

This rule of course does not apply to affixes Thus sûtra III. 2. 168. S 3148. says, 'after words ending in the affix san, and the words âsansa and bhiksha, there is उ.' Here उ is an affix and therefore does not include long ऊ. Thus भिक्षुः 'a beggar.' So also in IV 3 9, S. 1379. the short अ only is to be taken and not the long one

The word अप्रत्ययः in the sûtra means "that which is not ordained (pratîyate = vidhîyate)" That is unless where a letter is specifically ordained, it always includes its homogeneous letters, in certain cases. The sûtra means "The अण् letters (vowels and semi-vowels) when not specifically so propounded by name, as well as the letters having an indicatory उ denote their savarna letters also." The अण् here is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण्, The words कु, चु, टु, तु, पु, are formed by उ and are उदित् ॥

The result of this is, that अ denotes 18 letters; so also इ and उ. The ऋ denotes 30 letters, and so also ऌ The diphthongs ए ऐ, ओ, औ denote 12 letters.

2 *Vart.*—The letter ए is not to be considered homogeneous with ऐ nor ओ with औ ॥ For had ऐ been included in ए, and ओ in औ, then where was the necessity of the sûtra ऐ औच्? These letters need not have been taught separately Therefore, the diphthongs do not denote 24 letters each, but 12 letters only.

Though the prohibition of the sûtra नाज्झलौ (I 1.10 S. 13) applies, according to the literal interpretation of the sûtra, to the अच् letters only, namely, to the nine letters specifically taught in the Maheshvara sûtras, and not to the letter आ which is not so taught there, yet there is no homogeneity between आ and ह ॥ For according to our interpretation of the sûtra, the letter आ is specifically mentioned in it. For we do not analyse it as न अच् हलौ, but as न आ-अच्, हलौ, and we translate it as ' There is no homogeneity between a hal letter and आ and ach letters" Therefore in विश्वपाभि the letter आ is not changed to ढ by VIII.2 31 S. 3579 (ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word). The word akshara-samâmnâya means the sûtras teaching the alphabets *i. e* the 14 Maheshvara sûtras.

The letters य, व, ल are of two kinds according as they are nasalised or not nasalised. Therfore, a non nasalised य, व, ल will denote also the nasalised letter: *i e.* the simple letter य, व, ल include the nasalised यँ वँ लँ ॥

The sense of this sûtra अणुदित् &c therefore is that the अण् letters, namely the fourteen letters taught in the Mâhesvara sûtras, they *alone* denote their homogeneous letters also But र and ह though included in अण् pratyâhâra, denote their single forms only, for they have no other letter homogeneous to them

१५ । तपरस्तत्कालस्य । १ । १ । ७० ॥

त परो यस्मात्स च तात्परश्चोच्चार्यमाणसमकालस्यैव सज्ञा स्यात्। तेन अत् इत् उत् इत्यादयः षण्णां षण्णा सज्ञा। ऋदिति द्वादशानाम्॥

15, The letter which has त् after or before it, besides referring to its own form, refers to those homogeneous letters which have the same prosodial length or time,

By the last sutra it was declared that a vowel standing by itself included all the letters of its class Thus अ includes आ, and इ, ई, &c. This sûtra lays down the rule by which the very form of the letter is taken and not all the letters of its class. This is done by placing a त् either after or before the

letter. Thus अत् means the very letter अ and not all its homogeneous letters. Similarly इत् means short इ only and not long or protracted इ.

The sûtra consists of two words तपर and तत्कालस्य Taparaḥ means that which has a त् after it or that which is after त्. Tat-kâla means having the same time According to time the vowels are divided into short, long and protracted Short vowels have one measure, long vowels two, and protracted vowels three. A consonant lasts half the time of a short vowel. Therefore a letter preceded or followed by त् refers to its own form as well as to those only of its homogeneous letters which have the same time. Thus the letter अत् will include the udâtta, anudâtta, svarita (both nasalised and non-nasalised) अ and not the long and protracted form, in all 6 forms.

This sûtra declares an injunction. The anuvṛitti of अण् of the previous sûtra does not run into this sûtra. Any other letter than अण् may be followed by त् and the rule of this sutra will apply to that also This rule qualifies the previous sûtra which would therefore mean that an अण् letter which is not followed or preceded by a त् includes its homogeneous letters also.

Thus in the sûtra VII. 1 9 S 203. अतोभिस ऐस्. 'After words ending in अत् (i e. short अ), ऐस् takes the place of भिस्' Thus वृक्षैः ॥ But in खट्वा which ends in long आ and whose prosodial time is different from अ, this rule will not apply, and we have खट्वाभिः ॥

Therefore अत्, इत्, उत् denote six letters each, namely अ̱, अ॑, अं, अँ॑, अं̱, अँ ॥ ऋत् denotes twelve letters.

१६ । वृद्धिरादैच् । १ । १ । १ ॥

आत् ऐच्च वृद्धिसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

16, आ, ऐ and औ are called vṛiddhi,

This defines the word vriddhi. The letters आ, ऐ and औ are vṛiddhi letters The sûtra consists of three words vṛiddhi, ât and aich. आत् means the long आ, the final त् being indicatory only, and is for the sake of the pratyâhâra aich, and the pratyâhâra ऐच् means the letters ऐ and औ.

The indicatory त् in आत् serves the purpose of showing that the very from आ having two mâtrâs or prosodial measure, is to be taken. This त् also joins with the succeeding vowels ऐ and औ by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70 S. 15.) or that "which precedes or succeeds त्," and indicates that these vowels must be taken as having two mâtrâs only, though they may be the result of the combination of vowels whose aggregate mâtrâs may be more than two. A short vowel has one mâtrâ, a long vowel has two, and a consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus by a rule of सन्धि or euphonic conjunction of letters आ+आ=आ, as

महा + आशय = महाशय· ॥ Here शा has two matras and not four So also in खट्वैडकः the vowel ऐ the resultant of आ + ए has only two, not four, mâtrâs.

१७ । अदेङ् गुणः।१ । १ । २ ॥

अत् एङ् च गुणसंज्ञ· स्यात् ॥

17. अ, ए and ओ are called guna.

Each one of the letters अ, ए and ओ whether radical or secondary is called a guna letter, as the initial vowels in the following —अर्ति, "he moves", एति "he comes", ओखति "he goes" Here the initial vowels of the roots ऋ, इ, and उख् have been respectively gunated into अर्, ए, and ओ before the third person singular termination ति ॥

The term Guna occurs in sûtras like मिदेर्गुणः (VII 3 82 S. 2346) "Let there be guna substitute for the ik of the root मिद् 'to melt."

१८ । भूवादयो धातव· । १ । ३ । १ ॥

क्रियावाचिनो भ्वादयो धातुसंज्ञाः स्यु· ॥

1 The words beginning with bhû 'to become,' and denoting action, are called dhâtu or verbal roots.

This defines the word dhâtu or root The list of Sanskrit verbs begins with the root bhû 'to be' Sanskrit Grammarians have divided all verbs into ten classes, according to certain modifications which their roots undergo before certain terminations The ten classes are as follows —

1. Bhû class. 2. Ad 3. Hu 4 Div 5 Su 6. Tud. 7. Rudh. 8. Tan. 9 Krî 10 Chur.

The वा in the sûtra is for the sake of auspiciousness, for the regular sandhi of भू + आदि is भ्वादि and not भूवादि, while Tatvabodhini considers that वा is a separate root According to it the sûtra should be analysed thus भू + वा = भूवौ, भूवौ आदी येषां भूप्रभृतयो वा सदृशाः "word Bhû &c, and like वा denoting action are called Dhâtu" वा "to blow."

१६ । प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः । १ । ४ । ५६ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

19. From this point forward upto the aphorism Adhirî-śvare (I.4.97 S. 644), all that we shall say is to be understood to have the name of Nipâta or Particles.

The word प्राक् of this sûtra serves the same purpose as the word cha of I. 4. 55 S 2575, namely, it makes the words Gati, upasarga and karmapravachnîya take two names, i. e., their own name as well as the name Nipâta

The letter र in प्राग्रीश्वरात् is to remove doubt, i e, aphorism I 4 97 S 644 should be taken as the limit, and not sûtra III. 4. 13 S 3440 which has the word îsvare also.

२० । चादयो ऽसत्त्वे ॥ ५७ ॥

अद्रव्यार्थाश्चादयो निपातसञ्ज्ञाः स्युः ॥

20. The word cha 'and,' &c., are called Nipata or Particles, when they do not signify substances.

२१ । प्रादयः । १ । ४ । ५८ ॥

अद्रव्यार्थाः प्रादयस्तथा ॥

21. The words pra. &c., are called Nipâta when not signifying substances.

The following is the list of प्रादयः or 'prepositions' प्र, परा, अप, सम्, अनु, अव, निस्, दुस्, वि, आङ्, नि, अधि, अपि, सु, उत्, अभि, प्रति, परि, उप ॥

The making of this a distinct aphorism, when it could well have been included in the last, is for the sake of giving the pra &c, words two names, namely, those of Nipâtas, as well as upasargas under certain circumstances, i. e, when they are in composition with verbs Not so, however, the châ &c, words. They never get the designation of upasargas.

When these words signify substances they are not Nipâtas. As प्रा जयति सेना "the excellent army conquers" Here the word प्रा is not a Nipâta.

२२ । उपसर्गाः क्रियायोगे । १ । ४ । ५९ ॥

22. The words pra &c., get the designation of upasarga or prepositions, when in composition with a verb.

As प्र+नयति=प्रणयति Here the dental न is changed into cerebral ण because of the प्र getting the designation of upasarga (See sûtra VIII. 4. 14 S 2287) Similarly परिणयति, प्रणायक, परिणायकः ॥

२३ । गतिश्च । १ । १ ॥ ६० ॥

प्रादयः क्रियायोगे उपसर्गसञ्ज्ञा गतिसञ्ज्ञाश्च स्युः ॥ प्र परा अप सम् अनु अव निस निर् दुस् दुर् वि आङ् नि अधि अपि अति सु उत् अभि प्रति परि उप । एते प्रादयः ॥

23. The words pra &c., are called also Gati (as well as upasarga) when in composition with a verb.

२४ । न वेति विभाषा । १ । १ । ४४ ॥

निषेधविकल्पयोर्विभाषा सञ्ज्ञा स्यात् ॥

24. "May or may not" is called vibhâshâ or option.

This sûtra defines the word विभाषा Where there is a prohibition as well as an alternative course left open, it is called option or vibhâshâ The commentators mention three kinds of vibhâshâ —prâpta-vibhâshâ aprâpta-vibhsâhâ and prâptâprâpta-vibhâshâ The first occurs where there is a general rule already given, and then follows the optional rule, the second belongs to that class where there is no such general rule, but there is an optional rule, the third is intermediate between the two This sûtra specially applies to the last class.

Thus the root श्वि 'to swell,' by virtue of the rule विभाषा श्वेः (V. I. 30 S 1695) forms its perfect tense, either by samprasârana or in the ordinary way. Thus the third person singular is either शुशाव or शिश्वाय ॥

२५ । स्वं रूपं शब्दस्याशब्दसंज्ञा । १ । १ । ६८ ॥

शब्दस्य स्वं रूप संज्ञि शब्दशास्त्रे या संज्ञा तां विना ॥

25. In this Grammar, when an operation is directed with regard to a word, the individual form of the word possessing meaning is to be understood, except with regard to a word which is a definition.

This is a rule of interpretation. The word स्व which means 'one's own' denotes 'the meaning,' and the word रूप denotes 'the individual form of a word' The sense of the sûtra is that a word denotes both things expressed by those two words स्व and रूप, *viz*, its meaning, and its form. Thus a rule applicable to अग्नि will be applicable to the word composed of अ, ग्, न्, इ and not to the words synonymous with agni, such as, पावकः ज्वलनः &c.

२६ । येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य । १ । १ । ७२ ॥

विशेषण तदन्तस्य संज्ञा स्यात् स्वस्य च रूपस्य ॥ समासप्रत्ययविधौ प्रतिषेधः ॥ उगिद्वर्णग्रहणवर्जम् ॥

26. An injunction which is made with regard to a particular attribute, applies to words having that attribute at their end as well as to that attribute itself

This sûtra consists of three words.—येन 'by what (attribute),' विधिः 'rule,' तदन्तस्य 'having that (attribute) at its end.'

This is a rule of interpretation. When a rule is made with regard to a particular attribute or letter, it means also words having those attributes or letters at their end. Thus there is a rule (III. 1. 97, S. 2842) declaring "let there be the affix यत् after the vowels." Here the phrase "after the vowels" means

and includes "after the roots *ending* in vowels, as well as roots consisting of a single vowel." Thus चि + यत् = चेयम्. Therefore, this sûtra means that when a rule is laid down in this grammar with regard to a particular attribute, that rule, besides being applicable to that particular attribute, is also applicable to words ending in that particular attribute. Thus a rule laid down generally with regard to vowels, will apply to words *ending* in vowels, a rule laid down with regard to certain forms, will apply to words ending in those forms.

Thus the sûtra एरच् (III 3 56, S. 3231.) 'after इ there is अच्' declares that the affix ach would come not only after इ, but after any expression that ends in इ ॥ Thus इ + अच् = अयः, चि + अच् = चयः ॥

Vart —The present rule, (called tadanta-vidhi) must not be applied to rules relating to compounds (samâsa), and to pratyayas (affixes). Thus sûtra II. 1. 24, S 686 declares that a word in the accusative case is compounded with the words śrita, atita &c As कष्टं + श्रितः = कष्टश्रितः 'involved in pain.' The present sûtra must not be applied here, and we cannot say that a word in the accusative case would be compounded with another that *ends* in śrita ; for tadanta-vidhi does not apply here. Hence we cannot form a compound of कष्ट + परमश्रितः ॥

Similarly, in rules of affixes Thus sûtra IV. 1 99, S 1101, declares "that the words नड &c., take the affix फक्" Thus नड + फक् = नाडायन । But we cannot apply the affix phak to the word सूत्रनड, the tadanta-vidhi not being applicable here. The descendant of सूत्रनड will be called सौत्रनाडिः and not as above

The above vârtika is however qualified by the following .—

Vart —The above vârtika does not apply to words formed by affixes that have an indicatory उक् (उ, ऋ, ऌ), short or long, or where a rule is propounded with regard to letters. Thus the affix ktavatu (I 1 26, S. 3012) has an indicatory उ, and we have कृतवत् A rule which will apply to kritavat will apply also to the word which ends in kritavat. Thus the feminine of kritavat is कृतवती (IV 1. 6, S. 455) the feminine of sukritavat will be sukritavati Similarly rule IV. 1. 95 S. 1095 अत इञ् says "after अ there is the affix इञ्." This is a rule relating to pratyayas, but as it is propounded by mere letters, the rule of tadanta-vidhi will apply here Thus दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षिः the son of Daksha.'

२७ । विरामोऽवसानम् । १ । ४ । ११० ॥

वर्णानामभावोऽवसानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

27. The cessation or the absence of succeeding letters is called pause or avasâna.

The word avasâna occurs in sûtras VIII. 3 15, S. 76 &c.

२८ परः संनिकर्षः संहिता, । १ । ४ । १०९ ॥

वर्णानामतिशयित· सान्निधि· संहितासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

28, The closest proximity of letters, *(there being the intervention of half a mâtrâ or prosodial length between them)* is called contact or sanhitâ.

When words are in sanhita, they are glued together by the rules of sandhi. As दध्यत्र = दधि + अत्र

२९ सुप्तिङन्तं पदम् । १ । ४ । १४ ॥

सुबन्तं तिङन्तं च पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

29. That which ends in sup (case-affix IV. 1. 2. S. 183) or in tin (III. 4. 78 S. 2154 tense-affix), is called a pada or inflected word.

३० हलोऽनन्तराः संयोगः । १ । १ । ७ ॥

अज्भिरव्यवहिता हलः संज्ञा स्यु· ॥

30. Consonants unseparated by vowels are called conjunct consonants.

३१ ह्रस्वं लघु । १ । ४ । १० ॥

31. A short vowel is called 'light' (laghu).

३२ संयोगेगुरु । १ । ४ । ११ ॥

संयोगे परे ह्रस्व गुरुसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

32. When a conjunct consonant follows, a short vowel is termed 'heavy' (Guru).

३३ दीर्घञ्च । १ । ४ । १२ ॥

33. And a long vowel is also termed heavy, (Guru).



अथ परिभाषा प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER II.

PARIBHÂSHÂS OR RULES OF INTERPRETATION.

३४ । इको गुणवृद्धी । १ । १ । ३ ॥

गुणवृद्धिशब्दाभ्यां यत्र गुणवृद्धी विधीयेते तत्रेक इति षष्ठयन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

34. In the absence of any special sthânî, whenever guna or vriddhi is enjoined about any expression by using the terms guna or vriddhi, it is to be understood to come in the room of the ik vowels only (i, u, ri, and li long and short,) of that expression.

Wherever in any rule in this Grammar, guṇa or vṛiddhi is ordained by employing the terms guṇa or vṛiddhi, there the word "ikah" in the gentive case, meaning "in the place of ik," is to be supplied to complete the sense.

The present rule will apply where there is the specification of no other particular sthâni or the letter to be replaced.

Thus sûtra VII. 3. 84 S. 2164 declares.—"when a sârvadhâtuka or an ârdhadhâtuka affix follows there is guna of the base" Here the sthâni or the letter which is to be gunated, is not specified, and to complete the sense, the word "ikah" must be read into the sûtra The rule then being, "when a S. or an A. affix follows there is guna of the ik vowels of the base." The guna of इ or ई is ए, of उ or ऊ, is ओ, of ऋ or ॠ is अर्, of ऌ is अल्; and their Vṛiddhi is ऐ, औ, आर् and आल् respectively. Thus नी+अति=ने+अति=नयति "he leads."

- ३५ । अचश्च । १ । २ । २८ ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घप्लुतशब्दैर्यत्राज्विधीयते तत्राऽच इति षष्ठयन्तं पदमुपतिष्ठते ॥

28. The short, long, and prolated, when enunciated as such, by using these terms, are to be understood to come in the place of vowels only.

When in this book 'short' 'long' or 'prolated' is taught by using the words *hrasva*, *dîrgha* or *pluta*, there the word achaḥ, in the genitive case, meaning "in the place of the vowel" is to be supplied to complete the sense.

As will be found in the sûtra I 2 47 S 318 "there is the substitution of *harsva* or short in the neuter gender of the crude-form" The word 'in the place of the vowel' must be inserted in this sûtra to complete the sense. That is — the hrasva is substituted in the place of the *vowel* of the crude-form As रै is shortened to रि in forming the compound with अति in अतिरि, नौ to अतिनु, गा to उपगु ॥

३६ । आद्यन्तौ टकितौ । १ । १ । ४६ ॥

टित्कितौ यस्योक्तौ तस्य क्रमादाद्यन्तावयवौ स्तः ॥

36. Of whatsoever the augments enunciated are distinguished by an indicatory ट् or क्, they precede or follow it accordingly.

This sûtra explains the special use of two of the indicatory letters ट् and क् Where the indicatory letter of an augment is ट् that augment is to be placed *before* the word in the genitive case with regard to which it is enjoined, while a कित् augment is to be added *after* the word exhibited in the 6th case with regard to which it is enjoined. Thus, there is a sûtra (VII. 2. 35 S.2184) which says "ârdhadhâtuka affixes beginning with a consonant except य, have इट्". The question may arise where is this इट् to be added, in the beginning or the end or the middle of the ârdhadhâtuka affix? This sûtra answers the question The indicatory ट् shows, that it is to be placed before the ârdhadhâtuka affix Thus the future termination स्यति, is an ârdhadhâtuka affix when this is added to the root, it takes the augment इट् Thus भू+इट्+स्यति=भविष्यति, 'he will be' Similarly लविता 'he will cut'

Similarly by sûtra VII. 3 40 S 2595 the root भी takes the augment षुक् in forming the causative. This having an indicatory क् is to be added after the word भी, as, भी+षुक्+णिच्+ते=भीषयते 'he frightens.'

३७ । मिदचोऽन्त्यात्परः । १ । १ । ४७ ॥

अच इति निर्धारणे षष्ठी । अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यस्तस्मात्परस्तस्यैवान्तावयवो मित्स्यात् ॥

37. The augment that has an indicatory म् comes after the last among the vowels, and becomes the final portion of that which it augments.

This sûtra explains the use of the indicatory म्. The augments having an indicatory म्, technically called मित् augments, are placed immediately after the final vowel of a word. Thus there is an augment called नुम्, in which उ and म् are इत्, and the actual augment is न्. When, therefore, it is said "let नुम् be added to the word," the letter न् is added after the last vowel. Thus the plural of पयस् 'milk' is formed in the following way .—पयस्

+ नुम् + इ (VII 1 72 S 314)=पयांसि (VI. 4 8 S. 250) Here न् is added between य and स् *i e* after the अ of य, which is the final vowel of the word and before this न् the preceding short vowel is lengthened Similarly युज् + श + ति (III 1 77 S 2534)= युज्+नुम्+अ+ति (VI 1 59 S 2402)—युञ्जति। Similarly विरुणद्धि

The word अचः is in the genitive case, having the force of nirdhârana or specification, it has the force of the plural, though exhibited in the singular, being taken as representing the class The meaning is 'among the vowels.' This sûtra is an exception to sûtras I. 1 49 S 38 and III 1 2, S 181 by which an affix is added at the end of the word exhibited in the 6th case.

३८। षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा। १। १। ४९॥

अनिर्धारितसम्बन्धविशेषा षष्ठी स्थानेयोगा बोध्या। स्थानं च प्रसङ्गः॥

38. The force of the genitive case in a sûtra is that of the phrase "in the place of" when no special rules qualify the sense of the genitive.

This sûtra explains the mode of interpreting words used in the possessive case (sixth case) in the sûtras of Pânini The genitive case or shâshthi denotes many sorts of relations in Sanskrit, such as causation possession, relation in place, comparison, nearness, proximity, change, collection, component member, &c So that when a word is in the genitive case in a sutra generally, the doubt may arise in what sense that genitive is to be used This aphorism lays down the restrictive rule for the interpretation of such words. It says that the force of such genitive is to convey the meaning of 'in the place of.'

Thus in the sutra 34 the word इकः is in the genitive case, the literal translation being —"of ik there is guna and vṛiddhi" But "of" here means by virtue of the present rule of interpretation "in the place of." So that the sutra means 'in the place of इक्'

The word स्थान here is synonymous with प्रसङ्ग or 'occasion.' Thus in the sentence दर्भाणां स्थाने शरैः प्रस्तरितव्यम्, the word sthâne, means 'prasange' i. e. wherever there is occasion to spread darbha grass, spread there the śara instead Similarly in sûtras अस्तेर्भूः (II 4. 52 S 2470), or ब्रुवो वचिः (II,4 53 S. 2453), the words 'asti,' and 'brû' are in the genitive case, and mean, 'wherever there arises occasion to use the verbs अस or ब्रू use there the verbs भू or वच् instead respectively' Thus भविता, भवितुम्, भवितव्यम्, are the future, gerund, and passive participle respectively of अस्, so also, वक्ता, वक्तुम् and वक्तव्यम् are the same forms of ब्रू

The word स्थानेयोगा is a bahuvrîhi compound of two words, not in apposition, (vyâdhikarana bahuvrîhi, see II. 2 24 and 35), and it qualifies the

word shashthî The compound means स्थाने योगोऽस्याः, 'that which assumes the peculiar relation denoted by the word sthâna' Consequently the seventh case-affix is not elided in this compound, on the analogy of compounds like कण्ठेकालः &c Or स्थानेन योगोऽस्या अस्ति, the ए in sthâne is anomalous.

३९ । स्थानेऽन्तरतमः । १ । १ । ५० ॥

प्रसङ्गे सति सदृशतम आदेशः स्यात् ॥ यत्रानेकविधमान्तर्यं तत्र स्थानत आन्तर्यं बलीयः ॥

39. When a common term is obtained as a substitute, the likest of its significates to that in the place of which it comes, is the actual substitute.

There are four sorts of proximity or nearness :—(1) nearness in place or स्थान (*i e.* palate, throat &c), (2) nearness in meaning or अर्थ (such as, singular terminations to e used after words used in the sense of singular); (3) nearness in quantity or प्रमाण (such as a short vowel to replace a short vowel, a long vowel, a long one); (4) nearness in quality or गुण (such as aspirates to replace aspirates, and sonants to replace sonants). Of all these approximates the first *viz.*, the nearness in the organ of utterance has preference, in the selection of proper substitute.

Thus in applying rule VI. 1. 101, S. 85 "when a homogeneous vowel follows ak, the corresponding long vowel is the substitute for both," we must have recourse to the present sûtra for finding the proper vowel. Thus— दण्ड + अग्र = दण्डाग्र, here the substitution of the long आ, for the two short अ's, is an example of substitution by nearness of place, for both अ and आ are gutturals.

Wherever there exist several kinds of proximity between that for which something else shall be substituted, and its possible substitutes, there the proximity as to the organ of speech is weightier than the rest, *i e*, there that only is substituted which is nearest as regards the organs of speech with which both are uttered.

Thus in finding the guṇa substitutes of इ and उ out of the three guna letters अ, ए and ओ, we find that अ is a proximate substitute having regard to prosodial measure, *i. e.* अ and इ and उ have all one mâtrâ, while having regard to the proximity of the organ of utterance, we get ए and ओ ; the latter however prevails to the exclusion of the first ; as, चेता स्तोता.

४० । तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य । १ । १ । ६६ ॥

सप्तमीनिर्देशेन विधीयमानं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य पूर्वस्य बोध्यम् ॥

40. When a term is exhibited in the seventh case in these sûtras, the operation directed, is to be understood

as affecting the state of what immediately precedes that which the term denotes.

This is a declaratory or interpreting sûtra. When in a sûtra, a word is used in the locative case, the operation ordained by that sûtra is to be performed on the word preceding it Thus in the sûtra इको यणचि (VI. 1 77 S 47) the word अचि is in the locative case, which sûtra, therefore, means that इ, उ, ऋ ऌ followed by a vowel (अच्) are changed into य्,व्, र्,ल्, (यण्) The literal translation of the sûtra being —'Of इक् there is यण् in अच्' The force of '*in*' or the locative case being to induce changes in the letter preceding the vowel. Thus दधि+उदकम्=दध्युदकम्, so माध्विदम्, पचत्योदनम् ॥

४१ । तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य । १ । १ । ६७ ॥

पञ्चमीनिर्देशेन क्रियमाणं कार्यं वर्णान्तरेणाव्यवहितस्य परस्य ज्ञेयम् ॥

41. An operation caused by the exhibition of a term in the ablative or fifth case, is to be understood to enjoin the substitution of something in the room of that which immediately follows the word denoted by the term.

This sûtra explains the force of words in the ablative case when employed in these aphorisms. As the locative case refers to a preceding word, so the ablative refers to a succeeding word.

Thus sûtra VIII. 4 61,S 118 declares that 'after उद्, of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior.' Thus उद्+स्थानम्. Here the word उदः is exhibited in the original sûtra in the ablative case, and by the present sûtra it means that a dental letter थ् must be substituted in the place of stha, and by I. 1. 54, S. 44 this dental takes the place of स् we have उद्+थ्थानम्=उत्थ्-थानम्.

४२ । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । १ । १ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठीनिर्दिष्टाऽन्त्यस्यादेश स्यात् ॥

42. The substitute takes the place of only the final letter (of that which is denoted by a term exhibited in the genitive or sixth case).

The rule of substitution by nearness of place applies to the last letter of the word which is exhibited in the genitive case and not to all its letters. Thus by sûtra VII. 2. 102, S. 265 it is declared त्यदादीनाम "in the place of त्यद् &c., there is अ" It does not mean that the whole word त्यद्, is replaced by अ; though at first sight it may appear to mean so, but it means, by virtue of the present explanatory sûtra, that the last letter of त्यद्, namely द् is to be replaced by अ.

४३ । ङिच्च । १ । १ । ५३ ॥

अयमप्यन्त्यस्यैव स्यात् । सर्वस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

43. And the substitute which has an indicatory ङ् (even though it consists of more than one letter) takes the place of the final letter only of the original expression.

This sûtra is an exception by anticipation to sûtra I 1 55, S. 45 By that all substitutes, consisting of more than one letter, replace the whole word.

Thus in forming the dvandva compound of मातृ and पितृ there is a rule (VI. 3 25, S 921) by which it is declared—' In the place of words ending in ऋ there is the substitution of आनङ् in forming dvandvas' Now the substitute आनङ् is a ङित् substitute, and therefore it applies to the *last* letter of the word and not to the *whole* word, *viz*, the ऋ of मातृ is only changed into आ and not the whole word ; and we have the compound मातापितरौ, so also होतापोतारौ.

४४ । आदेः परस्य । १ । १ । ५४ ॥

परस्य यद्विहितं तत्तस्यादेर्बोध्यम् । अलोऽन्त्यस्येत्यस्यापवादः ॥

44. That which is enjoined to come in the room of what follows is to be understood as coming in the room only of the first letter thereof.

When any operation is to be made in a word *following another*, such operation is to be made in the *initial* letter of such subsequent word. This is an exception to sûtra I 1. 52, S 42 (अलोऽन्त्यस्य) To give an illustration—there is a rule (VI 3 97, S. 941) by which it is declared · " In the place of अप् used after the words द्वि and अन्तर् and the particles called उपसर्ग there is ई." This rule may be stated in other words as—' In the place of अप् there is ई when अप् follows द्वि or अन्तर्' Now it is clear that ई is not to replace all the letters of अप but only one. By sûtra 42 that letter would have been the last letter of अप्, but this sûtra makes an exception, namely, where an operation is directed to be made in a word, simply by reason of its being placed *after* another word, such change is to be made in the *beginning* of such second word. Therefore, the ई replaces the अ of अप् and we have द्वि + अप् = द्वीपं (the final अ is added by V. 4. 74, S. 940) ' an island,' अन्तरीपं ' promontory.'

४५ । अनेकाल्शित्सर्वस्य । १ । १ । ५५ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अलोऽन्त्यसूत्रापवादः । अष्टाभ्य औशित्यत्रादेः परस्येत्येतदपि परत्वादनेन बाध्यते ॥

45. A substitute consisting of more than one letter,

and a substitute having an indicatory श take the place of the whole of the original expression exhibited in the sixth case.

This sûtra is an exception to sûtra I. 1. 52, S. 42 by which it was declared that an âdeśa or substitute replaces only the last letter This sûtra on the contrary enjoins that an âdeśa consisting of more than one letter replaces the whole expression in the genitive case, and not only its last letter. Even where an âdeśa consists of a single letter, but if it has a श् as its indicatory letter, it replaces the whole word.

Thus, there is a sûtra ब्रुवो वचिः (II. 4. 53 S. 2453) which means 'in the place of ब्रू let there be वच्' Here the âdeśa वच् consists of three letters (more than one), and therefore, it replaces the whole word ब्रू and not only the last letter ऊ That is to say in forming certain tenses the verb ब्रू is replaced by वच्. Thus the future tense of ब्रू is वक्ता 'he will speak.'

Thus in the sutra अष्टाभ्य औश् (VII. 1 21, S 372) "after the stem of अष्टा औश् is substituted for the ending of the Nominative and Accusative plural." The substitute औश् is a शित् substitute and therefore it replaces the whole of the affixes शस् and जस् not only their initials as would have been otherwise required by the preceding rule आदे: परस्य. For by that rule the initials only of the affixes जस् and शस् would have been replaced by औ. This sûtra is in fact an exception to the last sutra.

४६ । स्वरितेनाधिकारः । १ । ३ । ११ ॥

स्वरितत्वयुक्त शब्दस्वरूपमधिकृतं बोध्यम् ॥ परनित्यान्तरङ्गापवादानामुत्तरं बलीय ॥ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ॥ अकृतव्यूहाः पाणिनीया ॥ निमित्त विनाशोन्मुखं दृष्ट्वा तत्प्रयुक्त कार्यं न कुर्वन्तीत्यर्थ ॥

46. In these aphorisms, when a word is marked with a svarita accent, by that an adhikâra or a governing rule is to be understood.

When in this collection of grammatical sûtras, there is any sûtra that has a circumflex accent, it denotes that it is either the beginning of a subject and the subsequent sûtras are governed by it, or that it ends a subject and separates the previous sûtras from the following.

As a rule, the sûtras are not marked with accents ; it is therefore from commentaries that one has to learn whether a sûtra has a svarita or not. Thus the following sûtras, must evidently have svarita as they are governing sûtras ; प्रत्यय (III. 1 1 S. 180.) धातोः (III. 1. 91 S. 2829), अङ्गस्य (VI 4. 1 S. 200). भस्य (VI 4. 129 S. 233).

Paribhâshâ. Of (these four kinds of rules,—*viz*) a subsequent (rule,) a nitya (rule) an antaranga (rule), and an apavâda (rule), each following

rule possesses greater force than any one of, or all, the rules mentioned before it.

Note —By I 4 2, S. 175 we are taught that a subsequent (पर) rule supersedes a rule which precedes (पूर्व) This Paribhasha further expands the same

An *anitya* rule is stronger than a Para (पर) rule As तुदादिभ्यः शः (III. 1. 77 S. 2534) तुदति, रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् (III 1 78, S. 2543) as रुणद्धि, Here the nitya affixes श and श्नम् debar even the पर rule of Guna of the light penultimate vowel of VII. 3. 86 S 2189 Similarly चिनवाव and चिनवाम Here the augment आट् by III 4. 92. S. 2204 being a *nitya* rule supersedes even the *subsequent* (पर) rule VI. 4. 107 S. 2333 which required the elision of the उ of चिनु before the affixes व and म ॥

Thus तुद् + तिप् VII. I 77 S. 3576 Vikarana श before Sarvadhâtuka; (nitya).

VII 3 86 S. 2189 Guna for उ (para but anitya). III. 1 77 S 2534 applies before the substitution of guna for उ and it would apply also if guna were substituted for उ, and if तुद् were changed to तोद् ॥ On the other hand VII. 3. 86 applies before श is added to तुद्, but after the addition of श to तुद् guna could not by VII. 3 86 be substituted for उ, because the latter would have ceased to be penultimate Accordingly III 1. 77 is nitya and VII 3. 86 is anitya; III. 1. 77 takes, therefore, effect first and we have तुद + ति, and subsequently VII. 3 86 is no longer applicable. A nitya is thus defined —A rule which would apply if another rule that applies simultaneously were to have taken effect, and which applies when that other rule does not take effect, is *nitya*, a rule with which such is not the case, is not *nitya*.

An *antaranga* rule posesses greater force than even a *nitya* rule. Antaranga is a rule the causes of the application of which lie within (or before) the sum of the causes of a bahiranga rule, in like manner that rule the causes of the application of which lie without or beyond the sum of the causes of that antranga rule is bahiranga In the formation of ग्रामणिनी nom. dual of the neuter noun ग्रामणी, we have two rules, first VII. 1 73 S 320 by which न्, is added before the dual case affix शी, and I. 2. 47 S 318. which requires the shortening of the stem ग्रामणी to ग्रामणि ॥ Though the न् augment is nitya, it is for the time being suspended in favour of the antaranga rule causing shortening and when the stem is shortened then the न् is added. For had न been added first, then ग्रामणीन् would end in a consonant and the rule of shortening I. 2. 47 S. 318 would not have applied, as the stem was not vowel-ending.

An apavâda possesses greater force even than an antaranga rule. A rule which is given in reference to a particular case or particular cases, to which or to all of which another rule can not but apply, or in other words

which all fall already under some other rule, supersedes the latter Thus दैत्यारि, श्रीश ॥ दैत्य + अरि or श्री + ईश, here the antaranga rules आद्गुणः and इकोयणचि would supersede even the पर rule of savarna-dîrgha, and अ + अ would be अ ई + ई would be श्री ॥ But savarna-dîrgha rule being an apavâda rule supersedes the antaranga guna and yan-âdesâ.

Paribhâshâ. That which is *bahiranga* is regarded as not having taken effect (or as not existing), when that which is *antaranga* (is to take effect). Thus, in the formation of स्योन, from सिव् + न, ऊ is substituted for the व् of सिव् by VI.4.19S.2561 we obtain thus सिऊ+न. Here two rules apply simultaneously, *viz.* VI. 1 77 S. 47. which teaches the substitution of य् for इ before ऊ and VII 3 86 by which guna should be substituted for the penultimate इ before the affix न, and the question arises, which of these two rules should take effect ? The substitution of य् for इ is caused by ऊ, that of guna for इ by न, as then the cause ऊ of the substitution of य् lies within or before the cause न of the substitution of guna, and, on the other hand, the cause न of the substitution of guna without or beyond the cause ऊ of the substitution of य्,—the substitution of य for इ and the rule VI. 1 77 that teaches it, is *antaranga,* and the substitution of guna for इ and the rule VII. 3 86 that teaches it, is *bahiranga.* Accordingly VI. 1. 77 must take effect, because VII. 3. 86, so far as the taking effect of VI. 1. 77 is concerned, does not exist.

Paribhâshâ. The followers of Pânini do not insist (on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause or causes disappear).

In other words, ' an *antaranga* (operation) does not take place when subsequently, (in case the *bahiranga* operation were to take place), the cause or causes of the *antaranga* (operation) would disappear by (the taking effect of) that *bahiranga* (operation).

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अच्संधि प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER III.

ON VOWEL—SANDHIS

४७ । इको यणचि ॥ ६ । १ । ७७ ॥

इकः स्थाने यण् स्यादचि संहितायां विषये । सुधी उपास्य इति स्थिते । स्थानत आन्तर्यादीकारस्य यकारः । सुध्य् उपास्य इति जाते ॥

47. The semivowels य्, व्, र्, ल्, are the substitutes of the corresponding vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ (long and short), when followed by a vowel.

This sûtra is rather too wide. It must be restricted by VI. 1. 101, S. 85 namely, the following vowel must not be of the same class as the preceding, for the application of this rule Thus सुधी + उपास्य Here the long ई of सुधी is replaced by य् which is the nearest substitute, having regard to sthâna or organ of utterance.

Thus we get सुध्य् + उपास्य ॥

This gives occasion to the application of the following rule requiring reduplication .—

४८ । अनचि च ॥ ८ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अचः परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तो न त्वचि ॥ इति धकारस्य द्वित्वम् ॥

48. When a vowel does not follow, there is optionally reduplication of यर् (all the consonants except ह), after a vowel.

Therefore, the letter ध is doubled, and we have:—

सु ध् ध् य् + उपास्य

Now, a doubt arises as to the applicability of this rule of doubling by the following consideration;—

४९ । स्थानिवदादेशोऽनल्विधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५६ ॥

आदेशः स्थानिवत्स्यान्न तु स्थान्यलाश्रयविधौ । अनेनेह यकारस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाच्त्वमाश्रित्यानचीति द्वित्वनिषेधो न शङ्क्योऽनल्विधाविति तन्निषेधात् ॥

49. A substitute (âdeśa) is like the former occupant (sthâni) but not in the case of a rule the occasion for the ope-

ration of which is furnished by the letters of the original term.

Now the substitute य् should be considered as ई which it has replaced; and as ई is a vowel, this य् should be considered as a vowel. That being so, ध् is not followed by a consonant, but by a vowel, and so अनचि च does not apply, and ध् should not be reduplicated.

This doubt, however, is set at rest by the next half of this sûtra itself, which says अनल्विधौ—"not when a rule of letter is to be applied" The य् is like ई, but not for the purposes of the application of the Letter—rule like अनचि च ॥ The ध् therefore is properly doubled.

But is not this अनल्विधि exception set aside by the following sûtra ?

५० । अचः परस्मिन्पूर्वविधौ ॥ १ । १ । ५७ ॥

अल्विध्यर्थमिदम् । परनिमित्तोऽजादेशः स्थानिवत्स्यात् स्थानिभूतादचः पूर्वत्वेन दृष्टस्य विधौ कर्तव्ये ॥ इति स्थानिवद्भावे प्राप्ते ॥

50. A substitute in the room of a vowel caused by something that follows, should be regarded as that whose place it takes, when a rule would else take effect on what stands anterior to the original vowel.

This sûtra consists of three words·— अचः genitive of the pratyâhâra अच् meaning 'of a vowel,' and means an âdeśa which takes the place of a vowel The words âdeśa and sthânivat are understood and are to be supplied from the preceding sûtra. The second word is 'parasmin', loc. sing. of 'para' meaning 'in the subsequent.' The locative has the force of 'on account of or by reason of.' The third word is pûrva-vidhau loc. sing. of pûrva-vidhi meaning 'a rule applicable to a preceding thing.' The whole sûtra thus comes to mean that an âdeśa which replaces a vowel becomes sthânivat(like vowel), provided that the substitution has been occasioned on account of something following and when a rule is to be applied to anything preceding such an âdeśa.

Therefore य would be स्थानिवत् to ई because it is a vowel substitute caused by something which follows namely उ of उपास्य and the rule of doubling is to be applied to ध a letter which precedes य ॥

To this we answer "No", because of the following sûtra.

५१ ।न पदान्तद्विर्वचनवरेयलोपस्वरसवर्णानुस्वारदीर्घजश्चर्विधिषु ॥१।१।५८॥

पदस्य चरमावयवे द्विर्वचनादौ च कर्तव्ये परनिमित्तोऽजादेशो न स्थानिवत् । इति स्थानिवद्भावनिषेधः ॥

51 Not so, in rules relating to the finals of words, to the doubling of letters, to the affixing of varach, to the elision of ya, to accent, to homogeneous letters, to anusvâra, to the lengthening of vowels, and to the substitution of jaś and char letters.

This sûtra lays down an exception to the previous sûtra, by which it was ruled that an âdeśa which replaced a vowel becomes sthânivat under certain conditions This sûtra says that a vowel âdeśa is not sthânivat under the following circumtances.

I. पदान्तविधिः—'A rule relating to the last letter of a word.'

2 द्विर्वचनविधिः 'a rule relating to the doubling of letters' In the sandhi of सुधी + उपास्य we have सुध्य् + उपास्य Here ई is changed into य् If this य् were sthânivat to ई, then the rule by which ध् could be doubled before य् would be inapplicable. But य् is not equivalent to ई, though its substitute, and we have the doubling of ध् and get the form सुद्ध्युपास्य Therefore, in rules relating to the doubling of letters the âdeśa is not equivalent to the sthânî.

3. वरेविधि, 'a rule relating to the affix वरच्

4 यलोपविधि 'a rule relating to the dropping of ya.'

5. स्वरविधि 'a rule relating to accent.'

6 सवर्णविधिः 'a rule relating to the substitution of homogeneous letters.'

7. अनुस्वारविधिः 'a rule relating to anuswâra'

8 दीर्घविधि 'a rule directing the substitution of long vowels for short vowels.'

9. जश्विधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of soft unaspirate consonants, of pratyâhâra जश्, in the place of hard consonants'

10. चर्विधिः 'a rule requiring the substitution of the letters of चर् pratyâhâra instead of other consonants

५२ । झलां जश् झशि ॥ ८ । ४ । ५३ ॥

स्पष्टम । इति धकारस्य दकारः ॥

52, In the room of झल् letters, there is substitution of जश् letters, when झश् letters follow.

A mute letter is changed to a sonant non-aspirate mute, when a sonant mute follows it.

This is the well-known rule of softening the hard letters. Thus सुध्ध्य् + उपास्य = सुद्ध्य् + उपास्य ॥

At this stage, the sutra after the following turns up for application.

५३ । अदर्शनं लोपः ॥ १ । १ । ६० ॥

प्रसक्तस्यादर्शनं लोपसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

53. The substitution of a blank (lopa) signifies disappearance.

This defines elision.

५४ । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥ ८ । २ । २३ ॥

संयोगान्तं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य लोपः स्यात् । इति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये * ॥ मय इति पञ्चमी यण इति षष्ठीति पक्षे यकारस्यापि द्वित्वम् । तदिह धकारयकारयोर्द्वित्वविकल्पाच्चत्वारि रूपाणि ॥ एकधमेकयम् । द्विधं द्वियम् । द्विधमेकयम् । एकधं द्वियम् । सुद्ध्युपास्यः । मद्ध्वरिः । धात्त्रंशः । लाक्ृतिः ॥

54. When a word ends in a double consonant, the last consonant is dropped.

Therefore in सुद्ध्य्+उपास्य, the final letter of the conjunct consonat, namely the letter य् should be elided. But this mishap to the letter य् is prevented by the following *Vârtika*. यणः प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः "Prohibition must be stated with regard to the elision of semivowels." Therefore the य् is not elided.

But then appears the following *Vârtika* which requires the doubling of य् also, यणोमयोर्द्वेवाच्ये "The letters of the यण् class are reduplicated after letters of the मय class."

Thus we have four forms with the doubling of ध् and य् optionally.

1. One ध् and one य् as सुध्युपास्य ।
2. Two ध्s and two य्s as सुद्ध्य्युपास्यः ।
3. Two धs and one य् as सुद्ध्युपास्यः ।
4. One ध् and two य्s as सुध्य्युपास्यः ।

So also मधु + अरिः = मध्वरिः ; धात्त्रंशः, लाकृति ।

५५ । नादिन्याक्रोशे पुत्रस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ४८ ॥

पुत्रशब्दस्य न द्वे स्त आदिनीशब्दे परे आक्रोशे गम्यमाने । पुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे । आक्रोशे किम् । तत्त्वकथने द्विर्वचनं भवत्येव । पुत्त्रादिनी सर्पिणी ॥ तत्परे च * ॥ पुत्रपुत्रादिनी त्वमसि पापे ॥ वा हतजग्धयोः * ॥ पुत्रहती । पुत्रजग्धी । पुत्त्रजग्धी ॥

55. There is not reduplication of the letters of 'putra', when the word âdinî follows, the sense being that of reviling or cursing.

This debars the reduplication required by sûtra 48. Thus पुत्रादिनी

त्वमसि पापे "O sinful one! thou art eater of thy own son". Here the word पुत्रादिनी is used simply as an abusive epithet But when a fact is described, and the word is not used as an abuse or आक्रोश, the reduplication necessarily takes place. Thus पुत्रादिनी सर्पिणी 'a kind of serpent, that eats up her young ones'.

Vârt —So also when पुत्र is followed by पुत्रादिनी ॥ As पुत्रपुत्रादिनी त्वमसि-पापे ॥ So also पुत्रपौत्रादिनी ॥

Vârt —Optionally so when the words हत and जग्ध follow. As पुत्रहती or पुत्त्रहती, पुत्रजग्धी or पुत्त्रजग्धी ॥

५६ । त्रिप्रभृतिषु शाकटायनस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५० ॥

त्र्यादिषु वर्णेषु सयुक्तेषु वा द्वित्वम् । इन्न्द्र । इन्द्रः । राष्ट्ट्रम् । राष्ट्रम् ॥

56. According to the option of Śâkaṭâyana, the doubling does not take place when the conjunct consonants are three or more in number.

As इन्द्रः इन्न्द्र , राष्ट्रम् , राष्ट्ट्रम ॥

५७ । सर्वत्र शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ४ । ५१ ॥

द्वित्वं न । अर्कः । ब्रह्मा ॥

57 According to the opinion of Sâkalya, there is reduplication no where.

As अर्कः, ब्रह्मा ॥

५८ । दीर्घादाचार्याणाम् ॥ ८ । ४ । ५२ ॥

द्वित्व न । दात्रम् । पात्रम् ॥

58. According to the opinion of all Teachers, there is no doubling after a long vowel.

As दात्रम्, पात्रम ,

५९ । अचो रहाभ्यां द्वे ॥ ८ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अचः पराभ्यां रेफहकाराभ्यां परस्य यरो द्वे वा स्तः । हर्य्यनुभवः ॥ नह्य्यस्ति ॥

59. There is reduplication of यर्, i. e. all the consonants except ह, after the letters र् and ह् following a vowel.

The word वा of VIII 4.45 S 116. is understood here. According to others, the वा is also understood, and this is an optional rule. Thus हर्य्यनुभवः, न ह्य्यस्ति ॥

६० । हलो यमां यमि लोपः । ८ । ४ ॥ ६४ ॥

हलः परस्य यमो लोप स्याद्वा यमि । इति लोपपक्षे द्वित्वाभावपक्षे चैकय रूप तुल्यम् । लोपारम्भफल तु आदित्यो देवताऽस्येत्यादित्य हविरित्यादौ ॥ यमा यमीति यथासख्यविज्ञानान्नेह ॥ माहात्म्यम् ॥

60. After a consonant, the following semi-vowel or a nasal is elided optionally, when the same letters follow it

In the case of elision (as required by this rule) as well as in the case of want of reduplication, (for the reduplication is after all *optional*), there would be one common form. Why then teach this lopa rule at all? This lopa rule is particularly applicable in cases like आदित्य हवि To the word आदित्य is added the affix य (ण्यत्) by IV 1 85,S 10 77 and we have आदित्य, now this य not having been obtained by *doubling*, would not have disappeared by any one of the preceding rules Hence this lopa-rule. Thus âditya+ya (IV. 1. 85)=âdity+ya (the *a* is elided by VI 4 148 S. 3 11.)=âdityya. Then by applying the present rule we have âditya with one y only.

There are nine letters in यम् pratyâhâra, i. e. य, व, र, ल, ञ, म, ङ, ण and न; when यम् follows another यम्, here the substitute and sthâni contain equal number of letters, therefore the rule of yathâ sankhya I. 3 10, S 128 applies. Namely य must be followed by य, व by व, र by र and so on and not य followed by व, or र etc Therefore there is no elision of म in महात्म्यम् though म a yam letter is followed by य another yam letter.

६१ । एचोऽयवायावः ॥ ६ । १ । ७८ ॥

एचः क्रमादय् अव् आय् आव् एते स्युरचि ॥

61. For the vowels ए, ऐ, ओ and औ are respectively substituted अय् , आय् , अव् and आव् when a vowel follows.

Note—The yathâ sankhya rule 1 3 10 S 128 applies here also, and so ए is replaced by अय्, ऐ by आय्, ओ by अव् and औ by आव् ॥ Or अय् would be the proper substitute of ए, अव् of आ etc. by the rule of sthâne-antartama I 1 50 S 39 For ए etc are compound letters or diphthongs, ए=अ+इ, ओ=अ+उ etc and so their most approximate substitutes are अय्, अव् etc Hence the author of Siddhânta has not read the yathâ sankhya rule here, but later on

Here arises a doubt, are not the final य् and व् in these substitutes, इत् letters? For were we not taught in sûtra हलन्त्यम् 1 3.3 S 1 that all final consonants are इत्? If then, these य and व be इत्, then they require to be elided by the following rule

६२ । तस्य लोपः ॥ १ । ३ । ९ ॥

तस्येतो लोपः स्यात् । इति यवयोर्लोपो न । उच्चारणसामर्थ्यात् । एव णेरित्संज्ञापीह न भवति हरये । विष्णवे । नायकः । पावकः ॥

62 Of this, (namely of what which has been called इत्), there is elision.

There is no elision of the final य्, and व् in अय्, अव्, आय् and आव्, because these letters are not इत् or indicatory Why are they not indicatory? Because the very fact of their being expressly so taught shows it otherwise the substitutes would have been अ and आ only in fact, the य् and व् do not get the designation इत् at all here

Now applying this rule of diphthong sandhi, we have हरे + ए = हरये, विष्णो + ए = विष्णवे, नै + अक = नायक, पौ + अक = पावक ॥

६३ । वान्तो यि प्रत्यये ॥ ६ । १ । ७९ ॥

यकारादौ प्रत्यये परे ओदौतोरव् आव् एतौ स्तः । गोर्विकारो गव्यम् । गोपयसोर्यदिति यत् । नावा तार्यं नाव्यम् । नौवयोधर्मेत्यादिना यत् ॥ गोर्यूतौ छन्दस्युपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ अध्वपरिमाणे च * ॥ गव्यूतिः । ऊतियूतीत्यादिना यूतिशब्दो निपातितः ॥ वान्त इत्यत्र वकाराद्गोर्यूताविल्यत्र छकाराद्वा पूर्वभागे लोपोव्योर्वलीति लोपेन वकारः प्रश्लिष्यते । तेन श्रूयमाणवकारान्त आदेशः स्यात् । वकारो न लुप्यत इति यावत् ॥

63. The substitution of अव् and आव् for ओ and औ also takes place before an affix beginning with य ॥

The वान्त are those which end in व् viz अव् and आव् Of the four substitutes taught in the preceding sutra, those which end in व् (viz अव् and आव्) also come when an affix with an initial य follows It follows that the substituted letters must be ओ and औ Thus गो + य = गव + य = गव्य milk By sutra IV-3-160S 1538 the affix यत् is added to गो and पयस् in the sense of modification Similarly नौ + य = नाव्यम् (what can be crossed by a boat) Here also यत् is added by IV-4-91 S 1643 in the sense of "to be crossed," the word so formed meaning 'a river' &c

Vart —The word गो is changed before यूति in the Vedas As गो + यूति = गव्यूति as आनो मित्रा वरुणा घृतैर्गव्यूतिमुक्षतम् ॥ Why do we say 'in the Vedas'? Observe गोयूतिः ॥

Vârt.—This substitution takes place in secular literature even, when referring to the measure of a road —as, गव्यूति मात्रमध्वानं गतः ॥ गव्यूति meaning क्रोशयुगम् ॥ The word यूति is an irregularly formed word so taught in sûtra III. 3 97 S 3274.

Now a doubt arises in the case of गव्यूति, should not the व् be elided by VIII 3, 22. S. 171 or by VIII 3 19 S 67 No For the sûtra वान्तोयि प्रत्यये has really a व् in latency before it, the real sûtra being व्वान्तो &c. This व् is invisible by the rule लोपो व्योर्वलि VI. 1. 66 S 873 So also in the vârtika गोर्यूतौ छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम्, there is this invisible व् before छ ॥ Therefore the âdeśa is अव् with the व्, that is, the व् is not elided.

Why the व is not liable to elision in गव्य and नाव्य by the application of VIII 3. 19 or 22, and why should it be so liable in गव्यूति only? The rules VIII 3 19 & 22 apply to pada bases only Now गो before यूति is a Pada; while गो or नौ before यत् is not a Pada but a Bha base, by I 4 18 S. 231.

६४ । धातोस्तन्निमित्तस्यैव ॥ ६ । १ । ८० ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये परे धातोरेचश्चेद्वान्तादेशस्तर्हि तन्निमित्तस्यैव नान्यस्य । लव्यम् । अवश्यलाव्यम् । तन्निमित्तस्यैवेति किम् ॥ ओयते । औयत ॥

64. For the final diphthongs ओ and औ of a root, are substituted अव् and आव् respectively, before an affix beginning with य्, then only when such diphthong has been itself first evolved by that affix.

The words एचः, वान्तोयि प्रत्यये are understood in this sûtra. The word तन्निमित्त means 'caused by that' i e. caused or occasioned by that affix beginning with य ॥ Thus लू forms its Future Passive Participle by यत् (III 1 97 S 2842.) this affix causes the guna of ऊ by VII 3 84 S 2168 Thus लू + य = लो + य, which according to the present sûtra becomes लव्यम्॥ So also पू—पो + य = पव्यम् ॥ लू + ण्यत् (III 1.125 S 3304) = लो + य = अवश्य लाव्यम् and अवश्य पाव्यम् ॥ Why do we say 'caused by that affix itself'? The substitution will not take place, when the change is not caused by that affix Thus the Passive of वे with the upasarga आ is आ + वे + यक् + ते ॥ Here by Samprasârana (VI 1.15 S 2409), वे becomes उ, as आ + उ + य + ते, now by sandhi आ + उ = ओ VI 1 87 S 69, we have ओ + यते = ओयते ॥ Since ओ is not caused by य, there is no अव् substitution. So also औयत, लौयमानिः, पौयमानिः (IV.1 95 S. 1095). The word एव in the aphorism has force of limitation, with regard to roots. In the case of roots, ओ and औ before य are changed then only to अव् and आव् when य has caused the production of ओ; औ; in case of nouns there is no such limitation. Here the substitution takes place whether the य has caused the production of ओ and औ or not.

६५ । क्षय्यजय्यौ शक्यार्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८१ ॥

यान्तादेशनिपातनार्थमिदम् ॥ क्षेतुं शक्यं क्षय्यम् । जेतुं शक्यं जय्यम् । शक्यार्थे किम् । क्षेतुं जेतुं योग्यं क्षेयं पापं जेयं मनः ॥

65. In क्षय्य and जय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए only then when the sense is that of "to be possible to do".

The roots क्षि and जि before the affix यत् (III. 1. 97 S. 2842). assume these forms when meaning to be able to do the action denoted by the verb. As शक्यः क्षेतुं = क्षय्य. (क्षि + य = क्षे + य), so also जय्य ॥ Why do we say when meaning "to be possible to do"? Observe क्षेयं पापं, जेयं मनः ॥ Here the meaning is that of 'necessity'.

६६ । क्रय्यस्तदर्थे ॥ ६ । १ । ८२ ॥

तस्मै प्रकृत्यर्थायेद तदर्थम्। केतार क्रीणीयुरिति बुद्ध्या आपणे प्रसारित क्रय्यम्। क्रेयमन्यत्। क्रयणार्हमित्यर्थ· ॥

66. In क्रय्य there is substitution of अय् for ए when the sense is that of 'exposed or put out for sale, saleable'.

The word क्रय्य is derived from क्री 'to buy', with the affix यत्, the guna ए being changed to अय् ॥ The word तदर्थ means 'for the purpose of that' i. e., for the purpose of being bought by the purchasers As क्रय्या गौः, क्रय्यः कम्बलः ॥ Why do we say 'when the sense is that of saleable'? Observe क्रेयं नो धान्य न चास्ति क्रय्यम् "we want to purchase corn, but it is not put out for sale".

६७ । लोपः शाकल्यस्य ॥ ८ । ३ । १९ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्वा लोपोऽशि परे ॥ पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति लोपशास्त्रस्यासिद्धत्वान्न स्वरसंधि । हर एहि । हरयेहि । विष्ण इह । विष्णविह । श्रिया उद्यतः श्रियायुद्यतः । गुरा उत्कः । गुरावुत्क ॥ कानि सन्ति कौ स्त इत्यत्रास्तेरल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वेन यणावादेशौ प्राप्तौ न पदान्तेतिसूत्रेण पदान्तविधौ तन्निषेधान्न स्तः ॥

67. व् and य् preceded by अ or आ and at the end of a pada, are elided before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śâkalya.

When this *lopa* once takes place, there is no further combination of vowels, because the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् of VIII. 2. 1. S 12 intervenes and makes this lopa as if non-existent. Thus, we have हरे+एहि=हरएहि or हरयेहि (O Hari; come). so also विष्णो+इह=विष्ण इह or विष्णविह । and श्रियै+उद्यतः =श्रियाउद्यत or श्रियायुद्यत, गुरौ+उत्क·=गुराउत्क· or गुरावुत्कः ॥

In the following examples कानि+सन्ति and कौ+स्तः the rule VI. 1 77 S 47 and this rule would have applied respectively because सन्ति is really असन्ति and स्तः is really अस्त the अ being elided. An âdeśa is equal to the स्थानि as we have been taught in Sutra I 1. 56 S.49. Therefore we ought to have forms like कान्यसन्ति and कास्तः, But this is prevented by Sutra I 1. 58 S 51. for an ádeśa is not equal to a स्थानि when a Padânta rule is to be applied. Now the substitution of semivowels by sûtra VI. 1. 77 S. 47 or the *lopa* of this Sûtra is a Padânta rule and hence the âdeśa is not equal to a Sthâni.

As क आस्ते or कयास्ते, काक आस्ते or काकयास्ते, अस्मा उद्धर or अस्मायुद्धर, द्वावत्र or द्वा अत्र, असावादित्य or असा आदित्यः ॥

६८ । एकः पूर्वपरयोः । ६ । १ । ८४ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

68 From here upto VI. 1. 111 inclusive is always to be supplied the phrase "for the preceding and the following one is substituted"

This is an adhikâra sûtra In every sûtra upto VI. 1 112 S. 255. (excluding the last), whatever we shall teach, there in the room of the two, namely, the preceding and the succeeding, it should be understood, that the substitution is one These form the well known rules of *ekâdesa*, one letter or form replacing two consecutive letters &c.

६९ । आद्गुणः ॥ ६ । १ । ८७ ॥

अवर्णादचि परे पूर्वपरयोरेको गुणादेश स्यात्संहितायाम् । उपेन्द्रः । रमेश । गङ्गोदकम् ॥

69. The guṇa is the single substitute of the final अ or आ of a preceding word and the simple vowel of the succeeding (अ or आ+a vowel=guṇa).

The word अचि is understood here For the vowel which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a vowel, in the room of both these vowels, there is the single substitute, namely, guna. Thus उप + इन्द्रः = उपेन्द्र , रमा + ईश = रमेश' , गङ्गा + उदकम् = गङ्गोदकम् ॥

७० । उरण् रपरः ॥ १ । १ । ५१ ॥

ऋ इति त्रिंशत संज्ञेत्युक्तम् । तत्स्थाने योऽण् स रपरः सन्नेव प्रवर्तते । तथान्तरतम्यात्कृष्णर्द्धि-रित्यत्राऽर् । तवल्कार इत्यत्राऽल् । अचो रहाभ्यामिति पक्षे द्वित्वम् ॥

70. When a letter of अण् pratyâhâra comes as a substitute for ऋ it is always followed by a र्.

This sûtra consists of three words *uis*, उः which is the genitive singular of ऋ and means literally 'of ऋ' or 'in the place of ऋ', the second word is अण्, a pratyâhâra denoting अ, इ and उ long and short, the third word is रपरः which qualifies अण् and means 'having a र after.'

This sûtra is useful in fixing the proper substitutes of ऋ ऌ Thus, there are only three guna vowels अ, ए and ओ Of these what is the proper guṇa for ऋ? By the application of the rule of 'nearness of place' we see that अ is the nearest substitute. So that अ is the guna of ऋ, and further by this rule, this अ must have a र् after it. Thus though technically speaking अ is the guṇa of ऋ, the actual substitute is अर् ॥

The र in the text has been taken by some to be a pratyâhâra formed by the letter र् and अ of लण्, and thus it includes the letters र् and ल. In that case the sûtra would mean that अण् substitutes of ऋ and ऌ are always followed by र् and ल् respectively. Thus the guṇa of ṛi = ar, of ḷi = al

It has already been taught that ऋ is the name of 30 letters. *Viz*—18 forms of ऋ and 12 forms of ऌ In the place of these 30 Vowels, whenever an अ and इ or उ is substituted, it must always be followed by a र् Therefore कृष्ण + ऋद्धिः = कृष्णर्द्धिः Here अ is followed by र् as the nearest substitute of ऋ Similarly तव + ऌकारः = तवल्कारः Here अ is followed by ल् as the nearest substitute of ऌ Similarly there is doubling when the rule अचो रहाभ्याम् (VIII. 4 46 S 59) is applied

७१। झरोझरि सवर्णे। ८। ४। ६५॥

हल· परस्य झरो लोपो वा स्यात्सवर्णे झरि। द्वित्वाभावे लोपे सत्येकधम्। असति लोपे द्वित्वलोप योर्वा द्विधम्। सति द्वित्वे लोपे चासति त्रिधम्। कृष्णर्धि। कृष्णर्द्धि। कृष्णर्द्द्धि॥ यण इति पञ्चमी मय इति षष्ठीति पक्षे ककारस्य द्वित्वम्। लस्य त्वनचि चेति। तेन तवल्कार इत्यत्र रूपचतुष्टयम्॥ Verse द्वित्व लस्यैव कस्यैव नोभयोरुभयोरपि। तवल्कारादिषु बुधैर्बोध्य रूपचतुष्टयम्॥

71. A mute or Sibilant (झर्) preceded by a consonant and followed by a homogeneous mute or sibilant, is optionally elided.

When there is not doubling and there is *lopa* under this rule, then we have only one ध् But when there is no *lopa* or when there is doubling, then we have two ध्s. Thirdly, when there is doubling, but there is no *lopa*, then we have three ध्s. Thus Kṛishṇaidhiḥ, or Kṛishnaiddhih or Kṛishṇardddhih

By the Vârtika यणो मयो द्वे वाच्ये (See Sutra 54), when यणः is taken in the ablative case and मयः in the genitive case, namely, when the Vârtika is translated as "after a यण letter, there is doubling of the मय letters," in that alternative the क् is also doubled in तवल्कार. The ल् here also will be doubled by the rule of अनचि च (VII 4 47 S 48). Therefore तवल्कारः will have 4 forms as given in the verse above mentioned As Tavalkâraḥ, Tavallkâraḥ; Tavalkkâraḥ, Tavallkkârah.

७२। वृद्धिरेचि। ६। १। ८८॥

आदेचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात्। गुणापवादः। कृष्णैकत्वम्। गङ्गौघ। देवैश्वर्यम्। कृष्णौत्कण्ठ्यम्॥

72. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute of अ or आ of a preceding word and the initial diphthong of the succeeding (अ or आ+diphthong=vṛiddhi).

The word आत् is understood here For the diphthong which follows an अ or आ, and for the अ or आ which precedes a diphthong, in the room of both these preceding and succeeding अ or आ and diphthong, there is a single substitute viz, the Vṛiddhi. This debars guṇa taught in the sûtra 69. Thus Kṛishṇa+Ekatvam=Kṛishṇai katvam, Gangâ+oghaḥ=Gangaughaḥ, Deva +aiśvaryam=devaiśvaryam Kṛishna+autkaṇthyam=Kṛishnaut kaṇṭhyam.

७३ । एत्येधत्यूठ्सु । ६ । १ । ८९ ॥

अवर्णादेजाद्योरेत्येधत्योरूठि च परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । पररूपगुणापवादः । उपैति । उपैधते । प्रष्ठौहः । एजाद्योः किम् । उपेतः । मा भवान्प्रेदिधत् । पुरस्तादपवादन्यायेनेयं वृद्धिरेङि पररूपमित्यस्यैव बाधिका न त्वोमाङोश्चेत्यस्य । तेनावैहीति वृद्धिरसाधुरेव ॥ अक्षादूहिन्यामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥ स्वादीरेरिणोः * ॥ स्वैरः । स्वेनेरितुं शीलमस्येति स्वैरी । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वैरिणी । प्रादूहोढोढ्येषैष्येषु * ॥ प्रौहः । प्रौढः ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ "प्रवेतिसूत्रे राजे पृथग् भ्राजिग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात्" । तेन ऊढग्रहणेन क्तान्तमेव गृह्यते न तु क्तवत्वन्तस्यैकदेशः । प्रोढवान् । प्रौढिः ॥ इष इच्छायां तुदादिः । इष गतौ दिवादिः । इष आभीक्ष्ण्ये क्र्यादिः । एषां घञि ण्यति च एष एष्यः इति रूपे । तत्र पररूपं प्राप्तेऽनेन वृद्धिः । प्रैषः । प्रैष्यः ॥ यस्तु ईष उञ्छे । यश्च ईष गतिहिंसादर्शनेषु । तयोर्दीर्घोपधत्वात् ईषः । ईष्यः । तत्राद्गुणे प्रेषः । प्रेष्यः ॥ ऋते च तृतीयासमासे * ॥ सुखेन ऋतः सुखार्तः । तृतीयेति किम् । परमर्तः ॥ प्रवत्सतरकम्बलवसनार्णदशानामृणे * ॥ प्रार्णम् । वत्सतरार्णमित्यादि ॥ ऋणस्यापनयनाय यदन्यदृणं क्रियते तदृणार्णम् । दशार्णो देशः । नदी च दशार्णा । ऋणशब्दो दुर्गभूमौ जले च ॥

73. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute for the अ or आ-।-ए of एति (root इ) and एधति (root एध), and for अ or आ-।-ऊ of ऊठ् (the substitute of वा in वाह् by VI. 4 132 S 329).

The whole of the last sûtra and स्यात् are understood here. The एच् of the last sûtra qualifies the root इ in एति, *i e* when the root इ assumes the form ए by internal changes, then applies this Vṛiddhi rule The एच् does not qualify the root एध् as that root always has an initial diphthong, nor does एच् qualify ऊठ् for ऊ is not a diphthong Thus उप + एति = उपैति, उप-।-एधते = उपैधते प्रष्ठ-।-ऊह = प्रष्ठौह ॥ In the last example, guna was the substitute required by VI. 1. 87 S 69, the present sûtra ordains Vṛiddhi instead In the case of एति and एधति, the Vṛiddhi was debarred by VI 1 94, S 78 this sûtra makes an exception to that rule. The present sûtra is an exception to VI 1 94 and not to VI. 1. 95, S. 80 because the maxim is पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules." Therefore the present rule does not apply here, — उप + आ-।-इत = उप + एत = उपेतः (Here though इ is changed to ए, the rule does not apply) Therefore the form अवैहि is wrong. So also उप-। इत = उपेतः for here the root इ has not assumed the form ए, therefore the rule does not apply, the word एचि qualifies the root इ ॥

Vârt —The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when अक्ष is followed by ऊहिनी, as अक्षौहिणी सेना ॥

Vârt —The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when स्व is followed by ईर or ईरिन्, or ईरिणी thus स्वैरम्, स्वैरी, स्वैरिणी ॥ The word ईर is formed by the affix घञ् added to ईर् गतौ (Ad. 8 स्वेनाभिप्रायेण ईरणं = स्वैरम् the compounding takes place by II. 1 32. S. 694) Another form is स्वैरी = स्वेनाभिप्रायेणेर ते गच्छति with the affix णिनि (III. 2. 78 S, 2988).

Vârt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when प्र is followed by ऊह, ऊढ, ऊढि, एष, एष्य, as प्रौहः, प्रौढ, प्रौढि, प्रैष:, प्रैष्यः ॥ But by the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम्, a maxim which we infer from the sutra VIII. 2 36 S. 294 where the word भ्राज is taken separately from राज, the rule applies only to ऊढ and not to ऊढवान् Therefore we have प्रोढवान् and not प्रौढवान्. The word एष is derived from the root इषु 'to wish' (Tud 59), इष 'to go' (Div. 18) and इष 'to repeat' (Kry 53), by adding the affix घञ्, and the word एष्य is derived from the same roots by adding ण्यत् ॥ This Vârtika ordains Vriddhi, while VI 1 94 would have caused पररूप ॥ While the roots ईष 'to glean' and ईष 'to go' to injure, 'to show'. (Bh 115 and 642), form ईष and ईष्य with the above affixes, and with प्र, their forms will be प्रेष. and प्रेष्यः ॥

Vârt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when a word ending in अ is followed by ऋत and forms an Instrumental Tatpurusha compound as सुखेन ऋत· = सुखार्तः ॥ Why in Instrumental? Observe परमर्तः ॥

Vârt —The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the word ऋण follows the following —प्र, वत्सतर, कम्बल, वसन ॥ As प्रार्णम् 'principal debt', वत्सतरार्णम् 'the debt of a steer'.

Vârt —So also when the words ऋण and दश are followed by ऋण·—as, ऋणार्णम् and दशार्णम् ॥ The word ऋणार्ण means a debt incurred to pay off a prior debt The Dasârna is the name of a river and of a country The word ऋण means inaccessible place as well as water, in addition to its well-known meaning of debt

७४ । उपसर्गादृति धातौ । ६ । १ । ९१ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ धातौ परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । प्रार्च्छति । उपार्च्छति ॥

74. The Vriddhi is the single substitute when the अ or आ of a preposition (upsarga) is followed by the short ऋ of a verb.

The word आत् is understood here also. When a preposition ending in अ or आ is followed by a root beginning with ऋ, the Vriddhi is the single substitute for the precedent अ or आ and the subsequent ऋ ॥ This debars the guna taught in VI 1 87 S 69 Thus उप + ऋच्छति = उपार्च्छति, प्रार्च्छति ॥

७५ । अन्तादिवच्च । ६ । १ । ८५ ॥

योऽयमेकादेशः स पूर्वस्यान्तवत्परस्यादिवत्स्यात् । इति रेफस्य पदान्तत्वे ॥

75. And this single substitute is considered as the final of the preceding (form), and the initial of the succeeding (form).

The single substitute taught in VI. 1. 84 S 68 is considered in the

light of the final of the preceding form and the initial of the succeeding An âdeśa is like the sthâni, but in an ekâdeśa, the sthâni is indeterminate, or rather the sthâni is the *collection* or the *sum* of the preceding and the succeeding Hence the necessity of this sûtra

Therefore the र् is Padanta in उपार्च्छति &c, and being considered as final, the next rule applies —

७६ । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । १५ ॥

खरि अवसाने च परे रेफस्य विसर्जनीयः स्यात्पदान्ते । इति विसर्गे प्राप्ते । अन्तवद्भावेन पदान्तरेफस्य न विसर्गः । उभयथर्क्षु कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोरित्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥ उपसर्गेणैव धातोराक्षेपे सिद्धे धाताविति योगविभागेन पुनर्वृद्धिविधानार्थम् । तेन ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकोऽपि प्रकृतिभावोऽत्र न भवति ॥

76 The Visarjanîya is substituted for र् before a खर् consonant or when there is a Pause, provided this र् is final in a pada.

The word र:is understood The visarga is the substitute of र् final in a Pada, before surd consonants and sibilants, or at a Pause.

Therefore the र् of उपार्च्छति should be changed into visarga, but this is not so , because Pânini himself in his Sûtras उभयथर्क्षु (VIII 3 8, S 3630) and कर्तरिचर्षिदेवतयोः (III. 2. 186, S 3167) has not changed the र् into visarga

The word upsarga itself denotes its correlative dhâtu, as the word father denotes the correlative word son

The repetition of the word dhâtu in the sûtra VI 1 91 S. 74 is used in order to prevent the application of the rule VI 1. 129, S. 92 which causes प्रकृतिभाव or non-sandhi of ऋ The optional non-sandhi is even prohibited with regard to this ऋ.

७७ । वा सुप्यापिशलेः । ६ । १ । ९२ ॥

अवर्णान्तादुपसर्गादृकारादौ सुब्धातौ परे वृद्धिर्वा स्यात् । आपिशलिग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । प्रार्षभीयति । प्रर्षभीयति । सावर्ण्यात् ऌवर्णस्य ग्रहणम् ॥ प्राल्कारीयति । प्रल्कारीयति । तपरत्वाद्दीर्घे न । उपऋकारीयति उपर्कारीयति ॥

.77 According to the opinion of Âpiśali, the Vṛiddhi is optionally the single substitute, when the अ or आ of a preposition is followed by a Denominative Verb beginning with ऋ ॥

Thus प्रार्षभीयति or प्रर्षभीयति प्राल्कारीयति or प्रल्कारीयति ॥ The ऋ and ऌ are considered as homogenous letters, therefore the word ऋ in the last sutra includes ऌ also The name of the Grammarian Âpiśali is mentioned for the sake of respect , the वा itself was enough to make it an optional rule.

The short ऋ and short ऌ are only to be taken, because the letter ऋ in the sûtra has a त after it. Therefore the rule would not apply to long ॠ Therefore we have only one form in उप + ॠकारीयति = उपर्कारीयति

७८ । एङि पररूपम् । ६ । १ । ९४ ॥

आदुपसर्गादेङादौ धातौ परे पररूपमेकादेश स्यात् । प्रेजते । उपोषति । इह वा सुपीत्यनुवर्त्य वाक्यभेदेन व्याख्येयम् ॥ तेन एङादौ सुब्धातौ वा ॥ उपेडकीयति । उपैडकीयति । प्रोघीयति । प्रौघीयति ॥ एवे चानियोगे ॥ नियोगोऽवधारणम् । क्वेव भोक्ष्यसे । अनवक्लृप्तावेवशब्द. । अनियोगे किम् । तवैव ॥

78. For the अ or आ of the Preposition + ए or ओ of a verbal root, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The words आत्, उपसर्गाद्धातौ are understood here In an upasarga ending in अ or आ followed by a root beginning with ए or ओ, the vowels coalesce and the single-substitute is the form of the second vowel (पररूप ॥ This debars Vriddhi taught in VI 1. 88 S 72 Thus प्रेजते, उपोषति ॥ Some read into this sûtra the option allowed by VI 1 92, S 77 according to them the para-rûpa substitution is optional in the case of Denominative roots Thus उपेडकीयति or उपैडकीयति, प्रोघीयति or प्रौघीयति,

Vârt —The Para-rûpa substitution takes place when एव follows a word and the sense is not that of 'appointment.' Thus क्वेवभोक्ष्यसे (where will you eat) meaning there is no room for you to sit and eat or I do not think that you will get food to eat. Here the sense of एव is that of uncertainty When the sense is that of नियोग the Vṛiddhi takes place as तवैव, (Thy alone.)

७९ । अचोऽन्त्यादि टि । १ । १ । ६४ ॥

अचां मध्ये योऽन्त्यः स आदिर्यस्य तट्टिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥ शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ॥ तच्च टेः ॥ शकन्धुः ॥ कर्कन्धुः । कुलटा । सीमन्तः केशवेशे । सीमान्तोऽन्यः । मनीषा । हलीषा । लाङ्गलीषा । पतञ्जलि ॥ सारङ्ग पशुपक्षिणोः । साराङ्गोऽन्यः ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ मार्तण्डः । ओत्वोष्ठयोः समासे वा ॥ स्थूलोतुः । स्थूलौतुः । बिम्बोष्ठ । बिम्बौष्ठः । समासे किम् । तवौष्ठः ॥

79. The final portion of a word, beginning with the last among the vowels in the word, is called टि.

This sûtra defines टि It is that portion of a word which is included between the last letter and the nearest vowel Thus in the word अग्निचित् the portion इत् is टि, so also in सोमसुत् the portion उत्.

The word अचः in the sûtra is in the genitive case, which has the force of nirdhârana or specification; and though it is in the singular number, it represents class name, meaning 'among the vowels'

This sutra is used here in order to make it applicable to the following *Vârtikas.*

Vârtt —The Para-rûpa substitution takes place in the case of शकन्धुः etc It takes place in the टि portion of these words and not merely of the letter अ, though the anuvritti of आत् is understood here Had the Para-rupa been only of अ, we could not have got the forms like मनीषा which is formed by मनस्+ईषा The following is the list of Sakandhwâdi words—1. शकन्धुः—the well of the Sakás (शक + अन्धु well) 2 कर्कन्धु —the well of the Karkâs 3 कुलटा—unchaste woman (कुल + अटा) 4 सीमन्त—सीम + अन्त (hair parting when not meaning 'hair parting, the form is सीमान्त the boundary limit). 5 मनीषा—the lord of the mind 6. हलीषा—हलि + ईषा (Here ईषा means plough stick) 7. लाङ्गलीषा. 8 पतञ्जलिः—पतन्तः + अञ्जली (one to whom handfuls of offering are made *i. e* an honored man). So also 9 सारङ्ग when meaning a variegated beast or a bird, otherwise the form is साराङ्ग—सार + अङ्ग. (the chief member of a body)

The Śakandhwadi is an Âkritigana, i. e. no complete list of this class is given anywhere, but whenever we find a compound word, in which a para-rupa substitution has taken place, to the exclusion of the ordinary rules of Sandhi, we may safely place that word in this class. Thus मृत + अण्ड = मृतण्ड from which we have the secondary derivative form मार्तण्ड । We have the regular form मार्ताण्ड also

Vart —The Para-rûpa substitution takes place optionally when ओतु and ओष्ठ are compounded with another word as स्थूल ओतु = स्थूलौतुः or स्थूलोतु, so also बिम्बौष्ठी or बिम्बोष्ठी ॥ When not a compound the Vriddhi is compulsory. as तवौष्ठ

८० । ओमाङोश्च । ६ । १ । ९५ ॥

ओमि आङि चात्परे पररूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । शिवायोंनमः ॥ शिव एहि । शिवेहि ॥

80. For the अ or आ + ओ of ओम, or + the vowel of the Preposition आङ्, the second vowel is the single substitute.

The आत् is understood here. Thus शिवाय + ओम् नमः = शिवायों नम Similarly शिव + आ + इहि = शिव + एहि = शिवेहि ॥

Question :—In the last example the form could have been obtained by the regular rules of Sandhi also, as शिव + आ + इहि = शिवा + इहि = शिवेहि. Where is then the necessity of this rule ?

Answer.—The आ could not combine with शिव, for the rule पूर्वं धातुरुपसर्गेण युज्यते the upasarga must first combine with the dhâtu and then other Sandhi rules must take place The combination of उपसर्ग and धातु is an antaranga rule, while Sandhi is merely a bahiranga rule Therefore आ first combines with the dhâtu इहि and forms एहि and then this एहि combines with शिव ॥

८१ । अव्यक्तानुकरणस्यात इतौ । ६ । १ । ९८ ॥

ध्वनेरनुकरणस्य योऽच्छब्दस्तस्मादितौ परे पररूपमेकादेश स्यात् । पटत् इति पटिति ॥ एकाचो न ॥ श्रादिति ॥

81. The इ of इति is the single substitute for the अत् (of a word denoting imitation of an inarticulate sound) + इति ॥

The sound which is not distinct and clear, is called अव्यक्त , when some one utters distinctly something which has some resemblance to that sound, by some contrivance, it is called अनुकरण or imitation of that sound Thus पटत् + इति = पटिति ॥

Vârt —This applies when the word consists of more than one syllable. Therefore it does not apply in the following —श्रत् + इति = श्रादिति ॥

८२ । नाम्रेडितस्यान्त्यस्य तु वा । ६ । १ । ९९ ॥

आम्रेडितस्य प्रागुक्त न स्यादन्तस्य तु तकारमात्रस्य वा स्यात् ॥ डाचि बहुल द्वे भवत इति बहुलवचनाद्द्वित्वम् ॥

82. This substitution does not take place when a sound-imitation word is doubled, here, however, for the final त्+इ of इति, the single substitute is optionally इ (the second vowel).

Vârtik·—There is diversely the repetition of the word when the affix डाच् follows ,

The doubling takes place by this *Vârtika.* The word âmreḍita is defined in the next sutra

८३ । तस्य परमाम्रेडितम् । ८ । १ । २ ॥

द्विरुक्तस्य पर रूपमाम्रेडितसज्ञ स्यात् । पटत्पटति ॥

83. Of that which is twice uttered, the latter word-form is called âmreḍita (repeated).

Thus पटत् पटत् + इति = पटत्पट + इ + ति = पटत्पटेति Now, this para-rûpa rule is optional The regular form therefore, will be without the elision of the final अत् as पटत् + पटत् + इति = पटत् पटदिति The त् is changed to द् by the next sutra.

८४ । झलां जशोऽन्ते । ८ । २ । ३९ ॥

पदान्ते झलां जश स्युः । पटत्पटदिति ॥

84. A corresponding ज, ब, ग, ड or द is substituted

for all consonants (with the exception of semivowels and nasals) at the end of a word.

As वाग् अत्र, श्वलिड् अत्र, अग्निचिद् अत्र, त्रिष्टुब अत्र ॥

८५ । अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः । ६ । १ । १०१ ॥

अकः सवर्णेऽचि परे दीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् । दैत्यारिः । श्रीशः । विष्णूदयः । अचि किम् । कुमारी शेते । नाज्झलाविति सावर्ण्यनिषेधस्तु न दीर्घशकारयोः । ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्य सावर्ण्यविधिनिषेधाभ्यां प्रागनिष्पत्तेः । अकः किम् । हरये ॥ " अकोऽकि दीर्घ इत्येव सुवचम् ॥" ऋति सवर्णे ॠ वा ॥ होतॄकार । होतृकारः ॥ लृति सवर्णे ॡ वा ॥ होतॢकार । पक्षे ऋकार सावर्ण्यात् । होतृकार । ऋति ॠ वा लृति ॡ वेत्युभयत्रापि विधेय वर्णद्वय द्विमात्रम् । आद्यस्य मध्ये द्वौ रेफौ तयोरेका मात्रा । अभितोऽज्भक्तेरपरा । द्वितीयस्य तु मध्ये द्वौ लकारौ । शेष प्राग्वत् । इहोभयत्रापि ऋत्यक इति पाक्षिकः प्रकृतिभावो वक्ष्यते ॥

85. When a simple vowel is followed by a homogenous vowel, the corresponding long vowel is the single substitute for both the precedent and the subsequent vowels.

Thus दैत्य + अरि = दैत्यारि , श्री + ईशः = श्रीश ; विष्णु + उदय = विष्णूदय । Why do we say "when a *vowel* follows"? Observe कुमारी शेते The word अचि is understood here also The word सवर्णे, therefore, qualifies the word अचि understood The rule will not apply if a homogenous consonant follows As कुमारी शेते ॥ The ई and श are homogenous, in spite of I 1. 10 S. 13 for that prohibition does not apply to the long ई and श, because the rule of classification and inclusion contained in अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I 1 69 S, 14) is not brought into operation at the time when नाज् झलौ (I. 1 10) rule operates, because of its being a portion of सवर्ण rule. Therefore, so long as it does not come into operation it is not accomplished Therefore first the rule of नाज् झलौ comes into play, then the rule of सवर्ण definition (I 1 9 S 10) and then comes the ग्रहणकवाक्य (I 1 68 S 25) Therefore in नाज् झलौ those अच् only are taken which are not included in the *class* of homogenous vowels i e only the 9 vowels contained *directly* in अच्, and not the सवर्ण vowels which I 1 68 would have denoted. Therefore though *short* इ and श are not सवर्ण by I 1 10 the *long* ई and श would be savarna. The sutra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घ would have been more clear if stated as अकोकि दीर्घः । Why do we say 'an अक् or simple vowel ?' Observe हरे + ए = हरये. Why do we say 'by a homogenous vowel ?' Observe दधि + अत्र = दध्यत्र ॥

Vârt.—When ऋ short is followed by ऋ short, the long substitution is optional so also with लृ ॥ This vârtika is necessitated because (1) the two ऋ or लृ—the precedent and the subsequent—are not homogenous, because one is samvrita and the other vivrita, or (2) because their prosodial length is 1½ and so the word दीर्घ cannot be applied with consistency in their case (ऋकाल &c)

Or 3rdly (and this is the opinion of Bhattoji Dikshita) the single substitute short ऋ or short ऌ (which comes in the place of ऋ+ऋ or ऋ+ऌ) is *really* long consisting of two mâtras, in this way:—होतृ + ऋकारः = होतृ ऱ् ऱ्+ ऋकारः ॥ These two ऱ्'s are not visible in writing, but are there. They constitute one mâtrâ, for each consonant has half a mâtrâ. Thus one mâtrâ of two ऱ्'s and one mâtrâ of ऋ make two mâtrâs really and though apparently short ऋ is retained, it is practically long. Similarly in the case of ऌ there are two ल्'s. In other words, the short ऋ (that comes in the place of two ऋ's) contains latent in it two ऱ्'s, of one mâtrâ and its own self of one mâtrâ. Similarly the single *substitute* ऌ contains merged in it two ल्'s (of one mâtrâ) and its own self of one mâtrâ.

Thus होतृ + ऋकारः = होतृकारः or होतॄकारः, so also होतृ + ऌकारः ॥ होतॣकारः or होतॄकारः ॥ The दीर्घ of ऌ is ॠ ॥

Moreover, by the rule of ऋत्यकः VI 1. 128. S. 92 the Sandhi is optional.

८६ । एङः पदान्तादति । ६ । १ । १०९ ॥

पदान्तादेङोऽति परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेऽव । विष्णोऽव ॥

86. In the room of ए or ओ final in a Pada, and the short अ, which follows it, is substituted the single vowel of the form of the first (ए or ओ) ॥

Thus हरे + अव = हरेऽव, विष्णो + अव = विष्णोऽव ॥ This supersedes the substitutes अय् and अव् ॥

८७ । सर्वत्र विभाषा गोः । ६ । १ । १२२ ॥

लोके वेदे चैङन्तस्य गोरति वा प्रकृतिभावः स्यात्पदान्ते । गोअग्रम् । गोऽग्रम् । एङन्तस्य किम् चित्रग्वग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गोः ॥

87. After गो (when it retains the form गो and is final in a pada) the subsequent अ may optionally be retained everywhere, in the Vedas as well as in the secular literature.

Thus गोऽग्रम् or गो अग्रम् ॥ Why do we say ending in an एङ् vowel? Observe चित्रगु + अग्रम् = चित्रग्वग्रम्. Here गो does not end in ओ but has assumed the form गु and so the rule does not apply

Why do we say at the end of a pada? Observe गोः :

८८ । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्य । ६ । १ । १२३ ॥

अतीति निवृत्तम् । अचि परे पदान्ते गोरवङ् वा स्यात् । गवाग्रम् । पदान्ते किम् । गवि । व्यवस्थितविभाषया गवाक्षः ॥

88. According to the opinion of Sphoṭâyana, there is the substitution of अवङ् for the ओ of गो when it is followed by any vowel.

The anuvritti of अति ceases, that of अचि manifests itself. Thus गो + अग्र = गवाग्रम्, so also गवाजिनम्, गवोदनम् गवोष्ट्रम्, or in the alternative we have गोऽग्रम्, गोऽजिनम्, गवौदनम्, गवुष्ट्रम् ॥ The mention of Sphoṭâyana is for the sake of respect, for the anuvritti of विभाषा was already understood in it. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गवि. This is a vyavasthita vibhâshâ, hence in गवाक्ष the अवङ् substitution is compulsory and not optional.

८९ । इन्द्रे च । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

गोरवङ् स्यादिन्द्रे । गवेन्द्रः ॥

89. The substitution of अव for the ओ of गो is compulsory when the word इन्द्र follows it.

Thus गवेन्द्र ॥

Note —The Pânini reads this sûtra as इन्द्रेच नित्यम् ॥ Bhattoji has read the word nityam, in the next sûtra, instead of this.

———:o.———

अथ प्रकृतिभावः ॥

CHAPTER IV.

NON-SANDHI.

९० । प्लुतप्रगृह्या अचि नित्यम् । ६ । १ । १२५ ॥

प्लुताः प्रगृह्याश्च वक्ष्यन्ते तेऽचि नित्यं प्रकृत्या स्युः । एहि कृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्चरति । हरी एतौ । नित्यमिति किम् । हरी एतौ इत्यादावयमेव प्रकृतिभावो यथा स्यादिकोऽसवर्णे इति ह्रस्वसमुच्चितो माभूत् ॥

90. The Pluta (VIII. 2. 82 etc. S. 93) and Pragrihya (I. 1. 11 etc. S. 100.) vowels always remain unaltered when followed by a vowel (so far as the operation of that vowel is concerned).

Thus एहिकृष्ण ३ अत्र गौश्चरति, हरी एतौ ॥ The force of the word *nitya* is that these pluta and pragrihya always retain their form and are not influenced by the rule of shortening given below.

Thus in हरी ईशौ "The two Haris (Hari and Har) are Lords," the present sûtra applies fully, for the long ई of हरी being Pragrhya, because it is the ई of the dual number, retains its form The subsequent rule does not apply, because ई is followed by a savarna letter, *i e* ई In चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र "The chakrin is here", the ई of चक्री is neither Pluta nor Pragrihya, because it is Nom. Singular. and therefore the subsequent rule of shortening fully applies to it, there being no scope for the application of any other rule.

But in हरी + एतौ both the present sûtra and the subsequent sûtra find scope, and the subsequent sûtra would make it हरि एतौ ॥ But the word nitya prevents this, and we have हरी एतौ ॥

९१ । इकोऽसवर्णे शाकल्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च । ६ । १ ।१२७ ॥

पदान्ता इकोऽसवर्णेऽचि परे प्रकृत्या स्युर्ह्रस्वश्च वा । अत्र ह्रस्वविधिसामर्थ्यादेव प्रकृतिभावे सिद्धे तदनुकर्षणार्थश्चकारो न कर्तव्य इति भाष्ये स्थितम् । चक्रि अत्र । चक्र्यत्र । पदान्ता इति किम् । गौर्यौ ॥ न समासे * ॥ वाप्यश्वः ॥ सिति च * ॥ पार्श्वम् ॥

91. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowels with the exception of अ, when followed by a non-homogenous vowel, retain their original forms; and if the vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus चक्री + अत्र = चक्रि अत्र ॥ In the alternative we have चक्र्यत्र ॥

The name of Śâkalya is mentioned for the sake of respect Because the alternative nature of this sûtra is clear from its very formation. According to Mahâbhâshya, the च in the sûtra is redundant. If it be said that च is necessary to draw the anuvritti of Prakriti-bhâva, that is not the case. For the mere fact of making the long vowel short, shows that there is Prakriti bhâva. For if there were to take place Sandhi after shortening, as चक्री + अत्र = चक्रिअत्र = चक्र्यत्र, then where is the good of shortening, for the last form could have been obtained without shortening. Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe गौर्यौ ॥

Two Vârt:—This rule of Śâkalya is prohibited in the case of words which form invariable compounds (nitya samâsa) and of words formed by an affix having an indicatory स् —Thus अय ते योनिर्ऋत्वियः, प्रजां विदाम ऋत्वियाम् The word ऋत्विय is formed by a सित् affix, namely by घस् (V. 1. 106 S. 3495), added to ऋतु and therefore the उ is changed to व ॥ Before a सित् affix the previous word is considered a pada (I. 4 16). Of nitya-compounds are वैयाकरण, सौवश्व, व्याकरणं, कुमार्यर्थम् which are so by II. 2 18 S. 761. Thus वाच्यश्व is an example of compound, and पार्श्वम् formed by the affix णस् see I. 4. 16, S. 1252.

९२ । ऋत्यकः । ६ । १ । १२८ ॥

ऋति परेऽकः प्राग्वत् । ब्रह्म ऋषि । ब्रह्मर्षिः । पदान्ता इत्येव । आर्च्छत् । समासेऽप्ययं प्रकृतिभाव । सप्तऋषीणाम् । सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥

92. According to the opinion of Śâkalya, the simple vowel followed by ऋ retains its original form, and if the simple vowel is long, it is shortened.

Thus ब्रह्मा + ऋषि = ब्रह्मऋषि or ब्रह्मर्षि . ॥ The इक् vowels must be final in a Pada here also, otherwise we have Sandhi as आ + ऋच्छत् = आर्च्छत् ॥ Even in compound this non-modification is observed, thus सप्त + ऋषीणाम् सप्तऋषीणाम् or सप्तर्षीणाम् ॥ Why do we say when followed by ऋ? Observe, खट्वेन्द्र ॥ Why do we say "the simple vowels (अक)"? Observe वृक्षावृश्चः (वृक्षौ + ऋश्च) ॥ This rule applies even when the vowels are homogenous (which were excepted by the last rule), and it is not confined to इक् vowels as the last, but applies to अ and आ also

९३ । वाक्यस्य टेः प्लुत उदात्तः । ८ । २ । ८२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ।

93. Upto the close of this chapter (Second Pâda of the Eight Adhyâya), is always to be supplied: "the last vowel of a sentence is pluta and has the acute".

This is an adhikâra sûtra. All the three words *i. e.* "the last vowel

(टि) of a sentence", "pluta" and "acute"—are to be supplied in the subsequent aphorisms to complete the sense, upto the end of this Pâda. Whatever we shall treat hereafter will refer to the final vowel (टि) in a sentence, and it will get the pluta lengthening and acute accent.

९४ । प्रत्यभिवादेऽशूद्रे । ८ । २ । ८३ ॥

अशूद्रविषये प्रत्यभिवादे यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् स चोदात्तः । अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहम् । भो आयुष्मानेधि देवदत्त३ ॥ स्त्रियां न ॥ अभिवादये गार्ग्यहम् । भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गि ॥ नाम गोत्रं वा यत्र प्रत्यभिवादवाक्यान्ते प्रयुज्यते तत्रैव प्लुत इष्यते । नेह । आयुष्मानेधि ॥ भोराजन्यविशां वेति वाच्यम् ॥ आयुष्मानेधि भो३ः । आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रवर्म३न् । आयुष्मानेधीन्द्रपालित३ ॥

94. In answer to a salutation, but not when it refers to a Śûdra, the last vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and gets the acute accent.

The word अभिवादन means "respectful salutation of a superior or elder by an inferior or junior for the sake of obtaining his blessing. It consists of three acts 1. rising from the seat, 2 touching of the feet, 3. the uttering of the formula of salutation." The word प्रत्यभिवादन means, the blessing given by the superior or elder in answer to such salutation. In giving utterance to such blessing, the last vowel of the final word gets udâtta and acute, provided that, such blessing is not pronounced on a Śûdra.

Thus अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहम् "I do salute you, I am devadatta" is said by Devadatta to his Guru. The latter says भो आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त३ ॥ "O Devadatta! be thou long-lived"

Vârt:—Prohibition must be stated with regard to women also. As अभिवादये गार्ग्यहं is said by Gârgî. To this the Guru replies.—भो आयुष्मती भव गार्गि! ॥

Ishti:—This prolation takes place there only, where the Proper Noun Gotra &c with which the salutation was made, is employed by the Guru at the end of the sentence; and not where the position of the Proper Name &c is different. Therefore not here, देवदत्त कुशल्यसि, देवदत्त आयुष्मान् एधि, for here the word Devadatta is not used at the end of a sentence.

Vârt:—The prolation is optional, when भो follows such Proper Name, or when the Person addressed is a Kshatriya or a Vaishya. As भो अभिवादये देवदत्तोऽहं ॥ Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भो३ or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि देवदत्त भोः ॥ So also when a Kshatriya is addressed, as अभिवादये इन्द्रवर्म्माहं भोः, Reply (1) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्म३न् or (2) आयुष्मान् एधि इन्द्रवर्म्मन् ॥ Vaishya अभिवादये इन्द्रपालितोऽहं भोः ॥ Guru : आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित३ or आयुष्मानेधि इन्द्रपालित ॥

९५ । दूराद्धूते च । ८ । २ । ८४ ॥

दूरात्सम्बोधने यद्वाक्यं तस्य टेः प्लुतः स्यात् । सक्तून्पिब देवदत्त३ ॥

95. The final vowel of a sentence becomes pluta and acute, when used in calling a person from a distance.

The word हूत here includes, 'addressing in general', and not only 'calling' Thus there is prolation here सक्तून् पिब देवदत्ता ३ O devadatta ! drink the gruel"

९६ । हैहेप्रयोगे हैहयोः । ८ । २ । ८५ ॥

एतयो प्रयोगे दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्यं तत्र हैहयोरेव प्लुत स्यात् । हे ३ राम । राम हे ३ ॥

96. When the words है and हे are employed, in addressing a person from a distance, there the है and हे alone get the pluta and the accent.

As हे ३ राम, or राम हे ३ ॥

९७ । गुरोरनृतोनन्त्यस्याप्येकैकस्य प्राचाम् । ८ । २ । ८६ ॥

दूराद्धूते यद्वाक्य तस्य ऋकारवर्जितस्यानन्त्यस्यापि गुरोर्वा प्लुत॰ स्यात् । दे ३ वदत्त । देवद ३ त्त । देवदत्त ३ । गुरोः किम् । वकारात्परस्याकारस्य मा भूत । अनृतः किम् । कृष्ण ३ । एकैकग्रहण पर्यायार्थम् । इह प्राचामिति योगो विभज्यते । तेन सर्व प्लुतो विकल्प्यते ॥

97 In the room of a prosodially long vowel, (with the exception of ऋ) though it may not stand at the end, there is substituted a pluta for one at a time, under the above circumstances (of two previous Sutras,) in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians.

This sûtra indicates a special sthânin for the pluta vowel tought by the two previous Sutras With the exception of ऋ, for every heavy vowel though it may not be the final vowel of the vocative word, and for the final vowel also, but only one at a time, there is pluta substitution, in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians. Thus दे ३ वदत्त or देवद ३ त्त or देवदत्त ३ ॥

Why do we say गुरो॰ "of a prosodially long vowel"? So that the अ of व in Devadatta may not be prolated, for this अ is short.

Why do we say अनृतः "with the exception of ऋ"? Observe कृष्ण ३ ॥

The word एकैकस्य shows that the prolation should not be simultaneous, but of one at a time , not दे ३ वद ३ त्त ३ ॥

The word प्राचाम् "in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" is used for the sake of creating option So in one alternative, there is no prolation *at all.*

९८। अप्लुतवदुपस्थिते। ६। १। १२९॥

उपस्थितोऽनार्ष इतिशब्दस्तस्मिन्परे प्लुतोऽप्लुतवद्भवति। अप्लुतकार्यं यणादिकं करोतीत्यर्थः। सुश्लोक ३ इति। सुश्लोकेति। वत्किम्। अप्लुत इत्युक्तेऽप्लुत एव विधीयेत प्लुतश्च निषिध्येत। तथा च प्रगृह्याश्रये प्रकृतिभावे प्लुतस्य श्रवणं न स्यात्। अग्नी ३ इति॥

98. Before the word इति in the Padapâṭha, a Pluta vowel is treated like an ordinary apluta vowel.

The word उपस्थित means the affixing of इति in non-Rishi texts, i e. when a Vedic text is split up into its various padas or words and इति is added. That is in Padapâtha, the pluta is treated like an ordinary vowel, and hence there being no प्रकृतिभाव (VI. 1. 125), there is sandhi Thus सुश्लोका३ इति = सुश्लोकेति॥ Why have we used the word वत् "like as", instead of saying "the Pluta becomes Apluta" why do we say "Pluta is treated like apluta"? By not using वत्, the whole Pluta itself would be changed into Apluta, and would give rise to the following incongruity There is prakriti bhâva in the case of pluta and pragrihya. A vowel which is pluta need not be pragrihya, nor a pragrihya, a pluta But where a vowel is both a pluta and a pragrihya at one and the sametime, there will arise the difficulty. Thus in the dual अग्नी, the ई is pragrihya. It may be made pluta also as अग्नी ३॥ Now if before इति the pluta *became* apluta, then we shall not hear the prolation at all in अग्नी इति formed by अग्नी ३ + इति॥ For here the vowels will retain their form by being pragrihya by VI. 1. 125, S. 90, and in addition to that they will lose their pluta, by the present rule. But this is not intended Hence the pluta is heard in अग्नी ३ इति॥

९९। ई३ चाक्रवर्मणस्य। ६। १। १३०॥

ई३ प्लुतोऽचि परेऽप्लुतवद्वा स्यात्। चिनुहि ३ इति। चिनुहीति। चिनुहि ३ इदम्। चिनुहीदम्। उभयत्र विभाषेयम्॥

99. According to the the opinion of Châkravarmaṇa, the pluta ई ३ followed by a vowel is treated like an ordinary vowel.

Thus चिनु हि ३ इति = चिनुहीति॥ चिनु ही३ इदम् or चिनुहीदम्॥ The name of Châkravarmaṇa is used for the sake of making this an optional rule This option applies to इति rule (VI. 1. 129, S. 98) as well as to words other than इति॥ In the case of इति it allows *sandhi* optionally, when by the last rule there would have been always sandhi. In the case of words other than इति it ordains *prakriti bhâva* optionally, when there would have been always prakriti bhâva by VI. 1. 125, S 90. This is a case of उभयत्रविभाषा, prâpta and aprâpta both.

१०० । ईदूदेद्द्विवचनम् प्रगृह्यम् । १ । १ । ११ ॥

ईदूदेदन्तं द्विवचनं प्रगृह्यसंज्ञं स्यात् । हरी एतौ । विष्णू इमौ । गङ्गे अमू । पचेते इमौ । मणीवोष्ट्रस्येति तु इवार्थे वशब्दो वा बोध्यः ॥

100. A dual case affix ending in ई or ऊ or ए is called Prag*r*ihya, or excepted vowels which do not admit of sandhi or conjunction.

As a general rule, Sanskrit allows of no hiatus in a sentence. If a word ends in a vowel, and the next word begins with a vowel, the two vowels coalesce, according to certain rules. This is called sandhi. But pragṛihyas are exceptions to this sandhi, "they are certain terminations, the final vowels of which are not liable to any sandhi rules." This sûtra gives three of these terminations, *viz.*, the duals of nouns or verbs ending in ई (ईत्), ऊ (ऊत्), or ए (एत्) ॥ Thus:—हरी एतौ, विष्णू इमौ; गङ्गे अमू. Here according to the general rule of sandhi, the final ई of हरी and the initial इ of इमौ ought to have coalesced into an ई, but it is not so, because हरी is the nominative dual of हरि ॥

Vârt:—The prohibition of मणीव &c., should be stated in treating of the pragrihya nature of ई, ऊ &c. Thus मणी (two gems)+इव = मणीव "like two gems." So also दम्पतीव "like a couple," जम्पतीव "like man and wife," रोदसीव "like heaven and earth." Some say that this vârtika is unnecessary. Because the final member of the above words is not इव, but the particle व only; which has the same meaning as *iva*.

१०१ । अदसो मात् । १ । १ । १२ ॥

अस्मात्परावीदूतौ प्रगृह्यौ स्तः । अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्णावमू आसाते । मात्किम् । अमुकेऽत्र । असति माद्ग्रहणे एकारोऽप्यनुवर्तेत ॥

101. (The long ई and ऊ) after the म् of the pronoun अदस् are Prag*r*ihya.

In the pronoun अदस्, the dual termination in ई, ऊ or ए will be pragrihya by force of the last sûtra, but the present sûtra makes this addition, that in the case of अदस्, all terminations ending in ई, ऊ or ए and preceded by म, of *whatever number* they may be, will be pragrihya. As a matter of fact, there are only two such terminations satisfying the above conditions, namely अमी and अमू. The rule may therefore be put in the following words:—"The terminations of अमी and अमू nom. plur. masc and nom dual of the pronoun अदस् are pragrihya." As अमी ईशाः । रामकृष्ण । वमू आसाते. There is no example of the word *adas* ending in ए.

Why do we say "after the letter म"? Because in the example अमुके + अत्र = अमुके ऽत्र, the ए, preceded not by म but by the क of अकच् (V. 3. 71. S.

2026) is not pragrihya, which it would have been by the influence of the last sûtra which includes ए as well as ई and ऊ, and from which the word dual is not supplied here, else this rule would be useless.

१०२ । शे । १ । १ । १३ ॥

अयं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अस्मे इन्द्राबृहस्पती ॥

102. The affix शे, (the Vedic substitute of the case-affixes), is a pragrihya.

In the Vedic Sanskrit, the declension of nouns sometimes differs somewhat from the ordinary Sanskrit One of the peculiar Vedic terminations, which replace the ordinary declensional terminations is called शे (VII. 1. 39, S. 3561) Thus अस्मेइन्द्राबृहस्पती.

Of this substitute शे, the initial श is indicatory, the real suffix being ए. This final ए is a pragrihya.

१०३ । निपात एकाजनाङ् । १ । १ । १४ ॥

एकोऽज्निपात आङ्वर्जं प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । इ विस्मये । इ इन्द्रः । उ वितर्के । उ उमेश । अनाङिति किम् । ईषदुष्णम् ओष्णम् । ईषदर्थे क्रियायोगे मर्यादाऽभिविधौ च यः । एतमातं ङितं विद्याद्वाक्यस्मरणयोरङित् ॥

103. A particle consisting of a single vowel, with the exception of the particle आङ् is a Pragrihya.

All such particles technically called nipâta which consist of a simple vowel without any consonant, are pragrihya and therefore are not liable to the rules of sandhi As इ इंद्र has the sense of wonder. उ उमेश, उ has the sense of a doubtful question.

आङ् which is not a pragrihya, has four significations —(1) As a diminutive particle when joined to adjectives and nouns, आ + उष्णम् = ओष्णम् (2) as a prefix to verbs, it expresses the senses of "near" "near to," and with verbs of "motion," "taking" &c., it shows the reverse of the action, as गम् 'to go आगम,' 'to come,' आ + इहि = एहि, (3) as showing the limit inceptive (अभिविधि) "from," "ever since," as आजन्मन "ever since his birth," (4) as showing the limit exclusive (मर्यादा), "till" "until" as आ + अध्ययनात् = आध्ययनात्, "until the reading begins." When the particle आ has not any one of the above four senses and is used in expressing regret &c, it is a pragrihya, as आ एवं किलासीत् "Ah! such there once was," आ एवं मन्यसे. "Oh! do you think so."

१०४ । ओत् । १ । १ । १५ ॥

ओदन्तो निपातः प्रगृह्यः स्यात् । अहो ईशाः ॥

104. The final ओ of a particle is a pragṛihya.

As अहोईशा ॥

१०५ । सम्बुद्धौ शाकल्यस्येतावनार्षे । १ । १ । १६ ॥

सबुद्धिनिमित्तक ओकारो वा प्रगृह्योऽवैदिके इतौ परे । विष्णो इति । विष्ण इति । विष्णविति । अनार्ष इति किम । ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

105. The final ओ of the vocative singular before the word इति according to Śâkalya, in secular or non-vedic literature, is pragṛihya.

This sûtra gives the opinion of the Rishi Śâkalya, so that it is an optional rule. Thus the forms above given are correct.

In ârsha literature the sandhi is imperative, not optional, as एता गा ब्रह्मबन्धवित्यब्रवीत् ॥

१०६ । उञः । १ । १ । १७ ॥

उञ इतौ वा प्रागुक्तम् उ इति विति ॥

106. The particle उञ् before *iti*, according to Śâkalya is a Pragṛihya.

This sûtra consists of the single word उञ् meaning उ ॥ This is also an optional rule. Thus उ इति or विति ॥

१०७ । ऊँ । १ । १ । १८ ॥

उञ इतौ दीर्घोऽनुनासिक प्रगृह्यश्च ऊँ इत्ययमादेशो वा स्यात् । ऊँ इति ॥

107. The praticle ऊँ replaces उञ in non-vedic literature, and it is a pragṛihya in the opinion of Śâkalya.

Before the word इति the word उञ is replaced sometimes by ऊँ the long nasal *û* ऊँ + इति = ऊँ इति or विति ॥

१०८ । मय उञो वो वा । ८ । ३ । ३३ ॥

मयः परस्य उञो वो वा स्यादचि । किमु उक्तम् । किम्वुक्तम् । वस्यासिद्धत्वान्नानुस्वारः ॥

108. व् is optionally the substitute of the Particle उ, when it is preceded by a मय् consonant (all consonants with the exception of semivowels, sibilants, ह and ञ), and is followed by a vowel.

Thus kimuuktam or kimvuktam. The उ is a Pragṛihya and therefore would have remained unchanged, this ordains व् optionally. This व being considered asiddha, the म् is not changed to anusvâra in the above example.

When this उ is followed by इति, and preceded by a मय् consonant, then by I 1 17, S 106 it is optionally प्रगृह्य, and it may be replaced by ऊँ ॥ When it is not a pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by यणादेश (VI 1 77 S 47), or to व् by the present sûtra. In the case of यणादेश व्, there is anusvâra by VIII 3, 23, S 122 as किंविति ॥ When it is a Pragrihya, then it is changed to व् by the present sûtra as किंविति or किमु इति ॥ So also with ऊँ substitute, where the ऊँ will be nasal as किम्वँिति, or ऊँ will remain unchanged, as किम् ऊँ इति ॥ Thus we have five forms with इति ॥

१०६। ईदूतौ च सप्तम्यर्थे। १। १। १९॥

सप्तम्यर्थे पर्यवसन्नमीदूदन्तं प्रगृह्यं स्यात्। सोमो गौरी अधिश्रितः। मामकी तनू इति। सुपां सुलुगिति सप्तम्या लुक्। अर्थग्रहणं किम्। वृत्तावर्थान्तरोपसंक्रान्ते मा भूत्। वाप्यामश्वो वाप्यश्वः॥

109 The finnal ई and ऊ of words giving the sense of the locative case are pragrihya.

This sûtra finds its scope in the Vedic literature generally There is a sûtra (VII 1 39, S. 3561) which declares that "in the Vedic Sanskrit, the case-affixes *sup* are often replaced either by सु or are altogether elided, or they are changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior letter, or आ, or आत्, or शे, or या, or डा, or ड्या, or याच् or आल् takes their place" Let us take the example where a case-affix is changed into a letter homogeneous with the prior. Thus the case-affix of the seventh case is ङि (इ) In forming the L. S of तनू "body," we have तनू+इ The इ will be changed into a homogeneous letter with ऊ and we have तनू+ऊ=तनू "in the body," as, अध्यस्यां मामकीतनू (for मामक्यां तन्वां). This is the Vedic form, the secular form being तन्वां Similarly गौरी+इ=गौरी "on the Gauri," as सोमो गौरी अधिश्रित (Rig Veda IX. 12. 3) It is in such cases, therefore, that the long *î* and *û* are used in the sense of locative, and are pragrihya

It is only long *î* and *û* which are pragrihya, and not any other vowel, though used in the sense of locative Thus by the same aphorism (VII 1. 39) ḍâ (â) may be employed to denote the seventh case-affix. Thus अग्नि+ङि=अग्नि+डा=अग्ना 'in the fire,' as, प्रियः सूर्ये प्रियो अग्ना भवाति य इन्द्राय सुतसोमो ददाशत् (Rig Veda V 37 5). Here अग्ना though in the locative case, its final is not pragrihya. Therefore अग्ना+इति=अग्नेति ॥

The ई and ऊ must be of the 7th case. Therefore मति+टा (3rd s.)=मति+इ (letter homogeneous with the prior)=मती 'with wisdom'. Here *î* is in the sense of the instrumental case and is not pragrihya. Thus मती+इति=मतीति ॥

The word अर्थ is used in the aphorism, in order to exclude the application of this rule to cases like the following Thus in forming the compound

of वाप्याम् " in the well " and अश्व " horse, " the case-affix is elided, and we get वापि+अश्व. Here, no doubt, the word वापी is in the locative case, though the case-affix is elided ; but we cannot say that the long ई of vâpî has the *sense* of the locative. Here, therefore, we shall have sandhi , as, वाप्यश्व " the horse near the well. " In other words, the present aphorism is not to apply to the final ई or ऊ of words standing as the prior member of a compound term (pûrva-pada) , for words like वापी &c , in the above example, can never, *by themselves* and *alone*, denote the locative case , while words like गौरी, formed in the way described already, give the *sense* of the locative, even alone, though they be placed anywhere in a sentence.

११० । अणोऽप्रगृह्यस्यानुनासिकः । ८ । ४ । ५७ ॥

अप्रगृह्यस्याणोऽवसानेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । दधिँ । दधि । अप्रगृह्यस्य किम् । अग्नी ॥

110. The anunâsika is optionally the substitute of an अण् vowel which occurs in a Pause, and is not a Pragṛihya.

अ, इ and उ, short and long, may, when final in a Pause, be pronounced as nasals, provided that they are not Pragṛihya. The अण् here is a Pratyâhâra with the first ण् ॥ Thus दधिँ or दधि,

Why do we say ' which is not a pragṛihya ' ? Observe अग्नी,

—— o ——

अथ हल्सन्धिप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER V.

THE SANDHI OF CONSONANTS.

१११ । स्तोः श्चुना श्चुः । ८ । ४ । ४० ॥

सकारतवर्गयोः शकारचवर्गाभ्यां योगे शकारचवर्गौ स्तः । हरिश्शेते । रामश्चिनोति । सच्चित् । शार्ङ्गिञ्जय ॥

111. The letter स and the dental when coming in contact with श and the palatals, are changed to श and palatals respectively.

1st. स in contact with श as, हरिस् + शेते = हरिश्शेते,

2nd स in contact with चु —as, रामस् + चिनोति = रामश्चिनोति,

3rd तु with श:—अग्निचित् + शेते = अग्निचिच्छेते, so सोमसुच्छेते ॥

4th. तु with चु —सत् + चित् = सच्चित्.

5th. चकार followed by तकार, as, यज + न (III. 3 90 S 3268) = यज + ञ = यज्ञः, याच् + न = याच्ञा ॥ In fact the instrumental case श्चुना shows that the mere contact of स and तु with श and चु is enough to induce the change, whether स्तु is followed by श्चु, or श्चु be followed by स्तु ॥ Other examples of mere contact are :—

5th (a) स followed by चु is changed into श: as, भ्रस्ज् + ति = भृस्ज + श + ति (III 1. 77, S 2534 VI. 1 16 S 2412) = भृस्ज + ति = भृश्ज + ति = (VIII. 4 53 S 52) = भृज्जति ॥ Similarly मस्ज forms मज्जति, व्रश्च forms वृश्चति ॥

The next aphorism शात् (VIII 4 44 S. 112) which prohibits the change of तु into चु when following the letter श, indicates by implication that the rule of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration (I. 3. 10 S 128) does not hold good here.

Had the sûtra been स्तो श्चोः श्चु *i e.* instead of instrumental, had there been the locative case, then the rule would not have applied to cases covered by the fifth clause.

११२ । शात् । ८ । ४ । ४४ ॥

शात्परस्य तवर्गस्य चुत्वं न स्यात् । विश्न । प्रश्न ॥

112. In the room of तु there is not a palatal substitute, when श precedes.

The words न and स्तोः are understood here. This is an exception to

the last rule Thus विच्छ + न (III. 3 90. S 3268) = विश् + न (VI 4 19 S. 2561) = विश्नः ॥ Similarly प्रश्नः ॥

१११३ । ष्टुना ष्टुः । ८ । ४ । ४१ ॥

स्तोः ष्टुना योगे ष्टु स्यात् । रामष्षष्ठ । रामष्टीकते । पेष्टा । तट्टीका । चक्रिण्ढौकसे ॥

113. The letters स् and dentals in contact with ष and cerebrals, are changed into ष and cerebrals respectively.

The word स्तोः is to be read into the sûtra Here also there is absence of mutual correspondence according to the order of enumeration.

(1) स with ष as, रामस् + षष्ठ = रामष्षष्ठः

(2) स with टु, as, रामस् + टीकते = रामष्टीकते ॥

(3) तु with ष as पेष् + ता = पेष्टा ॥ ॥

(4) तु with टु, as तत् + टीका = तट्टीका ॥ चक्रिन् + ढौकसे = चक्रिण्ढौकसे ॥

११४ । न पदान्ताट्टोरनाम् । ८ । ४ । ४२ ॥

अनामिति लुप्तषष्ठीक पदम् । पदान्ताट्टवर्गात्परस्यानाम स्तोः ष्टुर्न स्यात् । षट् सन्तः । षट् ते । पदान्तात्किम् । ईट्टे । टोः किम् । सर्पिष्टमम् ॥ * अनाम्नवतिनगरीणामिति वाच्यम् ॥ षण्णाम् । षण्णवतिः । षण्णगर्य· ॥

114. After टु final in a Pada, the change of a dental (स्तु) to a cerebral (ष्टु), does not take place, except in the case of the affix नाम् ॥

Thus षट् + सन्तः = षट् सन्तः ॥ षट् + ते = षट्ते ॥

Why do we say पदान्तात् 'final in a Pada'? Observe ईड् + ते = ईड् + टे = ईट्टे ॥

Why do we say टो 'after टु? Observe सर्पिस् + तमम् = सर्पिष्टमम् ॥

Why do we say अनाम् 'except in the case of the affix nâm'? Observe षट् + नाम् = षण्णाम् ॥ This exception is very inadequate. Hence the following

Vârtika.—It should be stated rather that नवति and नगरी as well as नाम् are not prevented from undergoing the cerebral change. As, षण्णाम् 'of six', षण्णवतिः ninety-six, षण्णगर्य six cities'

११५ । तोः षि । ८ । ४ । ४३ ॥

तवर्गस्य षकारे परे न ष्टुत्वम् । सन्षष्ठः ॥

115. In the room of तु there is not a cerebral substitute, when ष follows.

The word न is to be read into the aphorism. As, सन् + षष्ठ = सन्षष्ठः ॥

Here the Sutra झलां जशोऽन्ते (S 84) should be read again, by which a soft consonant is substituted for the hard Thus वाक् + ईशः = वागीश ; चित् + रूपम् = चिद्रूपम् ॥

११६ । यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा । ८ । ४ । ४५ ॥

यर पदान्तस्याऽनुनासिके परेऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् । एतन्मुरारि । एतद्मुरारि' । स्थानप्रयत्नाभ्यामन्तरतमे स्पर्शे चरितार्थो विधिरयं रेफे न प्रवर्तते । चतुर्मुखः । * प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यम् ॥ तन्मात्रम् । चिन्मयम् । कथ तर्हि मदोदग्रा ककुद्मन्त इति । यवादिगणे दकारनिपातनात् ॥

116. In the room of a यर् letter (every consonant except ह) final in a Pada, when a Nasal follows, there is optionally a Nasal substitute.

The word पदान्त is understood here. Thus एतत् + मुरारि = एतन्मुरारि. or एतद्मुरारि । This rule does not apply to र् as चतुर् + मुख = चतुर्मुख ॥

Why do we say 'final in a Pada'? Observe, वेद् + मि = वेद्मि ॥ Here there is no option. So also क्षुभ्नाति ॥

Vârt —When it is a pratyaya or affix that follows, the nasansation is obligatory in the secular language Thus तत् + मात्रम् = तन्मात्रम्, similary चिन्मयम् ॥ It is, however, only before the affixes मय and मात्र that the change is obligatory, and not before every affix beginning with a nasal How do you explain the form ककुद्मन्त in the sentence मदोदग्रा ककुद्मन्त '? Because the द् is used in यवादि class (For a list of the words belonging to this class, see Ganapâtha VIII 2 9).

११७ । तोर्लि । ८ । ४ । ६० ॥

तवर्गस्य लकारे परे परसवर्णः स्यात् । तल्लयः । विद्वाँल्लिखति । नकारस्याऽनुनासिको लकारः ॥

117. In the room of तु (a dental) when the letter ल follows, one homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus तत् + लयः = तल्लयः ; विद्वान् + लिखति = विद्वाँल्लिखति ॥ Here त has been changed to pure ल, while the dento-nasal न् is changed to a nasal ल्ँ ॥

११८ । उदः स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । ६१ ॥

उद परयो स्थास्तम्भोः पूर्वसवर्णः स्यात् । आदे परस्य । उत्थानम् । उत्तम्भनम् । अत्राघोषस्य महाप्राणस्य सस्य तादृश एव थकारः । तस्य झरोझरीति पाक्षिको लोपः । लोपाभावपक्षे तु थकारस्यैव श्रवण न तु खरि चेति चर्त्वम् । चर्त्वं प्रति थकारस्याऽसिद्धत्वात् ॥

118. After उद्, in the room of the स of sthâ and stambha, the substitute is a letter belonging to the class of the prior (*i. e.* a dental is sustituted for this स) ॥

As उद् + स्थाता = उद् + थ्थाता = उद् + थाता (VIII. 4. 63 S. 120) = उत् + थाता (VIII 4 55 S. 121) = उत्थाता, उत्थातुम् उत्थातव्यम् ॥ So also with स्तम्भ, as, उत्तम्भिता, उत्तम्भितुम् &c (See I. 1. 67 S 41 and 54 S. 44)

Here the Aghosha (Surd) and Maháprâṇa स् is changed to थ् which is also Aghosha and Mahápráṇa. This then is optionally elided by झरोझरि (S 71) But in the alternative when there is no lopa, the थ् is heard in pronunciation

By the rule खरि च (S. 121), the थ् is not changed to चर् letter, because the rule of चर्त्व is not applicable to थ्; for this थ् is considered as non-existent for the purposes of चर् rules.

११९ । झयोहोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ४ । ६२ ॥

झय परस्य हस्य पूर्वसवर्णो वा स्यात् । घोषवतो नादवतो महाप्राणस्य संवृतकण्ठस्य हस्य तादृशो वर्गचतुर्थ एवा देशः । वाग्घरि । वाग्हरिः ॥

119. In the room of the letter ह, after (a sonant Mute) there is optionally a letter homogeneous with the prior.

The pratyâhâra झय् includes *all* Mutes. But practically sonant Mutes are only taken here. The substitute of ह् will be घ् by the rule of nearness of place of utterance, because ह is a ghosha (sonant); Mahápráṇa (aspirated) and Samvrit (contracted) and so is also घ् Thus वाक्+हरि=वाग्घरिः or वाग्हरिः ।

१२० । शश्छोऽटि । ८ । ४ । ६३ ॥

पदान्तात् झयः परस्य शस्य छो वा स्यादटि । तस्य श्चुत्वेन जकारे कृते ॥

120. In the room of श preceded by a surd Mute, there is optionally the letter छ् when a vowel or य, व or र follows such श ॥

Though झय् means all Mutes, the rule, however, applies to surd mutes The words झय् and अन्यतरस्यां are to be read into the sûtra. Thus तत् + शिव =तद् + शिव (S. 84)=तद् + छिव = तच् + छिव = तज् + छिव At this stage applies the next Sûtra

१२१ । खरि च । ८ । ४ । ५५ ॥

खरि परे झलां चरः स्युः । इति जकारस्य चकारः । तच्छिव । तच्शिवः ॥ छत्वममीति वाच्यम् * ॥ तच्श्लोकेन । तच्छ्लोकेन । अमि किम् । वाक् श्च्योतति ॥

121. In the room of झल्, there is the substitute चर् when खर् follows.

A sonant non-aspirate mute is the substitute of a mute, when a surd mute or a sibilant follows. The words झलां and चरः are supplied from the last sûtra. Therefore ज् is changed to च् and we have the form तच्छिव or तच्शिवः

Vârtika —It should rather be stated when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows. The sûtra only gives अट् letters, the Vârtika adds the letters ल, and the nasals Thus तत्+श्लोकेन = तच्छ्लोकेन

Why do we say when a letter of अम् pratyâhâra follows? Observe वाक् श्च्योतति.

१२२ । मोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । २३ ॥

मान्तस्य पदस्यानुस्वारः स्याद्धलि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । हरिं वन्दे । पदस्येति किम् । गम्यते ॥

122 The Anusvâra is substituted for म्, at the end of a word, before a consonant.

Thus हरिंवन्दे ॥ The word हलि is understood in this sûtra. The म् must be at the end of a pada which we get from sûtra अलोऽन्त्यस्य (S. 42), therefore not here, गम्यते.

१२३ । नश्चापदान्तस्य झलि । ८ । ३ । २४ ॥

नस्य मस्य चापदान्तस्य झल्यनुस्वारः स्यात् । यशांसि । आक्रंस्यते । झलि किम् । मन्यते ॥

123. The Anusvâra is substituted for the न् and म्, not final in a pada, before all consonants, with the exception of Nasals and semi-vowels.

Thus यशांसि, आक्रंस्यते ।

Why do we say 'before a झल् consonant'? See मन्यते.

Note;—Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? observe राजन् पाहि.

१२४ । अनुस्वारस्य ययि परसवर्णः । ८ । ४ । ५८ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अङ्कितः । अञ्चितः । कुण्ठितः । शान्तः । गुम्फितः । कुर्वन्तीत्यत्र णत्वे प्राप्ते तस्यासिद्धत्वादनुस्वारे परसवर्णे च कृते तस्यासिद्धत्वान्न णत्वम् ॥

124. In the room of anusvâra, when यय् follows, a letter homogeneous with the latter is substituted.

Thus अङ्कितः, अञ्चितः, कुण्ठितः, शान्तः, गुम्फितः These are thus formed:— To the causal *churâdi* root अङ्क (meaning pada and lakshana), we add the participial affix क्त Thus अङ्कि+क्त The causal sign इ is elided by the sûtra निष्ठायां सेटि (VI 4 52 S 3057). Then by the present rule, we have अङ्कित. The इ here is the इट् augment. Or it may be from the root अकि (meaning lakshana) where the augment नुम् becomes anusvâra by VIII. 3. 24. S. 123. and then this न् becomes ङ्.

अञ्चितः comes from the root अञ्च (meaning pûjâ), with the affix क्त. The न् is not elided by VI. 4 30 S 424.

कुण्ठित is formed from the root कुठि (meaning pratighâta) The augment नुम् is added to the root before the सेट् participial affix. This न् is changed into ण्

शान्तः is formed from the root शम् (meaning upasâma) with the affix क्त (See VII 2 27 S 3068). The अ of शम् is lengthened by VI. 4. 15. S. 2666 The म् is changed to न् by the present rule

गुम्फित. is formed from the root गुम्फ् (meaning grantha) with the affix क्त In कुर्वन्ति, the न is not changed into ण, though required by VIII 4 2. S. 197 Because the णत्व is asiddha, and therefore by the prior rule VIII. 3. 24 S 123 the न is first changed into anusvâra (VIII. 2. 1 S 12) That anusvâra is again changed into न by the present rule, न being homogeneous with त ॥ This change again being असिद्ध as if it had never taken place (VIII. 2. 1 S 12) the ण is never substituted for न ॥

१२५ । वा पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ५९ ॥

पदान्तस्याऽनुस्वारस्य यथि परे परसवर्णो वा स्यात् । त्वङ्करोषि । त्वं करोषि । सँय्यन्ता । संयन्ता । सँव्वत्सरः । यँल्लोकम् । यल्लोकम् । अत्रानुस्वारस्य पक्षेऽनुनासिका यवला ॥

125 In the room of anusvâra final in a Pada, the substitution of a letter homogeneous with the latter is optional.

Thus त्वङ्करोषि or त्वं करोषि ; सय्यँन्ता or संयन्ता , सँव्वत्सरः or संवत्सरः , यल्लोकम् or यं लोकम्.

Here the anusvâra has become nasal य् व् ल् in the other alternative.

१२६ । मो राजि समः क्वौ । ८ । ३ । २५ ॥

क्विबन्ते राजतौ परे समो मस्य म एव स्यात् । सम्राट् ॥

126. म is substituted for the म of सम्, before the word राज् ending with the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus सम्राट् ॥ The substitution of म for म is for the sake of preventing the anusvâra change (VII 1 40 S 3562). Why do we say 'before राज्'? See संयत् (VI 4 40 S. 2986. Vârt). Why do we say 'of सम्'? Observe किंराट् (V 4 70 S 955) Why do we say 'ending with क्विप्'? Observe संराजिता, संराजितुम्, संराजितव्यम् ॥

The क्विप् is added by III 2 61 S 2975 the ज् is changed to ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S 294 which is changed to ट् at the end of a word, in सम्राट् ॥ साम्राज्यम् is formed by ष्यञ् affix, as it belongs to Brâhmanâdi class.

• १२७ । हे मपरे वा । ८ । ३ । २६ ॥

मपरे हकारे परे मस्य म एव स्याद्वा । ह्मल ह्मल चलने । किम् ह्मलयति । किं ह्मलयति ॥ यवलपरे यवला वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

127. म is optionally substituted for म् before that ह which itself is followed by a म ॥

The म् may be changed to anusvâra or remain unchanged before a word beginning with ह्म ॥ Thus किं or किम् ह्मलयति, 'what does he cause to shake'?

Vart —Before ह्य, ह्व, and ह्ल, the preceding म् may be changed to य, व or ल respectively.

Now, by this *Vârtika*, three letters य्, व्, ल्, are ordained in the room of म्, म्, म्, But the rule does not say which letter is to be substituted for which letter. To remove this doubt the following interpretation sûtra should be remembered :—

१२८ । यथा संख्यमनुदेशः समानाम् । १ । ३ । १० ॥

समसबन्धी विधिर्यथासख्य स्यात् । किँय्ह्यः किंह्यः । किँव्ह्वलयति । किंह्वलयति । किँल्ह्लादयति । किंह्लादयति ॥

128. When a rule involves the case of equal numbers of substitutes and of things for which these are to be substituted, their mutual correspondence or assignment of each to each, is according to the order of enumeration.

Therefore as under the former rule, the letters to be substituted are three in number and the substitutes are also three in number, therefore applying the present rule, म् would be replaced by य्, म् by व् and म् by ल् Thus we have किँय् ह्यः or किं ह्यः, किँव् ह्वलयति or किं ह्वलयति, किँल् ह्लादयति or किं ह्लादयति.

१२९ । नपरे नः । ८ । ३ । २७ ॥

नपरे हकारे मस्य नः स्याद्वा । किन्ह्नुते । किं ह्नुते ॥

129. न् is optionally substituted for म्, when it is followed by ह which has a न् after it.

म् becomes न् before a word beginning with ह्न, as किँन् ह्नुते or किं ह्नुते.

१३० । ङ्णोः कुक् टुक् शरि । ८ । ३ । २८ ॥

ङकारणकारयोः कुक्टुकावागमौ वा स्तः शरि । कुक्टुकोरसिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वं न ॥ चयो द्वितीयाः शरि पौष्करसादेरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्राङ्ख्षष्ठः प्राङ्क्षष्ठः । प्राङ् षष्ठः । सुगण्ठ्षष्ठः सुगण्ट्षष्ठः । सुगण्षष्ठः ॥

130. The augment क् is added to a final ङ्, and the augment ट् to a final ण्, before a sibilant, optionally.

The कुक् and टुक् augments being considered as asiddha, there is no जश् change, i. e. soft letters are not substituted for the hard Before giving

the examples of this sutra, the following *Vârtika* must be applied, in order to get the proper forms.

Vârtika —According to the option of Achârya Paushkarasâdi, the letters of चय् pratyâhâra are replaced by the second letters of their class, when followed by a sibilant (a letter of शर् pratyâhâra)

Thus प्राङ्ख्षष्ठः or प्राङ्क्षष्ठः or प्राङ्षष्ठः , सुगण्ठ्षष्ठः or सुगण्ट्षष्ठः or सुगण्षष्ठः

१३१ । ङः सि धुट् । ८ । ३ । २९ ॥

ङात्परस्य सस्य धुड्वा स्यात् । षट्त्सन्तः । षट्सन्तः ॥

131. After a word ending in ङ् there may optionally be added the augment ध् to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus षट्त्सन्तः or षट्सन्तः

The word ङः is to be construed as Ablative singular, and not Genitive singular of ङ्, because of the maxim उभयनिर्देशे पञ्चमीनिर्देशो बलीयान् ॥

१३२ । नश्च । ८ । ३ । ३० ॥

नकारान्तात्सस्य धुड्वा । सन्त्सः or सन्स ॥

132. After a word ending in न्, धुट् is optionally the augment to a word beginning with स् ॥

Thus सन्त्सः or सन्स ॥

१३३ । शि तुक् । ८ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नस्य पदान्तस्य शे परे तुग्वा स्यात् । शश्छोऽटीति छत्वविकल्पः । पक्षे झरोझरीति चलोपः । सञ्छम्भुः । सञ्च्छम्भुः । सञ्च्शम्भुः । सञ्शम्भुः । ञछौ ञचछा ञचशा ञशाविति चतुष्टयम् रूपाणामिह तुक्छत्वचलोपानां विकल्पनात् ॥

133. The augment त may optionally be added to a word ending in न्, when a word beginning with श follows.

By rule VIII. 4 63 S 120 there is an optional छ By the rule झरोझरि VIII. 4 65 S 71 there is elision of the छ् in the other alternative. Thus सञ्छम्भुः or सञ्च्छम्भुः or सञ्च्शम्भुः or सञ्शम्भुः

१३४ । ङमो ह्रस्वादचि ङमुण्नित्यम् । ८ । ३ । ३२ ॥

ह्रस्वात्परो यो ङम् तदन्तं यत्पदं तस्मात्परस्याचो नित्यं ङमुडागमः स्यात् । प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा सुगण्णीशः । सन्नच्युतः ॥

134. After a word ending in ङ्, ण् or न् which is preceded by a light vowel, the same consonant ङ्, ण् or न् is added invariably at the beginning of the next word, which commences with a vowel.

The word ङमः is in the Ablative singular here ; and ह्रस्वात् qualifies ङम , and ङम् itself qualifies the word पदस्य understood, and thus there is tadanta-viddhi. Though the word पदस्य (VIII. 1. 16 S 40) is in the Genitive singular, yet it should be converted here into Ablative singular, because of its connection with ङमः ॥ अचि is in the Locative singular, but should be construed as Genitive singular here it is exhibited in the 7th case for the sake of brevity, and of the subsequent sûtras ङम् is a pratyâhâra meaning ङ, ण and न , and so also ङमुट् is a pratyâhâra containing the three augments ङुट्, णुट् and नुट् ॥

In other words ङ is augment after ङ्, ण् after ण् and न् after न् ; or that these letters are doubled practically. Thus ङुट् is the augment after a word ending in ङ, as प्रत्यङ्ङात्मा ॥ णुट् is the augment after a word ending in ण्, as सुगण्णीशः ॥ नुट् is the augment after a word ending in न्, as सन्नच्युतः

१३५ । समः सुटि । ८ । ३ । ५ ॥

समो रुः स्यात् सुटि । अलोऽन्त्यस्य ॥

135. रु is substituted for the म of सम् (and thereby अँ or अं is substituted for अ) when the augment सु follows, in a samhitâ.

१३६ । अत्रानुनासिकः पूर्वस्य तु वा । ८ । ३ । २ ॥

अत्र रुप्रकरणे रोः पूर्वस्याऽनुनासिको वा स्यात् ॥

136. In the following sûtras upto VIII, 3. 12, this is always to be supplied :—" But here a nasal vowel may optionally be substituted for the preceding vowel after which रु has been ordained."

This is an adhikâra sûtra For the letter which stands before that letter for which रु has been substituted, there is substituted a nasal vowel, in this division of Grammar, where रु is the subject of discussion.

Thus sûtra VIII 3 5, S. 135 says "In the place of the final of सम्, there is रु when सुट् augment follows." The vowel अ of सम् becomes nasal, as सँस्कर्त्ता सँस्कर्तुम्, सँस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

१३७ । अनुनासिकात्परोऽनुस्वारः । ८ । ३ । ४ ॥

अनुनासिकं विहाय रो पूर्वस्मात्परोऽनुस्वारागमः स्यात् । खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीय ॥

137. After what precedes रु, if we omit to substitute the nasal, then anusvâra shall be the augment.

The substitution of nasal is *optional* by VIII. 3. 2. S. 136. When nasa is not substituted, we add an anusvâra to such vowel. The word अन्य should be

read into the sûtra to complete the sense, i. e. अनुनासिकात् अन्यो यो वर्ण· " a letter *other than* a nasal ", i e. a letter for which nasal has not been ordained, and which stands before रु ॥

Thus VIII 3 5. S. 135 teaches रु substitution of the म् of सम् an anusvâra would be added As संस्कर्त्ता, संस्कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

Some say " the word पर in the sûtra means अन्यः, and so we need not supply the word अन्य from outside". They say अनुनासिकात् परः = अनुनासिकादन्यः ; i. e., the anusvâra takes place in that alternative when there is no nasal. That anusvâra is an *augment* and not a *substitute.* It is an augment to the vowel which precedes रु ॥

By the rule खरवसानयोर्विसर्जनीय the रु is changed into Visarga and by the next rule this Visarga is changed into स् .

१३८ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

खरि विसर्जनीयस्य स स्यात् । एतदपवादे वा शरीति पाक्षिके विसर्गे प्राप्ते ॥ संपुंकानां सो वक्तव्य *॥ संस्कर्ता ॥ सँस्स्कर्ता ॥समो वा लोपमेके इति भाष्यम् *॥ लोपस्यापि रुप्रकरणस्थत्वादनुस्वारानुनासिकाभ्यामेकसकार रूपद्वयम् । द्विसकारं तूक्तमेव । तत्रानचि चेति सकारस्य द्वित्वपक्षे त्रिसकारमपि रूपद्वयम् । अनुस्वारविसर्गजिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीययमानामकारोपरि शर्षु च पाठस्योपसङ्ख्यानत्वेनानुस्वारस्याप्यच्त्वात् । अनुनासिकवतां त्रयाणां शरः खय इति कद्वित्वे षट् । अनुस्वारवतामनुस्वारस्यापि द्वित्वे द्वादश । एषामष्टादशानां तकारस्य द्वित्वे वचनान्तरेण पुनर्द्वित्वे च एकत द्वित त्रितमिति चतुष्पञ्चाशत् । अणोऽनुनासिकत्वे ऽष्टोत्तरशतम् ॥

138. स् is the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

The word खरि is understood here. There is Visarga also by the rule वाशरि VIII 3 36 S 151. Then we have the following *Vârtika* which ordains स् *always*, and never *visarga.*

Vârt —For the finals of सम्, पुम् and कान् there is always substituted स् . Thus applying the previous four rules we have सम् + कर्ता = सम् + सुट् + कर्ता (VI. 1 137 S 2550) = स्+रु+सुट्+कर्ता (VIII. 3 2. S. 136) = संस्कर्ता or सँस्कर्ता ॥

According to Mahâbhâshya, there is elision of स् after सम्

Thus there will be 108 forms of this word सस्कर्त्ता ॥ Thus सँस्कर्त्ता and संस्कर्त्ता with the elision of स् ॥ Then with two स्, as सँस्स्कर्त्ता, संस्स्कर्ता ॥ Then we apply VIII. 4 47 S 48 to this latter, and have three स, as सँस्स्स्कर्त्ता, or संस्स्स्कर्ता ॥ The anusvâra is considered to be a vowel (अच्) for this purpose. From the three nasal forms सँस्कर्ता, सँस्स्कर्ता and सँस्स्स्कर्ता, we get three more by doubling the क by the vârtikâ शर खय ॥ The three forms having anusvâra, will also double their anusvâra in addition to क doubling Thus we have 12 forms in anusvâra · and six in nasal, altogether 18 forms. Then the त will be doubled and trebled. and thus with one त, two त and three त, we have 3 × 18 = 54 forms. This will be doubled (2 × 54 = 108) when अण् is nasalised.

१३९ । पुमः खय्यम्परे । ८ । ३ । ६ ॥

अम्परे खयि पुम्शब्दस्य रुः स्यात् । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षेऽप्रत्ययस्येति षत्वपर्युदासात् × क× पयोः प्राप्तौ । अव्युत्पत्तिपक्षे तु षत्वप्राप्तौ । सपुकानामिति सः । पुँस्कोकिल । पुंस्कोकिल । पुँस्पुत्रः । पुंस्पुत्रः । अम्परे किम् । पुंक्षीरम् । खयि किम् । पुंदासः । ख्याञादेशे न पुंख्यानम् ॥

139. रु is substituted for the म् of पुम्, (whereby the उ is changed to उँ or उं) before a surd mute (खय्) which is followed by a vowel, semivowel or a nasal (अम् pratyâhâra).

The word पुंस् is formed by the Unâdi affix डुम्सुन् added to the root पुम् ॥ There are two views of Unâdi formed words—one considers them as *derivative* words, the other regards them as *non-derivative* or रूढि words If the word पुंस् be taken as a derivative word (vyutpatti paksha) then the exception "apratyaye" of the sûtra ·VII. 3 41. S. 155 would apply, and र् would not be changed to ष् by VIII 3 41 S. 155. To prevent both these incongruities, the Vârtika सं पुकानामिति सः (see the preceding sûtra) always ordains स् and never रु ॥ Thus पुम् + कोकिल = पुर् + कोकिल = पुष् or पु × क + कोकिलः (VIII 3 41 S 155) = पुस्कोकिलः or पुँस्कोकिलः (VIII. 3. 2 & 4 S 135 & 136) Similarly पुँस्पुत्रः or पुंस्पुत्र

Why do we say 'before a surd mute'? Observe पुंदासः, पुंगवः (V 4 92. S. 729) Why do we say 'followed by a vowel or semivowel or nasal'? Observe पुंक्षीर, पुंक्षुर ॥

Vârtika —Not so when चक्ष् follows पुम, in those cases where ख्याञ् is substituted for चक्ष् (II. 4. 54 S. 2476) As पुंख्यानम् ॥ ख्यान is formed by adding ल्युट् to चक्ष (III 3. 115 S. 3290)

१४० । नश्छव्यप्रशान् । ८ । ३ । ७ ॥

अम्परे छवि नकारान्तस्य पदस्य रुः स्यात् न तु प्रशान्शब्दस्य । विसर्ग । सत्वम् । श्चुत्वम् । शार्ङ्गिँश्छिन्धि । शार्ङ्गिंश्छिन्धि । चक्रिँस्त्रायस्व । चक्रिंस्त्रायस्व । पदस्य किम् । हन्ति । अम्परे किम् । सन्त्सरु खड्गमुष्टि । अप्रशान् किम् । प्रशान्तनोति ॥

140. रु is substituted for the final न् of a word, with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्, before a छव् letter (छ, ठ, थ, च, ट, त), which is followed by an अम् letter (vowel, semi-vowel and nasal).

The word अम्परे is to be read into this sûtra The word अप्रशान् in the sûtra is in the Nominative case, but it has the force of Genitive शार्ङ्गिन् + छिन्धि = शार्ङ्गिर् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3 7 S. 140) = शार्ङ्गिः + छिन्धि (VIII 3.15 S 76) = शार्ङ्गिस् + छिन्धि (VIII. 3 34 S 138) = शार्ङ्गिश् + छिन्धि (III 4. 40 S. 3361) = शार्ङ्गिंश्छिन्धि or शार्ङ्गिँश्छिन्धि (VIII. 3. 2-4 S 136, S. 137). Similarly चक्रिँस्त्रायस्व or चक्रिंस्त्रायस्व ॥

Why do we say of a Pada? Observe हन्ति ॥ Here the न् of हन् is not changed to रु before ति, because it is not final in a pada Why do we say 'with the exception of the न् of प्रशान्' ? Observe प्रशान् तनोति प्रशान् चिनोति ॥ Why do we say 'when अम follows छव्' ? See भवान् त्सरुकः ॥ त्सरु is sword, he who is dexterous in it, is called त्सरुकः (कन् V. 2. 64 S 1864).

१४१ । नॄन्पे । ८ । ३ । १० ॥

नॄनित्यस्य रुः स्याद्वा पकारे परे ॥

141. रु is optionally substituted for the न् of नॄन् before प् ॥

Thus नॄन् + पाहि = नॄँर् + पाहि = नॄँ : + पाहि (VIII. 3 15, 8 76) At this stage applies the following sûtra.

१४२ । कुप्वोः ≍ क ≍ पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कवर्गे पवर्गे च परे विसर्जनीयस्य क्रमाज्जिह्वामूलीयोपध्मानीयौ स्तः । चाद्विसर्गः । येन नाप्राप्ते इतिन्यायेन विसर्जनीयस्य स इत्यस्यापवादोऽयम् । न तु शर्परे विसर्जनीय इत्यस्य । तेन वासः क्षौममित्यादौ विसर्ग एव । नॄँ ≍ पाहि । नॄ ≍ पाहि । नॄँ पाहि । नॄ पाहि । नॄन्पाहि ॥

142. ≍ क and ≍ प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial.

The word च 'and' in the sûtra indicates that the visarga also comes. By the maxim येन न प्राप्ते &c. this sûtra debars the sûtra VIII 3 34 S 138 which ordians स for the visarga. But it does not debar VIII. 3. 35. S. 150. Therefore we have the visarga in वासः क्षौमम् &c.

Thus we get नॄँ ≍ पाहि or नॄ ≍ पाहि or नॄँ पाहि or नॄ पाहि or नॄन्पाहि ॥

१४३ । कानाम्रेडिते । ८ । ३ । १२ ॥

कान्नकारस्य रुः स्यादाम्रेडिते परे सपुकानामिति स वक्ष्य ॥

143. रु is substituted for the न् of कान् when it is followed by another कान् which is an âmredita.

Here by the vârtika, under S 138, the रु is changed to स ॥ Or the next sûtra applies :—

१४४ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एष्विण उत्तरस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यादन्यत्र तु सः । ≍ क ≍ पयोरपवादः । इति सः । कॉंस्कान् । कांस्कान् । कस्कः । कौतस्कुतः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

144. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest.

This is an Apavâda to Sûtra VIII 3 37 S 142 ष् is substituted after इ or उ, and स् everywhere else Thus कस्क', 2, कौतस्कुतः (with अण् of कुत आगतः) 3 भ्रातुष्पुत्रः (VI 3 23 S 981) 4 शुनस्कर्णं (VI 3 21 S 979) 5 सद्यस्कालः, 6 सद्यस्क्री (from क्री 'to buy' with the affix क्विप्, because it belongs to Sampadâdi class) 7 साद्यस्कः (from सद्यस्क्री in the sense of तत्रभवः क्रतु) 8 कांस्कान् (the रु is by VIII 3 12 S 143) 9 सर्पिष्कुण्डिका, 10 चतुष्कपालम्, 11 धनुष्कपालम् 12 बर्हिष्पूलम् 13 यजुष्पात्रम् ॥ No complete list of this class is given anywhere It is an, âkṛtigana

Thus कांस्कान् or कास्कान् ॥

१४५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । १ । ७२ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

145 In the sûtras of Pânini beginning with this upto VI. 1. 157 inclusive, the words संहितायाम् 'in an unbroken flow of speech,' should be supplied.

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra, exerting its influence upto VI 1 158 Whatever we shall say in the sûtras preceding that, must be understood to apply to words which are in संहिता, that is, which are pronounced together with an uninterrupted voice

१४६ । छे च । ६ । १ । ७३ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य छे परे तुगागमः स्यात्संहितायाम् । श्चुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वेन द । ततश्चर्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्पूर्वं श्चुत्वेन ज । तस्य चर्त्वेन च । श्चुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चो कुरिति कुत्व न । स्वच्छाया । शिवच्छाया ॥

146. The augment त् is added to a preceding short vowel also when छ follows in an uninterrupted speech.

To a short vowel followed by छ, is added the augment त् in Sanhitâ. Here we must remember the rule पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII. 2 1 S. 12.) to get the proper form

Thus स्व + छाया = स्वत् + छाया Here appear two rules, (1) VIII. 4 40 S 111 requiring the त् to be changed to च, (2) VIII 2 39 S 84 requiring the त् to be changed to द्। By the maxim पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् the च् will be considered as non-effective for the purposes of जश्त्व change. Therefore we apply this second rule first and get.

स्वद् + छाया (VIII. 2 39 S. 84.) Here appear again two rules (1) VIII 4. 55 S 121 by which द् required to be changed into a चर् letter, and (2) VIII 4 40 S 111 by which द् required to be changed to ज्. The latter takes effect, the former being considered as asidhha, and we get स्वज् + छाया, and then ज् is changed to च — स्वच् + छाया (VIII. 4 55 S. 121.)

10

Here appears the rule VIII 2 30 S 378 requiring च् to be changed to क्. But च् was obtained by VIII 4 55 a rule *subsequent* to VIII 2 30 and therefore it is considered as asiddha, and so च् is not changed to क्॥

Thus we have स्वच्छाया शिवच्छाया॥

१४७। आङ्माङोश्च। ६। १। ७४॥

एतयोश्छे परे तुक् स्यात्। पदान्ताद्वेति विकल्पापवादः॥ आच्छादयति। माच्छिदत्॥

147. The augment त् is added to the particle आ and the prohibitive particle मा, when छ follows in a continuous text.

This sutra ordains तुक् *necessarily* when by VI 1 76 S 149 it would have been optional Thus आच्छादयति, माच्छिदत्॥

१४८। दीर्घात्। ६। १। ७५॥

दीर्घाच्छे परे तुक् स्यात्। दीर्घस्यायं तुक् न तु छस्य। सेनासुराच्छायेति ज्ञापकात्। चेच्छिद्यते॥

148. The augment त्, is added to a long vowel, when followed by छ in a continuous text.

The तुक् is added to the long vowel and not to छ, as we learn from Pânini himself using it in the sûtra विभाषा सेनासुराच्छाया &c II. 4 25 S 828 Had तुक् been added to छ, then छ being changed to च by VIII 4 55, there would have been two च's, and not the form च्छ् as used by Pânini himself in the above sûtra Or if by applying the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणविधिः (See S 204) the छ may not be changed, (because the छ was the occasion for the addition of त् and this त् should not cause the vanishing of this छ,) then also we should have च् after छ as छ्च and not च्छ॥ This indicates that तुक् is added to the long vowel.

Thus चेच्छिद्यते॥

१४९। पदान्ताद्वा। ६। १। ७६॥

दीर्घात्पदान्ताच्छे परे तुग्वा स्यात्। लक्ष्मीच्छाया। लक्ष्मीछाया॥

149. The augment त्, is added optionally to a long vowel final in a full word (Pada) when followed by छ॥

Thus लक्ष्मी च्छाया or लक्ष्मी छाया॥

———.o———

अथ विसर्गसंधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER VI.

THE VISARGA SANDHI.

१४९ । विसर्जनीयस्य सः । ८ । ३ । ३४ ॥

विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

149 A. स् is the the substitute of a visarga, when a hard consonant (खर्) follows.

This sutra has already been taught before It is repeated here for the sake of the visarga Sandhi Thus विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुर् + त्राता = विष्णुः + त्राता = विष्णुस् + त्राता = विष्णुस्त्राता ॥

First, the स of the affix सु of the nominative singular is changed to रु by VIII. 2 66. S 162, and then this र् is changed to *Visarga* by VIII. 3. 15 S 76 and then this *Visarga* is changed to स् by the present rule This स् is not again changed to रु because with regard to रु this visarga-born स् is considered as *asiddha*

१५० । शर्परे विसर्जनीयः । ८ । ३ । ३५ ॥

शर्परे खरि विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीयो न त्वन्यत् । कः त्सरुः । घनाघनः क्षोभणः । इह यथायथं सत्व जिह्वामूलीयश्च न ॥

150. The visarga is the substitute of visarga, when it is followed by a hard consonant (खर्) which itself is followed by a sibilant (शर्) ॥

The word शर्परे is a Bahuvrîhi, meaning that which is followed by शर् In other words, when a sibilant follows a hard consonant, the preceding visarga remains unchanged Thus कः त्सरुः, घनाघनः क्षोभणः ॥

Though the sûtra could have been shortened by saying शर्परे न ; yet the longer form is used, in order to indicate that the jihvâmulîya and upadhmânîya changes also do not take place, in cases like अद्भिः प्सातम्, वासः क्षौमम् ॥

१५१ । वा शरि । ८ । ३ । ३६ ॥

शरि परे विसर्जनीयस्य विसर्जनीय एव वा स्यात् । हरिः शेते । हरिश्शेते । खर्परे शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः * ॥ रामस्थाता । हरिस्फुरति । पक्षे विसर्गे सत्वे च त्रैरूप्यम् ॥

151. The visarga is optionally the substitute of visarga, when a sibilant follows.

As हरि शेते or हरिश्शेते,

Vârt.—When the sibilant is followed by a hard consonant, there is optionally the elision of the preceding visarga. As राम स्थाता or रामः स्थाता हरिस्फुरति or हरि स्फुरति ॥

In the other alternative there will be Visarga or the स् change Thus we get three forms रामस्थाता or रामः स्थाता or रामस्स्थाता

कुप्वोः ᳵ क ᳶ पौ च । ८ । ३ । ३७ ॥

क ᳵ करोति । कः करोति । क ᳵ खनति । कः खनति । क ᳶ पचति । कः पचति । क ᳶ फलति । कः फलति ॥

151 A. ᳵ क and ᳶ प are optionally substituted for the visarga, when followed by a hard guttural or a hard labial. This sûtra has already been taught before (S. 142.)

Thus क + करोति or क ᳵ करोति ॥ The क and प in ᳵ क and ᳶ प are for the sake of pronunciation only. The substitutes are the Jihvâmûliya and the Upadhmânîya: two lost sibilants belonging to the class of क and प respectively.

The rule VIII. 3. 34, S. 138 does not apply, because this sûtra is an apvâda to that But VIII. 3 35 S. 150 will not be debarred. As वासः क्षौमम् आद्भिःप्सातम् ॥ There is no vipratishedha between VIII. 3 35, and 37, In fact, because of the asiddhahood of one with regard to the other, (VIII. 2. 1). every rule in these three chapters stands by itself, and ignores the *existence* of the subsequent rule. Hence VIII. 3. 35 would not have been debarred by VIII. 3 37.

To get this, some divide this sûtra into two —(1) कुप्वोः "The visarga is the substitute of visarga before a guttural or labial which is followed by a sibilant" (2) ᳵ क ᳶ पौ च "The jihvâmûlîya and upadhmânîya are substitutes of a visarga before a guttural and a labial in every other case."

१५२ । सोऽपदादौ । ८ । ३ । ३८ ॥

विसर्जनीयस्य सः स्यादपदाद्योः कुप्वोः परयोः ॥ पाशकल्पककाम्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ पयस्पाशम् यशस्ककल्पम् । यशस्कम् । यशस्काम्यति ॥ अनव्ययस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ प्रातः कल्पम् ॥ काम्ये रोरेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥ नेह । गीः काम्यति ॥

152. स is the substitute of a visarga before an affix beginning with a hard guttural or labial.

The word अपदादौ means "when the guttural and labial are not at the beginning of a *word*," in other words, when they stand at the beginning of an affix.

Vârt —This is possible only before the affixes पाश, कल्प, क, and काम्य Thus पयस्पाशम् (V 3 47 S 1993), पयस्कल्पम्, यशस्कल्पम्, (V 3 67 S 2022), (V 3 70 S 2025), यशस्कम्, यशस्काम्यति (III 1. 9 S 2663).

Vart —Prohibition must be stated, when the visarga belongs to an Indeclinable, as, प्रातः कल्पम्॥

Vart —The visarga which comes from स is only changed to स before काम्य, and not any other visarga As पयस्काम्यति, and यशस्काम्यति; but not here, गीः काम्यति ॥

१५३। इणः षः। ८। ३। ३९॥

इणः परस्य विसर्गस्य षकारः स्यात्पूर्वविषये। सर्पिष्पाशम्। सर्पिष्कल्पम्। सर्पिष्कम्। सर्पिष्काम्यति॥

153. ष is the substitute of that visarga, which is preceded by इ or उ and is followed by an affix beginning with a hard guttural or a labial, under the circumstances mentioned in the preceding sûtra

Thus सर्पिष्पाशम्, सर्पिष्कल्पम्; सर्पिष्कम् सर्पिष्काम्यति॥

१५४। नमस्पुरसोर्गत्योः। ८। ३ ४०॥

गतिसंज्ञयोरनयोर्विसर्गस्य सः कुप्वोः परयोः। नमस्करोति। साक्षात्प्रभृतित्वात् कृञो योगे विभाषा गतिसंज्ञा। तदभावे नमः करोति। पुरोऽव्ययमिति नित्यं गतिसंज्ञा। पुरस्करोति। अगतित्वान्नेह पूः पुरौ पुरः प्रविष्टव्याः॥

154. For the visarga of नमस् and पुरस् there is substituted स before a hard guttural or a labial, when these words are Gati (I. 4 67 and 74 S 768 and 775).

Thus नमस्करोति॥

The word नमस् is optionally a Gati word when it is combined with the verb कृ, because it belongs to the class of साक्षात् &c (see Ganapâtha under I 4 74) When it is not a Gati word, then we have नमः करोति॥ पुरस् is always a Gati when it is Indeclinable (I 4 67 S 768) Thus पुरस्करोति॥ But when it is not a Gati word then पूः प्रविष्टव्या where पुर् is a noun and is declined as पूः (N S), पुरौ (N D), पुरः (N Pl)

१५५। इदुदुपधस्य चाऽप्रत्ययस्य। ८। ३। ४१॥

इकारोकारोपधस्याप्रत्ययस्य विसर्गस्य षः स्यात्कुप्वोः। निष्प्रत्यूहम्। आविष्कृतम्। दुष्कृतम्। अप्रत्ययस्य किम्। अग्निः करोति। वायुः करोति। एकादेशशास्त्रनिमित्तकस्य न षत्वम्। कस्कादिषु भ्रातुष्पुत्रशब्दस्य पाठात्। तेनेह न। मातुः कृपा॥ मुहुसः प्रतिषेधः॥ मुहुः कामा॥

155. ष is substituted, before a hard guttural or a

labial, for the visarga which is preceded by इ or उ, and is not part of an affix.

This applies to the visarga of निर्, दुर्, बहिर्, आविस्, चतुर् and प्रादुस् ॥

Thus निष्प्रत्यूहम् आविष्कृतम्, दुष्कृतम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not belonging to an affix'? Observe अग्निः करोति, वायुः करोति ॥ How do you explain मातुः कृपा ? For here in मातु &c, the स् of the affix is elided by VIII 2 24, S. 280 and the र् of मातुर् is changed to visarga, this is not the visarga of an affix, and ought to be changed to ष ॥

Ans.—The inclusion of the word भ्रातुष्पुत्रः in Kaskâdi-class (VIII. 3 48 S 144) indicates by implication, that ष change does not take place of this visarga in पितुः, मातुः &c · the only exception being भ्रातु ॥ The reason of this is that the visarga here does not follow a simple उ, but an ekâdeśa उ obtained by ऋ+अ=उ (VI 1. 111 S 279)

Vart :—Prohibition must be stated in the case of मुहुस्, as मुहुस्कामा or मुहुः कामा ॥

१५६ । तिरसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ४२

तिरसः सो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः । तिरस्कर्ता । तिरः कर्ता ॥

156. The visarga of the Gati तिरस् is optionally changed to स before a hard guttural or a labial.

Thus तिरस्कर्त्ता, or तिरः कर्त्ता ॥

१५७ । द्विस्त्रिश्चतुरिति कृत्वोर्थे । ८ । ३ । ४३ ॥

कृत्वोर्थे वर्तमानानामेषां विसर्गस्य षकारो वा स्यात् कुप्वोः । द्विष्करोति । द्विः करोतीत्यादि । कृत्वोर्थे किम् । चतुष्कपाल ॥

157. ष् is optionally the substitute of the visargas of द्विस्, त्रिस् and चतुर् when they are used as Numeral adverbs, (before a hard guttural and labial).

The affix सुच् (स्) is added to the three words dvi, tri and chatur in the sense of kṛtvasuch by V. 4. 18 S. 2086.

As द्विः करोति or द्विष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when used in the sense of kritvasuch or Numeral adverbs'? Observe चतुष्कपाल· where ष् is compulsory by VIII. 3 41. S 155.

१५८ । इसुसोः सामर्थ्ये ॥ ८ । ३ । ४४ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य षः स्याद्वा कुप्वोः । सर्पिष्करोति सर्पिः करोति । धनुष्करोति । धनुः करोति । सामर्थ्यमिह व्यपेक्षा । सामर्थ्ये किम् । तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब त्वमुदकम् ॥

158. For the visarga of words ending in इस् and उस्, before a hard guttural or labial, there is optionally substituted ष, when the two words stand in correlation with one another.

The ष is understood here Thus सर्पिष्करोति or सर्पिः करोति, धनु करोति or धनुष्करोति ॥

Why do we say 'when the two words are correlated'? Observe तिष्ठतु सर्पिः, पिब त्वमुदकम् where सर्पि is not in construction with पिब, but with तिष्ठतु ॥

The word सामर्थ्य here means व्यपेक्षा or mutual relation of two words; and not "having the same meaning," or it may mean both. In fact सामर्थ्य is equivalent to आकाङ्क्षा i. e the syntactical want of another word to complete the sense. It does not here mean 'compound' But it being a पदविधि the word समर्थ is understood here (समर्थः पदविधि II 1. 1 S. 647) The employment of the word सामर्थ्य here indicates that it is a different sâmarthya from that of II 1 1 It does not denote एकार्थीभावः or ऐकार्थ्य which is the sâmarthya of compounds where *two* or *more* words denote *one* object. The sâmarthya here means vyapekshâ which is thus defined नानाभूतयोः, पदार्थयो यौं शब्दौ वर्त्तेत, तयो र्यो योगः "the syntactical union of two words expressing two different ideas"

१५९ । नित्यं समासेऽनुत्तरपदस्थस्य । ८ । ३ । ४५ ॥

इसुसोर्विसर्गस्यानुत्तरपदस्थस्य नित्य षः स्यात् कुप्वो परयोः । सर्पिष्कुण्डिका । धनुष्कपालम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति किम् । परमसर्पि कुण्डिका । कस्कादिषु सर्पिष्कुण्डिकाशब्दोऽसमासे व्यपेक्षाविरहेऽपि षत्वार्थः । व्यपक्षायां नित्यार्थश्च ॥

159. The visarga of an इस् or उस्-ending word, which is not preceded by any other word, is invariably changed to ष in a compound, when followed by a hard guttural or labial.

The word इस् and उस् are understood here. Thus सर्पिष्कुण्डिका धनुष्कपालम् ॥

Why do we say when it is not preceded by another word? Observe परमसर्पि· कुण्डिका The option even of the last sûtra does not apply to these examples

The inclusion of the word सर्पिष्कुण्डिका in the कस्कादि class (VIII. 3. 48. S 161 A) indicates that the ष change will take place even when there is no compounding as well as when there is no व्यपेक्षा or co-relation. But when there is व्यपेक्षा the ष change is compulsory.

Q—The word सर्पिस् is derived from the root सृप् by adding the Unâdi affix इसि (Uṇ II. 109), and धनुस् by the Uṇâdi affix उसि (Uṇ II. 117), therefore

on the maxim प्रत्ययग्रहणे &c, the word इसुसो would denote the mere forms सर्पिस् and धनुस् and not forms like परमसर्पिस् &c then what is the necessity of employing the word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य in the sûtra?

Ans—The very employment of the word anuttara-pada-sthasya in this sûtra, is an indicator (jñâpaka), that the restriction of the following maxim does not apply with regard to the affixes इस् and उस्—प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् "an affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself" This maxim not applying, we have परमसर्पिष्करोति or परमसर्पिः करोति by the previous sûtra VIII 3 44

Q—Why is not there option in the case of compounds also by the previous sûtra?

Ans—Because the word सामर्थ्य there means व्यपेक्षा, and therefore does not apply to compounds

१६० । अतः कृकमिकंसकुम्भपात्रकुशाकर्णीष्वनव्ययस्य । ८ । ३ । ४६ ॥

अकारादुत्तरस्यानव्ययस्य विसर्गस्य समासे नित्यं सकारादेशः स्यात्करोत्यादिषु परेषु न तूत्तरपदस्थस्य । अयस्कारः । अयस्कामः । अयस्कंसः । अयस्कुम्भः । अयस्पात्रम् । अयःसहिता कुशा अयस्कुशा । अयस्कर्णी । अतः किम् । गीःकारः । अनव्ययस्य किम् । स्वःकामः । समासे किम् । यशः करोति । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य किम् । परमयशःकारः ॥

160. For the visarga of a word ending in अस्, with the exception of an Indeclinable, स् is substituted in a compound, when a form of कृ and कम्, or the words कंस, कुम्भ, पात्र, कुशा and कर्णी follow, and the first word is not preceded by another word.

Thus कृ—अयस्कारः, (III 2 1 S 2913) कम्—अयस्कामः, कंस—अयस्कंसः, कुम्भः, अयस्कुम्भः, पात्र—अयस्पात्रम्, कुशा—अयस्कुशा, कर्णी—अयस्कर्णी ॥

Why do we say अतः "a visarga preceded by short अ or the visarga of the word ending in अ"? See गीःकारः ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of an Indeclinable"? Observe स्वःकामः ॥

The word समासे is understood here also. Therefore not here, यशः करोति ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also to be read in this Therefore not here, परमयशःकारः ॥

१६१ । अधःशिरसी पदे । ८ । ३ । ४७ ॥

एतयोर्विसर्गस्य सादेशः स्यात्पदशब्दे परे । अधस्पदम् । शिरस्पदम् । समास इत्येव । अधः पदम् । शिरः पदम् । अनुत्तरपदस्थस्येत्येव । परमशिरःपदम् ॥

161. For the visarga of अधस् or शिरस् when not preceded by another word, and followed by the word पद in composition with it, there is substituted स् ॥

Thus अधस्पदम्, शिरस्पदम् ॥

The word समासे is understood in this, therefore not here अधः पदम्, शिरः पदम् ॥

The word अनुत्तरपदस्थस्य is also understood here. Therefore not in the following परमशिर पदम् ॥

१६१ । कस्कादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ४८ ॥

भास्करः ॥

161 A. स or ष is substituted for the visarga, before a hard guttural and labial in the words कस्क and the rest. This sûtra has already been taught before (see S. 144). It is read here again for the purpose of *Visarga-Sandhi*. Thus भा + कर = भास्कर ॥

———:o:———

अथ स्वादिप्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VII.

ON COMBINATION OF CASE-ENDINGS.

१६२ । ससजुषो रुः । ८ । २ । ६६ ॥

पदान्तस्य सस्य सजुषशब्दस्य च रुः स्यात् । जश्त्वापवादः ॥

162. For the final स् and for the ष् of सजुष् is substituted रु, at the end of a word. This debars जश्.

Thus, शिवस् + अर्च्य, here शिवस् is a word formed with the Nominative Singular case affix सु. This स् will be changed by the above Sûtra into रु and not to a जश् letter. Thus, we get शिवर् + अर्च्य Then applies the next rule :—

१६३ । अतो रोरप्लुतादप्लुते । ६ । १ । ११३ ॥

अप्लुतादतः परस्य रोरु स्यादप्लुतेऽति । भोभगोऽघो इतिप्राप्तस्य यत्वस्यापवादः । उत्वं प्रति रुत्वस्याऽसिद्धत्वं तु न भवति । रुत्वमनूद्य उत्वविधे सामर्थ्यात् ॥

163. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of a final स् VIII. 2. 66.) when an अ, which is not a *pluta*, both precedes and follows it.

This sûtra debars the य of VIII. 3 17 S 167 The रु taught in the Tripâdi VIII. 2. 66 S. 162 is not *asiddha* though so required by VIII 2. 2 S 12 for the purposes of उ substitution required by the present sûtra of the 6th Adhyâya. This is because this sûtra specifically mentions the word रु and then ordains उ in its stead. Had this sûtra not perceived the रु of VIII. 2. 66. it would have simply ignored it and not mentioned it at all

The phrase उत् is understood here, as well as the word अति of VI. 1. 109, Therefore शिवर् + अर्च्यः = शिव + उ + अर्च्यः At this stage, the next sûtra VI. 1. 102 raises a doubt, viz, should अ and उ of शिव + उ become a long आ as शिवा.

१६४ । प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः । ६ । १ । १०२ ॥

अकः प्रथमाद्वितीययोरचि परे पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

164. For the simple vowel of a nominal-stem and for the vowel of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the

Accusative in all numbers, there is the single substitution of a long vowel corresponding to the first vowel.

The words अक् and दीर्घ are both understood here. The word प्रथमा here means the प्रथमा विभक्ति i e the 1st case of the Nominative, and includes here the द्वितीया विभक्ति also. This sûtra teaches the substitution of a पूर्वरूप or a homogenous long vowel corresponding to the first vowel. But this rule does not apply in the case of शिव उ + अच्य, because of the following *apavâda* rule.

१६५ । नादिचि । ६ । १ । १०४ ॥

अवर्णादिचि परे न पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । आद्गुणः । एङः पदान्तादति । शिवोऽर्च्यः । अत इति तपर किम । देवा अत्र । अतीति तपर किम । खआगन्ता । अप्लुतादित्किम् । एहि सुस्रात³ अत्र स्नाहि । प्लुतस्यासिद्धत्वादत परोऽयम् । अप्लुतादिति विशेषणे तु तत्सामर्थ्यान्नासिद्धत्वम । तपरकरणस्य तु न सामर्थ्यं दीर्घनिवृत्त्या चरितार्थत्वात् । अप्लुत इति किम । तिष्ठतु पय अ³ ग्निदत्त । गुरोरनृत इति प्लुत ॥

165. The substitution of a long vowel homogenous with the first, does not take place when अ or आ is followed by a vowel (other than अ) of the case-affixes of the Nominative and the Accusative.

Therefore शिवउ + अर्च्यः = शिवोऽर्च्यः । The अ उ become guna by the आद्गुणः (VI. 1 87. S 69) and the subsequent अ of अर्च्य is elided by एङः पदान्तादति (VI. 1. 109 S. 86) Why do we say 'after a short अ'? Or why have we added a त् to अ? So that the long आ may be excluded. Observe देवा + अत्र = देवा अत्र ॥ The word अति is understood here from VI. I 109 S. 86 इ must be followed by a short अ, thus खट् + आगन्ता = खआगन्ता । Why do we say 'preceded by an apluta अ'? The rule will not apply if a Pluta vowel precedes it As एहि सुस्रोत ३ अत्र स्नाहि । Though the word is अत् in the sûtra, and it means only short अ and neither long आ nor the pluta अ३, yet the word is repeated in the sûtra for the following reason. In the above example एहि सुस्रोत³ अत्र स्नाहि, the अ of सुस्रोतस् is prolated by VIII 2 84. This prolation being effected by a Tripâdi rule, would not be perceived by VI 1 113, and for the purposes of this latter rule the prolation is non existent, and the अ is still short. Therefore to make the prolation siddha or effective for the purposes of VI. 1. 113, the word "pluta" is specifically mentioned in the sûtra. The त् of अत् would not have produced this result, because that त् found its scope in preventing the application of the rule to the *long* आ ॥

Why do we say "when followed by an *apluta* अ?" Observe तिष्ठतु पय अ³ग्निदत्त ! "O Agnidatta ! let the milk remain." Here अ३ of Agnidatta is pluta by VIII 2 86 and it being asiddha, the present rule would have applied.

१६६ । हशि च । ६ । १ । ११४ ॥

अप्लुतादत परस्य रोरु स्याद्धशि । शिवो वन्द्यः । रोरित्युकारानुबन्धग्रहणान्नेह । प्रातरत्र । भ्रातर्गच्छ । देवास् इह इति स्थिते । रुत्वम् ॥

166. The उ is the substitute of रु (the र् substitute of स् VIII 2. 66) when it is followed by a soft consonant and preceded by an apluta short अ ॥

The हश् pratyâhâra includes all sonants or soft consonants. Thus शिवोवन्द्यः ।

The उ substitution takes place in the case of that र् only which is called रु in this Grammar ; i e र् with the indicatory letter उ , therefore not in प्रातर्+अत्र = प्रातरत्र or भ्रातर्+गच्छ = भ्रातर्गच्छ ।

Now we take up the Sandhi of देवास् + इह । Here the स् is first changed into रु by VIII. 2. 66. Then we apply the following rule —

१६७ । भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य योऽशि । ८ । ३ । १७ ॥

एतत्पूर्वस्य रोर्यादेशः स्यादशि परे । असन्धिः सौत्रः । लोपः शाकल्यस्य । देवा इह । देवायिह । अशि किम् । देवा सन्ति । यद्यपीह यत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्विसर्गो लभ्यते तथापि विसर्गस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन रुत्वाद्यत्वं स्यात् । न ह्ययमल्विधि । रोरिति समुदायरूपाश्रयणात् । भोस् भगोस् अघोस् इति सकारान्ता निपाताः । तेषां रोर्यत्वे कृते ॥

167. य् is substituted for the रु called र, when it is preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, अ or आ, before an अश् letter (vowels and soft consonants).

In the Sûtra भगो, अघो have not been combined by the rules of Sandhi. Thus we get देवास् + इह = देवार् + इह = देवाय् + इह = देवा इह or देवा यिह । In one case we elide य् by the rule लोपः शाकल्यस्य (VIII 3. 19 S 67).

Why do we say 'when followed by a letter of अश् pratyâhâra' ? Observe देवाः सन्ति ।

Though in the Sûtra the य् being considered as *asiddha*, the रु will be changed not to य but to *visarga* ; yet this *visarga* being considered as *sthânivat* to रु, will be changed to य् । Moreover, it should not be objected that this is an *alvidhi* and therefore, the *visarga* will not be *sthânivat* to रु, because here the whole word-form रु is taken and therefore it is not an *alvidhi*.

In the sutra भोस्, भगोस्, अघोस् are three particles ending in स् The स् will be changed to रु and the रु to य् and thus we have भोय्, भगोय् and अघोय्. Here applies the next sutra :—

१६८ । व्योर्लघुप्रयत्नतरः शाकटायनस्य । ८ । ३ । १८ ॥

पदान्तयोर्वकारयकारयोर्लघूच्चारणौ वयौ वा स्तोऽशि परे । यस्योच्चारणे जिह्वाग्रोपाग्रमध्यमूलानां शैथिल्यं जायते स लघूच्चारणः ॥

168 व् and य् (in भगोय् &c and after अ or आ, at the end of a Pada) are pronounced with a lighter articulation before an अश् letter, according to the opinion of Śâkaṭâyana

The effort in pronouncing which is very light is called laghu-prayatna-tara. Effort or articulation is a quality of the person who utters and which is the cause of the utterance of a letter य् and व् of lighter articulation are substituted for the final व and य् in भोय्, भगोय्, अघोय्, or after an अ or आ ॥ The lighter य् will replace the heavy य्, and so the lighter व् the heavy व् ॥

Thus भोयत्र, भगोयत्र, अघोयत्र, कयास्ते, or क आस्ते, अस्मायुद्धर or अस्मा उद्धर, असावादित्य or आसा आदित्यः, द्वावत्र or द्वावानय, or द्वाआनय ॥

The lighter articulation results from the relaxation of the muscles and the organs employed in speech The places of pronunciation are palate &c, the organs are the root, the middle and the tip of the tongue. When the contact of the tongue with the various places is very light, the articulation is laghu-praytna-tara In fact, य् and व् are to be slurred over.

१६९ । ओतो गार्ग्यस्य । ८ । ३ । २० ॥

ओकारात्परस्य पदान्तस्याऽलघुप्रयत्नस्य यकारस्य नित्यं लोपः स्यात् । गार्ग्यग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । भो अच्युत । लघुप्रयत्नपक्षे भोयच्युत । पदान्तस्य किम् । तोयम् ॥

169. य् preceded by ओ and final in a Pada and when it is not pronounced with a light articulation is always elided, before an अश् letter according to the opinion of Gârgya.

There can be no व् preceded by ओ, so only य् is taken in explaining the sutra. Thus भो अच्युत ॥

The making of it a separate sûtra, is for the sake of indicating that this is a necessary (*nitya)* rule and not a vibhasha rule. The name of Gârgya is used simply *honoris causa* (pujârtha), The elision of laghu-prayatna य् which VIII. 3 19 would have otherwise caused is hereby prohibited. So that the laghu prayatnatara य does come also. As भोयच्युत ॥

Why do we say final in a Pada ? Observe तोयम्.

१७० । उञि च पदे । ८ । ३ । २१ ॥

अवर्णपूर्वयोः पदान्तयोर्यवयोर्लोप उञि परे । स उ एकाग्निः । पदे किम् । तन्त्रयुतम् । वेमः ओमसारणे रूपम् । यदि तु प्रतिपदोक्तो निपात उञिति गृह्येत तदुत्तरार्थं पदग्रहणम् ॥

170. व् and य् (preceded by अ, or आ at the end of a pada), and followed by उ, when it is a word, are elided necessarily.

The *particle* उ is a full pada or word That Particle is meant here by the word उञ् and not the उञ् which is a root obtained by the samprasâraṇa of वेञ् ॥ Thus स उ एकाग्निः ॥

Why do we use the word पदे "उ when it is a pada"? So that the rule may not apply to उञ् the form assumed by वेञ् by samprasârana, as तन्त्रे उत=तन्त्रयुतम् ॥ *Quere* — उञ्, could never have meant the form assumed by वेञ्, for the samprasârana of वञ्, is उ, the ञ् is merely indicatory Moreover the maxim of lakshana- pratipadokta &c, will prevent the inclusion of this उञ resulting from vocalisation, when there is a separate Particle उञ् ॥

The word पदे is used here for the sake of the subsquent sûtras like VIII. 3 32. This is also a *nitya* rule, and not optional, Had it been optional, there would have been no necessity of this aphorism, because VIII. 3. 19. would have been enough

Note —The maxim above referred to "लक्षण प्रतिपदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणम्" means:

(Whenever a term is employed which might denote) both something original and also something else resulting from a rule (of grammar),—or (when a term is employed in a rule which might denote) both something (formed by another rule) in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule,—such a term should be taken to denote, (in the former case) only that which is original, and (in the latter case) only that (which is formed by that rule) in which the same individual term has been employed.

१७१ । हलि सर्वेषाम् । ८ । ३ । २२ ॥

भोभगोअघोअपूर्वस्य लघ्वलघूच्चारणस्य यकारस्य लोपः स्याद्धलि सर्वेषां मतेन । भो देवाः । भो लक्ष्मि । भो विद्वद्वृन्द । भगो नमस्ते । अघो याहि । देवा नम्याः । देवा यान्ति । हलि किम् । देवायिह ॥

171. (The य whether lightly pronounced or not preceded by भो, भगो, अघो, or by अ or आ, being final in a pada, is elided) before a consonant, according to the opinion of all the Âchâryas.

Thus भोदेव ; भोलक्ष्मि, भोविद्वद्वृन्द, भगोनमस्ते, अघोयाहि, देवा नम्याः, देवायान्ति ॥ Why do we say followed by a consonant ? Observe देवायिह or देवाइह ॥

१७२ । रोऽसुपि । ८ । २ । ६९ ॥

अह्नो रेफादेशः स्यान्न तु सुपि । रो-रपवादः । अहरहः । अहर्गणः । असुपि किम् । अहोभ्याम् । अत्र-हन्निति रुत्वम् ॥ रूपरात्रिरथन्तरेषु रुत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ अहोरूपम । गतमहो रात्रिरेषा । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वादहोरात्रः । अहोरथन्तरम ॥ अहरादीनां पत्यादिषु वा रेफ * ॥ विसर्गापवादः । अहर्पतिः । गीर्पति । धूर्पति । पक्षे विसर्गोपध्मानीयौ ॥

172. When no case-ending follows (i. e. at the end of a Pada in the narrower sense), र् is substituted for the न् of अहन् ॥

This debars रु. Thus अहरह । अहर्गणः ॥ Why do we say 'when no case-ending follows'? Observe अहोभ्याम्, Here रु-called र् replaced the final न् of अहन् by VIII. 2. 68. S 443. The difference between this रु-called र and the ordinary र is illustrated in the above set of examples. The रु-called र is changed to उ by VI. 1 113, S. 163. the ordinary र is not so changed.

Vart.—Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to रु, As अहोरूपम् , गतमहोरात्रिरेषा. So also अहोरात्र, though the word रात्र is not रात्रि ॥ This is on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् which means:—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) some thing else (than what it was before the change had taken place). अहोरथन्तरम्.

Vart.—The words अहर् &c before पति &c should be enumerated. That is, the finals of अहर् &c are replaced by रु or र before पति &c. As अहर्पतिः or अहःपति or अहःपतिः , गीर्पतिः, गीः पति or गीःपति , धूर्पतिः, धूः पतिः or धूःपतिः ॥ Here र् is substituted for the final र् of अहर् &c. which at first sight may appear superfluous. But it is so ordained, in order to prevent the visarga change of this र्

१७३ । रो रि । ८ । ३ । १४ ॥

रेफस्य रेफे परे लोपः स्यात् ॥

173. र् is elided before a र् ॥

Note—The sûtra is रः रि and not रोः रि ॥ That is रो रि is the form which रः रि and रोः रि will both assume र is the Genitive of र्, and रो would be the Genitive of रु ॥ The sûtra is not confined to रु only, but to every र् in general including रु ॥ Thus नीरक्तम्, दूरक्तम् ॥

१७४ । ढ्रलोपे पूर्वस्य दीर्घोऽणः । ६ । ३ । १११ ॥

ढरेफौ लोपयतीति तथा तस्मिन्वर्णेऽर्थाद् ढकाररेफात्मके परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् पुना । रमते । हरी रम्यः । शम्भू राजते । अणः किम् । तृढः । वृढः । तृहू हिंसायाम् । वृहू उद्यमने । पूर्वग्रहणमनुत्तरपदेऽपि पूर्वमात्रस्य दीर्घार्थम् । लीढः । अजर्घाः । मनस् रथ इत्यत्र रुत्वे कृते हशि चेत्युत्वे रोरिति लोपे च प्राप्ते ।

174. When ढ् or र् is elided, for the preceding अ, इ and उ, a corresponding long vowel is substituted.

Thus पुनर् + रमते = पुनारमते ; हरिर् + रम्यः = हरी रम्यः ; शम्भुर् + राजते = शम्भूराजते । Why do we say अण Observe तृढ वृढ from the roots तृहू 'to injure' and 'वृहू' 'to exert.' Here the ऋ is not lengthened because it is not included in अण् pratyâhâra.

The word तृढः is thus formed, तृह् + क्त (त) = तृढ + त (होढः VIII. 2 31. S. 324) = तृढ् + ध (झषस्तथोर्धोऽध VIII. 2 40 S. 2280) = तृढ् + ढ् (ष्टुनाष्टुः VIII. 4 41) = तृ + o + ढ (ढो ढे लोपः VIII. 3. 13. S 2335). Here ढ् is elided, but as the preceding vowel ऋ is not included in अण् pratyâhâra, which includes only अ, इ and उ (the ण् being the first ण्), so there is no lengthening.

The word पूर्वस्य 'for the preceding' is used in the sûtra in order to indicate that there is the lengthening of the अण् vowel, even when no other word follows it, in fact the lengthening is of the preceding vowel alone, irrespective of any other word following it or not. Thus अजर्घाः, लीढ ॥

The word अजर्घा is thus formed. To the root गृध "to covet" we add the intensive affix यङ्लुक् and the affix लङ् and सिप् and the doubling. Thus we get the form अजर्घरर् the second person singular of the Imperfect of the Intensive, and we get the form अजर्घा ॥

Note.—The word अजर्घाः is thus formed —

गृध् + यङ् + सिप् (the 2nd Per. Sing in लङ्) =
गृध् + o + सि (यङोऽचि च II 4. 74 S. 2650) =
गृध् गृध् + सि (सन् यङो VI 1. 9. S. 2 395) =
गर्ध् गृध् + सि = (गुणो यङ् लुकोः VII. 4. 82. S. 2 630) =
ग गृध् + सि (हलादि शेष VII. 4. 60. S. 2179) =
गर्गृध् + सि (रुग्रिकौ च लुकि VII 4. 91. S. 2652) =
जर्गृध् + सि (अभ्यासे चर् च VIII 4. 54. S 2182) =
जर्गर्ध् + सि (पुगन्तलघूपधस्य च VII. 3 86 S. 2189) =
जर्गर्ध् + स् (इतश्च III. 4. 100 S. 2207) =
जर्गर्ध् + o (हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो VI. 1. 68. S. 252) =
जर्घर्ध् (एकाचो बशो भष् VIII. 2. 37 S. 326) =
जर्घर्द् (झलां जशोऽन्ते VIII. 2 39 S 84) =
जर्घरर् (रुश्च VIII. 2. 75 S 2468) =
जर्घ + o + र् (रो रि VIII. 3. 14 S. 173) =

जर्घा + र् (the present Sûtra) which with the augment अट् (लुङ् लङ् लृङ् क्ष्व अट् VI. 4. 71 S. 2206). becomes अजर्घाः ॥

The word लीढः is formed from लिह् + त. The ह is changed to ढ by VIII. 2. 31. S. 324. and the त is first changed to ध by VIII. 2. 40, S. 2240 and then to ढ by VIII. 4 41, S. 113.

Thus we get लिढ्+ढ The first ढ् being elided by VIII 3. 13. S. 2335. we get the form लीढ by the present sûtra.

Now we take the *sandhi* of मनस्+रथ = मनर्+रथ.. Here two sûtras simultaneously apply viz. हशि च VI. 1 14. S 166 causing the substitution of उ for र् and the sûtra रो रि VIII 3. 14 S. 173. causing the elision of र् What sûtra are we to apply ? Here comes the following Interpretation sûtra.

१७५ । विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् । १ । ४ ॥ २ ॥

तुल्यबलविरोधे परं कार्यं स्यात् । इति लोपे प्राप्ते । पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति रोरीत्यस्यासिद्धत्वादुत्वमेव । मनोरथः ॥

175. When rules of equal force prohibit each other, then the last in the order herein given is to take effect

The word विप्रतिषेध means 'opposition of rules of equal force'

Thus, the *lopa* rule being the *para* rule would cause the *lopa* of र् of मनर् before रथ But here we must remember the rule of पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् (VIII 2. 1. S. 12), therefore, the rule of elision of र् (VIII, 3. 14. S 173) is considered *asiddha* for the purposes of उ required by VI. 1, 114 S. 166. Therefore we have उ. Thus we have मनउ + रथ = मनोरथः ॥

१७६ । एतत्तदोः सुलोपो ऽकोरनञ्समासे हलि । ६ । १ । १३२ ॥

अककारयोरेतत्तदोर्यः सुस्तस्य लोपः स्याद्धलि न तु नञ्समासे । एष विष्णुः । स शंभुः । अकोः किम् ? एषको रुद्रः । अनञ्समासे किम् । असः शिवः । हलि किम् । एषोऽत्र ॥

176. After एतद् and तद् there is elision of the case-affix सु (of the nominative singular), when a consonant follows it, when these words are not combined with क (V. 3. 71 S. 2026.) and have not the Negative Particle in composition.

Thus एषः + विष्णुः = एष विष्णुः ॥ स शंभुः ॥ Why do we say 'without क' ? Observe एषको रुद्रः ॥

NOTE —The words एतद् and तद् with the affix अकच्, which falls in the middle would be considered just like the एतद् and तद्, without such affix, and in fact would be included in the words एतद् and तद्, hence the necessity of the prohibition The general maxim is: तन्मध्यपतितस्तद् ग्रहणेन गृह्यते 'any term that may be employed in Grammar denotes not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when something is inserted in that which is actually denoted by it'

Why do we say "when not compounded with the negative particle"? Observe असःशिवः ॥ In the compound with the negative particle नञ्, the second member is the principal and takes the case affixes. Why do we say 'when followed by a consonant'? Observe एषोऽत्र ॥

१७७। सो ऽचि लोपे चेत्पादपूरणम्। ६। १। १३४॥

स इत्यस्य सोर्लोपः स्यादचि पादश्चेल्लोपे सत्येव पूर्येत। सेमामविड्ढि प्रभृतिं य ईशिषे। इह ऋक्पाद एव गृह्यत इति वामन। अविशेषाच्छ्लोकपादोऽपीत्यपरे सैष दाशरथी राम। लोपे चेदिति किम्। स इत् क्षेति। स एवमुक्त्वा। सत्येवेत्यवधारणं तु स्यश्छन्दसि बहुलमिति पूर्वसूत्राद्बहुलग्रहणानुवृत्त्या लभ्यते। तेनेह न। सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम्॥

177. The case-affix of सस् 'he,' is elided before a vowel, if by such elision the metre of the foot becomes complete.

Thus सेमामविड्ढि प्रभृति य ईशिषे (Rig II 24 1) = सः इमाम् अविड्ढि (प्राप्नुहि, अवते प्राप्त्यर्थस्य लोटि रूप) प्रभृतिम् (प्रकर्षेण भृतां स्तुतिं) य (हे बृहस्पते यस्त्व) ईशिषे (सर्वस्य जगत ईश्वरो भवसि) " accept (O Brihaspati !) this good burden (of our praise) He who rulest. "

According to Vâmana the author of Kâśikâ, this rule is confined to Vedic metres only. According to others, the rule is applied to all ślokas without any such distinction.

In explaining this sûtra we have used the word सत्येव "only then" in order to limit its scope , and this we get by the force of the word बहुल in the sûtra VI. 1. 133. S. 3526. which immediately precedes it in the order of Ashtâdhyâyî. Therefore there is no elision here, because the verse is completed without elision.

सोऽहमाजन्मशुद्धानाम् (Raghuvansa) we cannot say स अहम् or साहम् &c. सेदु राजा क्षयति चर्षणीनाम् (Rig I. 32. 15) सौषधीरनुरुध्यसे (Rig VIII. 43 9). The case-ending being elided, the Sandhi takes place. Why do we say 'when by such elision the metre of the line is completed'? Observe स इत् क्षेति; सएवमुक्त्वा ॥ The word अचि in the sûtra is for the sake of distinctness for the purposes of metre would not have been served by eliding the affix before a consonant, for then the syllables would remain the same It is by sandhi that a syllable is lessened , and sandhi would take place only with a vowel. According to Kâsikâ the *Pâda* must refer to a Pâda of the Rig-Veda only. Others explain the word पाद as 'a foot of a śloka' also, and according to them this rule is not confined to Vedic metres only Thus we have .—सैष दाशरथी रामः, सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः, सैषकर्णो महात्यागी सैष भीमो महाबलः ॥

—.o.—

अथाजन्त पुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE DECLENSION OF MASCULINE BASES ENDING IN VOWELS.

१७८ । अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम् । १ । २ । ४५ ॥

धातु प्रत्यय प्रत्ययान्त च वर्जयित्वाऽर्थवच्छब्दस्वरूप प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

178. A significant form of a word, not being a verbal root *(dhâtu)*, or an affix *(prataya)* or a word ending in an affix, is called a *prâtipadika* or crude-form or Nominal base.

This defines the word "prâtipadika" or crude-form The prâtipadika is the intermediate stage in the development of a full word (pada), from the undifferentiated are called the dhâtu or root. It is that part of a word which is capable of receiving the case-terminations.

The word अर्थ वत् means having signification. With the exception of verbal roots and affixes, a word-form having a significance or meaning is called prâtipadika.

१७९ । कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च । १ । २ । ४६ ॥

कृत्तद्धितान्तौ समासाश्च प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञाः स्युः । पूर्वसूत्रेण सिद्धे समासग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । यत्र संघाते पूर्वो भागः पद तस्य चेद्भवति तर्हि समासस्यैव । तेन वाक्यस्य न ॥

179. The forms ending in Krit affixes, or *Taddhita* affixes, or compounds are also called *Prâtipadika*.

This further explains the use of the word prâtipadika. "Suffixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds. Those by which nouns are derived direct from roots, Primary Suffixes Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns; Secondary Suffixes. The former are called Kṛit, (III. 1. 93 S. 374) the latter *Taddhita* (IV. 1 76 S 530). Thus जन *jana*, man, is derived from the root जन् *jan* by the kṛit suffix अः but जनीन *janîna*, appropriate for man, is derived from जन *jana* by the Taddhita affix ईन *îna*. The name prâtipadika would apply both to जन *jana* and जनीन *janîna*, as nominal bases, ready to receive the terminations of declension" (Max Muller).

Of the compounds, there are six varieties, *viz.*, Tat-purusha, Karma-dhâraya, Dvandva, Bahuvrîhi, Avyayîbhâva and Dvigu.

In the last sûtra, the words "not ending in an affix" were too extensive; this sûtra makes an important provision in favor of words ending in Krít and *Taddhita* affixes So also compounds are also called prâtipadika. The word Samâsa is used in the sûtra to make a restrictive rule, where in a collection of words, the first part is a *pada* or a complete word, then the word *prâtipadika* would apply to that collection of words only, which forms a compound and to nothing else, therefore the term *Prâtipadika* would not apply to a sentence. Being restricted to compounds only, it, of course, does not apply to sentences

१८० । प्रत्ययः । ३ । १ । १ ॥

आपञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

180. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix.

१८१ । परश्च । ३ । १ । २ ॥

अयमपि तथा ॥

181. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikâra' or regulating sûtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms, or it might also be called a 'paribhâshâ' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhâtû' or root, or the 'prâtipadika' or crude form.

१८२ । ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् । ४ । १ । १ ॥

ङ्यन्तादाबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्चेत्यापञ्चमपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणमित्येव सिद्धे ङ्याब्ग्रहणं ङ्याबन्तात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्यथा स्यात् ङ्याभ्यां प्राङ् मा भूदित्येवमर्थम् ॥

182. (From this point forward as far as the end of Book Fifth, whatever we shall treat of, should be understood to come), after what ends with feminine affixes ङि or आप्, or after a crude-form.

This is an 'adhikâra' aphorism pure and simple. It simply consists of terms which other aphorisms, in order to complete their sense, are under the necessity of borrowing In other words, this sûtra points out the base प्रकृति to which the affixes beginning with सु treated of in the next sûtra, and ending with कप् (V 4 151), are to be applied.

The sûtra consists of three words. The term ङी is a common name for the three affixes ङीप्, ङीष्, and ङीन् । The term आप is the common name

for the three affixes टाप्, डाप् and चाप्। These are feminine affixes and are taught from sûtra 4 to 65 of the Fourth chapter. The word प्रातिपदिक means 'crudeform' and has been defined in sûtra 1. 2. 45,46, i e. that which is possessed of a meaning, not being a root or an affix; or what ends with a Kṛit or a Taddhita affix The word ङ्याप् प्रातिपदिकात् is a Ṣamâhâra-dvandva or Collective aggregate of these three words.

Paribhasha · Why have we employed the word 'ṅy-âp' in the aphorism? Is not the word prâtipadika wide enough to include the words ending with the feminine affixes, by virtue of the paribhâshâ :—" A prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude-form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender "?

Ans · The words ङी and आप् are specifically used in the sûtra in order to indicate that the Taddhita affixes should be added, *after* the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before.

Note —The Kâśikâ gives the following answer to the above question

Not so The paribhâshâ you quote applies to that case where there is a rule relating to an individual word-form given in the Sûtra itself. In other words, " this paribhâshâ is applicable when a word is employed in grammar which either denotes prâtipadikas generally (as the word 'prâtipadika' does in this sûtra) or denotes a particular prâtipadika, (such as the words युवा, खलति, पलित, वलिन, and जरति, in II. 1. 67)." That is, in II 1. 67, the masculine form yuvâ, also includes the feminine but not so everywhere. Moreover the words, ङी, आप् have been employed in the Sûtra, in order to make the taddhita affixes applicable to feminine words ending in long ई (ङी) or long आ (आप्) Thus the feminine of 'काल,' and 'हरिण' is, 'काली' and 'हरिणी', the feminine of 'खट्व' and 'माल' is 'खट्वा' and 'माला'॥ After these words we can apply the taddhita affix 'तरप्': as 'कालितरा,' 'हरिणितरा,' 'खट्वातरा,' and 'मालातरा'॥

Now, had we not used that word 'ṅy-âp' in the Sûtra, and wished to express the same idea as is done, say, by the word 'kâlitarâ,' we could not have got this form at all.

The word काल takes ङीप् by IV. 1. 42; to which when तरप् is added, the vowel is shortened by VI 3. 43; and we shall get the form कालितरा॥ Why do you then say that the taddhita affixes could not be applied, but for the words ṅy-âp?

A. To this we answer, that by the rule of vipratishedha, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine Thus when feminine alone is meant and not comparison, we shall have काली, and when comparison alone is meant and

not feminine, we shall have कालतर, but when both feminine and comparison are meant, then would arise the difficulty, and according to the general maxim, the taddhita would have debarred the feminine. But by using the word ny-âp, it is shown that *first* the feminine affixes are to be added, and then the comparison making affixes.

The objector says —The inclusion of ङी and आप् in this sûtra is useless, for the following reason —all bases ending with the Feminine affixes can be considered as Prâtipadikas, on the strength of the maxim Prâtipadika grahane linga-vishishtasya &c. For example, श्वश्रू "mother-in-law," derived from the masculine श्वशुर with the affix ऊङ् (see Vârtika under IV. 1. 68 S. 523 श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च) Here the word श्वश्रू must be a pratipadika, otherwise no case affix can be added to it, because it is neither a ङी nor an आप् ending word. But we *see* that case-affixes are added to it, and it can only be if the maxim above given be universally valid. Holding the above maxim to be valid, we come to the conclusion that all words ending in Feminine affixes (such as ङी, आप्, ऊ etc) are Pratipadikas; hence there is no necessity of using the words ङी and आप् in the sûtra

Ans So far as the addition of case affixes are concerned, we may consider the inclusion of ङी आप् as superfluous. But this sûtra not only ordains case-affixes, but Taddhita affixes as well for the sûtra means "Let *all* the affixes taught upto the end of the Fifth Book—whether case-affixes or Taddhita &c come after bases ending in ङी—आप् and after Pratipadikas" So that the Taddhita affixes will be added to Feminines after the words have taken the Feminine affixes and not before. This we *infer* because the words ङी and आप् are used in the sûtra Thus we get आर्यका or आर्यिका ॥ If the Taddhita affixes were added first and then the Feminine, we could not have got the form आर्यिका ॥ For the swârthika कन् added by V. 4 29. S 2097. to आर्य being most antarang would come first and then the feminine आप्. Thus आर्य + क + आ = आर्यका ॥ Consequently the अ of र्य could not be changed to इ by उदीचामात VII 3 46 S 465.

For the अ here is not that अ which has replaced a long आ ॥ But if we add the Feminine affix first, we can get the desired form, thus —

आर्या + क + आप् = आर्यका, here the long आ of आर्या is shortened by केऽणः VII 4. 13 S 834.

And so we can apply the rule उदीचां and get आर्यिका

१८३ स्वौजसमौट्छष्टाभ्याम्भिस्ङेभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसिभ्याम्भ्यस्ङसोसाम्ङ्योस्सुप् । ४ । १ । २ ॥

ङ्यन्तादाबन्तात्प्रातिपदिकाच्च परे स्वादयः प्रत्ययाः स्युः । सुङस्योरुकारेकारौ जशटङपाश्चेत् ॥

183. (After what ends with the feminine termina-

tions ङी or आप्, or after a crude-form, the following affixes are employed): —

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
1st.	su (s)	au	jas (as)
2nd.	am	auṭ (au)	śas (as)
3rd.	ṭâ (a)	bhyâm	bhis
4th	ṅe (e)	bhyâm	bhyas
5th.	ṅasi (as)	bhyâm	bhyas
6th.	ṅas (as)	os	âm
7th.	ṅi (i)	os	sup (su)

In the above affixes, letters like उ इ in सु and ङसि are 'anubandhas' employed either for the sake of facility of pronunciation, or as distinguishing marks. The final प् is employed for the sake of forming the pratyâhâra सुप्, which is the collective name for the above 21 case-affixes The letters ज, श, ट, ङ and प are इत् or servile letters.

१८४ । विभक्तिश्च । १ । ४ । १०४ ॥

सुप्तिङौ विभक्तिसंज्ञौ स्तः । तत्र सु औ जस् इत्यादिमां त्रिकाणां प्रथमादय सप्तम्यन्ता प्राचां संज्ञास्ताभिरिहापि व्यवहारः ॥

184. The triads of conjugational affixes and case-affixes are also called vibhakti or Inflective affixes.

The word विभक्ति means a complete triad. Thus सप्तमी विभक्ति means the three affixes of the seventh case, *i. e*, the locative singular, dual, and plural. So प्रथमा विभक्ति means the third person, singular, dual, and plural.

१८५ । सुपः । १ । ४ । १०३ ॥

सुपस्त्रीणि त्रीणि वचनान्येकश एकवचनद्विवचनबहुवचनसंज्ञानि स्युः ॥

185. Of सुप् the case affixes, the three expressions in each successive set of the three, are also severally called singular, dual and plural.

१८६ । द्व्येकयोर्द्विवचनैकवचने । १ । ४ । २२ ॥

द्वित्वैकत्वयोरेते स्त ॥

186. The dual and singular case-affixes are employed severally in the sense of duality and unity.

१८७ । बहुषु बहुवचनम् । १ । ४ । २१ ॥

बहुत्वे एतत्स्यात् । रुत्वविसर्गौ । रामः ॥

187. In expressing multeity, a Plural case affix is employed.

Declension of Masculines ending in अ ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word राम ending in short अ ॥ In Nom Sing the affix सु is added.

Thus राम+सु=राम+स=राम+र् =रामः ॥ In forming the Dual, the following applies

१८८ । सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ । १ । २ । ६४ ॥

एकविभक्तौ यानि सरूपाण्येव दृष्टानि तेषामेक एव शिष्यते ॥ प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः ॥ नादिचि ॥ वृद्धिरेचि ॥ रामौ ॥

188. Of the words having the same form, and all in the same one case-termination, the last one is only retained.

This is a very important sûtra, and deals with what is technically called Ekaśesha (or retention of one) When there are two or more words of the same form, and the same case termination, standing together, one is retained and the rest are dropped.

Thus राम+राम=रामौ. The word रामौ is formed by adding the affix औ to राम and by superseding VI 1. 102 S. 164 by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 and applying VI. 1. 88 S 72, we get the *vriddhi*. In forming the Nom. Pl. we add जस्. Thus राम+जस् ॥ The ज् is indicatory by the following sûtra.

१८९ । चुटू । १ । ३ । ७ ॥

प्रत्ययाद्यौ चुटू इतौ स्तः । इति जस्येत्संज्ञायाम् ॥

189. The initial palatals and linguals of an affix are indicatory.

Thus the ज of जस् would become इत्. So the affix is really अस्. But is not the final स् of जस् also इत् by the sûtra हलन्त्यम् I. 3. 3. S. 1.? No, because of the following exceptions.—

१९० । न विभक्तौ तुस्माः । १ । ३ । ४ ॥

विभक्तिस्थास्तवर्गसकारमकारा इतो न स्युः । इति सकारस्य नेत्त्वम् ॥

190. The final dental consonants, and the final स् and म् are not इत्, in affixes called vibhakti or inflective affixes.

Therefore the स् of जस् is not इत्. Thus राम+अस्. At this stage the following rule appears which requires the अ+अ to be changed to अ by पररूपमेकादेश:

१६१ । अतो गुणे । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपदान्तादकाराद्गुणे परतः पररूपमेकादेशः स्यादिति प्राप्ते । परत्वात्पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घः । अतो गुणे इति हि पुरस्तादपवादा अनन्तरान्विधीन्बाधन्ते नोत्तरानिति न्यायेनाकः सवर्णे इत्यस्यैवायमपवादो नतु प्रथमयोरित्यस्यापि । रामाः ॥

191. Also when the short अ, not being final in a Pada, is followed by a Guṇa letter, then in the room of both the precedent and the subsequent—the single substitute is the form of the subsequent i. e. the Guṇa.

But this *ekâdesa* rule is superseded by the subsequent rule प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णः VI. I. 102. S 164, which requires the lengthening of the preceding vowel, while the present sûtra अतोगुणे debars the immediately succeeding sûtra अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः VI. I. 101 S 85 by the maxim :—

Paribhâshâ —Apavâdas that precede (the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *Apavâda*-operations), supersede (only) those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent (rules).

Therefore the nearest rule VI. 1 101 S 85 is superseded by the present sûtra and not the subsequent rule VI. 1 102 S 164 Thus राम+अस्= रामाः. The Vocative case is like the nominative, the only difference is in the singular The Vocative singular is called Sambuddhi by the following :—

१६२ । एकवचनं संबुद्धिः । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

संबोधने प्रथमाया एकवचनं संबुद्धिसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

192 In the sense of vocative, the singular number of the first case-affix is called Sambuddhi.

Thus the vocative singular of राम is राम+सु ॥ Here the following sûtra applies.

१६३ । एङ्ह्रस्वात्संबुद्धेः । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

एङन्ताद्ध्रस्वान्ताच्चाङ्गाद्धल्लुप्यते संबुद्धिश्चेत् । संबुद्ध्याक्षिप्तस्याङ्गस्यैङ्ह्रस्वाभ्यां विशेषणान्नेह । हे कतरत्कुलेति । हे राम । हे रामौ । हे रामाः । एङ्ग्रहणं किम् । हे हरे हे विष्णो । अत्र हि परत्वान्नित्यत्वाच्च संबुद्धिगुणे कृते ह्रस्वात्परत्वं नास्ति ॥

193. The consonant of the nominative-affix (सु and its substitute अम्) is elided in the Vocative singular, after a nominal-stem ending in ए or ओ or a short vowel.

The elision here being taught with regard to the base which is a संबुद्धि and which is qualified by having ए or ओ or a short vowel for its final, it does not apply to हे कतरत्कुल!

In हे कतरत्! there is not the elision of the त् of the affix अत्, the substitute of सु, for the affix there is अड्डु (VII 1 25) This affix being डित् causes the elision of the final अ of कतर (VI. 4 143), and we have कतर् + अत्, here we have not a prâtipadika which ends in a *short* vowel, but in a *consonant*, hence त् is not elided See also VII 1 25. The word एङ् is used in the sûtra in order to indicate that the guna substitution required by ह्रस्वस्य गुण VII. 3. 108, is stronger than lopa. Therefore in हे हरि + सु, the affix is not elided, first, and then guna substituted for इ, but first there is guna substitution and then the affix is elided, similarly हे विष्णो For the guṇa substitution is stronger than elision, because it is a rule subsequent in order, the elision being VI 1. 69, the Guṇa being VIII 3 108, and because Guna is a nitya rule Therefore when हरि is gunated to हरे, there being no short vowel, left, the elision of सु would not have taken place had the word एङ् been not used in the sûtra.

Now the accusative singular is formed thus: राम + अम् Here applies the following Sûtra.

१९४ । अमि पूर्वः । ६ । १ । १०७ ॥

अकोऽम्यचि परत पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । रामम् । रामौ ॥

194. There is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम् ॥

The word अकः is understood here. Thus राम + अम् = रामम् So also accusative dual राम + औ = रामौ as before. Now the accusative plural is formed thus :—राम + शस् ॥ Here applies the following sûtra.

१९५ । लशक्वतद्धिते । १ । ३ । ८ ॥

तद्धितवर्जप्रत्ययाद्या लशकवर्गा इतः स्युः । इति शसः शस्येत्संज्ञा ॥

195. The initial ल and श, and the gutturals of all affixes, except Taddhita, are indicatory.

The initial ल्, श्, क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ् of affixes are indicatory, except in Taddhita affixes.

Therefore श् being इत्, the affix is अस् Thus राम + अस्. At this stage applies the following sûtra —

१९६ । तस्माच्छसो नः पुंसि । १ । ३ । १०३ ॥

पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घात्परो यः शस सकारस्तस्य नः स्यात्पुंसि ॥

196 After such a long vowel homogeneous with the first, न् is substituted for the स् of the Accusative case affix शस् in the masculine.

Thus राम+शस् = राम + अन् = रामान् ॥ Now, should not the final न् of रामान् be changed to ण् by the following sûtra ?

१९७। अट्कुप्वाङ्नुम्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ४ । २ ॥

अट्कवर्गपवर्गआङ्नुम् एतैर्व्यस्तैर्यथासम्भवं मिलितैश्च व्यवधानेऽपि रषाभ्यां परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्समानपदे । पदव्यवायेऽपीति निषेधं बाधितुमाङ्ग्रहणम् । नुम्ग्रहणमनुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थम् तच्चाकर्तुं शक्यम् । अयोगवाहानामट्सूपदेशस्योक्तत्वात् । इति णत्वे प्राप्ते ॥

197 The substitute ण् takes the place of न्, even when a vowel, or य्, व्, ह्, or a guttural, or a labial, or the preposition आ, or the anusvâra नुम् intervenes, singly or conjointly, causing separation between न and the anterior र or ष, provided that these letters occur in one word.

The particle आ is a vowel and so included in अट् pratyâhâra. Its specification in the sûtra shows that the restriction of the rule to the letters occurring in the *same word*, does not apply in the case of आङ्, in which case the rule applies to letters separated by another word.

NOTE —The pratyâhâra अट stands for vowels and the letters ह य व र and it includes the ayogavâha letters anusvâra and visarga Therefore the mention of नुम् in the sûtra could well have been avoided, for नुम् here denotes anusvâra. Thus करणम् हरणम्, किरिणा, गिरिणा, कुरुणा, गुरुणा &c

The कु means all the gutturals, e g. अर्केण, मूर्खेण, गर्गेण, अर्घेण ॥

The पु means all the labials, e g दर्पेण, रेफेण, गर्भेण, चर्म्मणा, वर्मणा ॥

The आङ् means the particle आ e. g. पर्याणद्धम् from नह् (VIII. 2. 34) निराणद्धम् (of VIII 4 14)

So also when the anusvâra separates the letters e g. बृंहणम्, बृंहणीयम् ॥

It is from the root बृहिवृद्धौ, the नुम् is added, because the root is इदित् (VII 1. 58) and न् changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3 24 Q Well the intervention is here by Anusvâra and not नुम्, why is then नुम् taken in the sûtra ?

The word नुम् in the sûtra refers to anusvâra, and must be taken co-extensive with it Otherwise the rule would not apply to words like तृंहण from तृंह स्तृंह हिंसार्थे ॥ Here the anusvâra is not the substitute of the augment नुम् but an original anusvâra. Even where there is an augment नुम्, but where it is not changed into anusvara, the rule does not apply. As प्रेन्वनम्, प्रेन्वनीयम् from इवि: प्रीणनार्थः ॥

The rule will apply even when these letters are combined in any possible way, or occur singly. As अर्केण, here a guttural and a vowel i e 2 letters come between र and न ॥ See VIII 3 58 in the case of ष ॥

But the present sûtra is not applicable to रामान् because of the following sûtra.

१९८। पदान्तस्य । ८ । ४ । ३७ ॥

पदान्तस्य नस्य णत्वं न स्यात् । रामान् ॥

198. Of a न final in a Pada, ण is not the substitute. Thus रामान् ॥

१९९। यस्मात्प्रत्ययविधिस्तदादि प्रत्ययेऽङ्गम् । १ । ४ । १३ ॥

यः प्रत्ययो यस्मात्क्रियते तदादि शब्दस्वरूपं तस्मिन्प्रत्यये परेऽङ्गसंज्ञं स्यात् । भवामि भविष्यामीत्यादौ । विकरणविशिष्टस्याऽङ्गसंज्ञार्थं तदादिग्रहणम् । विधिरिति किम् । स्त्री इयती । प्रत्यये किम् प्रत्र । प्रत्ययविशिष्टस्य ततोऽप्याधिकस्य वा मा भूत् ॥

199. After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether verbal root or crude-form, that which begins therewith in the form in which it appears when the affix follows it, is called an Inflective base or stem, (anga).

Note —The words of this sûtra require some explanation. Yasmat after whatsoever, pratyaya-vidhih compound of pratyaya meaning an affix and vidhih a precept, i e a rule enjoining an affix, tadâdi, that which begins therewith, pratyaye = in a pratyaya i e. when a pratyaya follows, is called a base

After whatsoever there is an affix enjoined, whether it be a verbal root (dhâtu) or a nominal base (prâtipadika), the word-form having that as its beginning, is called an anga, with regard to the affix that follows. The word yasmât is used in the aphorism to point out the thing named, as anga ; because the word tadâdi follows it. This defines the word anga. The word 'base' is thus a relative term with regard to its affix. Thus कृ + ता = कर्ता he will do, हर्ता he will lose. करिष्यति, हरिष्यति Here because the root कृ and हृ get the name अंग they are guṇated by (VII. 3. 84) similarly because उपगु &c. get the name Anga, their vowel is vriddhied in औपगवः &c

The word kṛi hri are anga with regard to the affix tâ &c उपगु + अण् = औपगवः, कापटवः. Here upagu and kapatu are anga with regard to aṇ. Similarly कृ + स्य + वः = करिष्य + वः = करिष्याव.. Here the whole word-form karishya is regarded as anga, and as such the short अ is lengthened by VII. 3 101, because though the affix vaḥ is enjoined after the word kṛi, the form which begins with kṛi i. e karishya will also be called anga when the affix is to be added. The word tadâdi, therefore, has been used in the sûtra, to make the definition of Anga applicable to the forms which a word may assume after taking the intermediate vikaranas like sya &c., or नुम् before the final affixes. Thus कुण्ड + नुम् + इ = कुण्डन् + इ = कुण्डानि (VII. 1. 72 and VI 4. 8) kunda + num + i = kunḍan + i = kundâni, bowls. Here the whole form kundan is called anga, and as such it lengthens its vowel before the case-affix i by VI. 4. 8.

Why have we used the word "vidhi" "enjoined" in the sûtra? Observe स्त्री इयती ॥

Here the word इयती "this much or as much" is really an affix, as we shall show later on. But as this is not ordained after strî by any rule, the word strî does not get the designation अङ्ग before it. Not being an Anga, the ई of strî is not elided by यस्येति च (VI. 4 148. S. 311.)

That the Pronoun इयती is a mere pratyaya is shown by the history of its derivation as given below.—

इदम् + वतु = इदम् + घत् (किमिदंभ्यां वो घः VI. 2. 40 S. 1841,) the व is changed to घ ॥ The affix वत् is added to idam with the force of "measure" by V. 2. 39 read with V. 2. 40.

= इदम् + इयत् (घ changed to इय by VII. 1. 2 S. 475. आयनेयी) = ईश् + इयत् (इदंकिमोरीश्की VI. 3 90 S. 1018)

= O + इयत् (ई is elided by VI. 4 148 यस्येति च) = इयत् + ङीप् = इयती Feminine.

Thus इयती is really a Pratyaya, for the *base* इदम् is altogether elided.

Why have we used the word प्रत्यये "when the affix follows" in the sûtra? For would not the word तदादि limit the designation अङ्ग to that only after which there was actually an affix?

Ans. No Because without the word प्रत्यये the sûtra would have run thus "after whatsoever is an affix enjoined, that which begins therewith is called an Anga." In this view, we could not get the form वव्रश्च the 3rd Per. Sing in the Perfect (लिट्) of the root ओव्रश्चू 'to cut.'

This is thus formed —

व्रश्च् + णल् = व्रश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VI 1. 8, S 2177 लिटि धातोरनभ्यासस्य)
= वृश्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VI 1. 17 S. 2408 लिट्यभ्यासस्योभयेषाम्)
= वर्श्च् + व्रश्च् + अ (VII 4 66 S. 2244 उरत् and उरण् रपरः)
= व + व्रश्च् + अ (VII. 4. 60 S. 2179 हलादिः शेषः) = वव्रश्च ॥

If the word "pratyaye" did not exist, then the designation anga would be applied to the whole base plus the affix *i. e.* (व्रश्च् + अ) as a whole. That being so, व + व्रश्च will assume the form of उव्रश्च for the व will be vocalised by VI 1. 17. For the अ in the place of ऋ will not be sthânivat by अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ; because to be sthânivat there must be an efficient cause outside (पर), as अ of णल्, but this अ of णल् was, by hypothesis included in the Anga designation. So there being no पर cause, the अ substitute of ऋ in वृ will not be sthânivat, and not being so, it will not be considered as a samprasârana vowel The अ of व not being a Samprasârana, the prohibition of न सम्प्रसारणे &c. VI. 1. 37 (when a semivowel has once been vocalised, there is

no vocalisation of the other semivowel that precedes it, will not apply, and so व will be vocalised to उ

२०० । अङ्गस्य । ६ । ४ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

200. Whatever will be taught here after upto the end of the Seventh Adhyâya, is consequent upon the stem (aṅga).

This is an adhikâra sûtra.

२०१ । टाङसिङसामिनात्स्याः । ७ । १ । १२ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाट्टादीनां क्रमादिनादय आदेशाः स्युः । णत्वम् । रामेण ॥

201. After a stem ending in अ, are substituted इन for the Instrumental ending आ ; आत् for the Ablative ending अस्, and स्य for the Genitive ending अस् ॥

Thus रामेण the न being changed to ण ॥

२०२ । सुपि च । ७ । ३ । १०२ ॥

यञादौ सुपि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

202. Before a case-ending beginning with य or भ (literally a consonant of यञ् Pratyâhâra), the final अ of a Nominal stem is also lengthened.

The whole of the pharse अतो दीर्घो यञि is understood here (VII. 3. 101 S. 2170.

Thus राम + भ्याम् = रामाभ्याम्

२०३ । अतो भिस ऐस् । ७ । १ । ९ ॥

अकारान्तादङ्गाद्भिस ऐस् स्यात् । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वादेशः । रामैः ॥

203. After a nominal stem ending in अ, ऐस् is substituted for the case-ending भिस् ॥

The *Adesa* ऐस् consists of more than one letter and therefore replaces the whole of this, by the rule अनेकाल्शित् सर्वस्य I. 1. 55. S. 45. Thus राम + ऐस = रामैः "

२०४ । ङेर्यः । ७ । १ । १३ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात्परस्य ङे इत्यस्य यादेशः स्यात् । रामाय । इह स्थानिवद्भावेन यादेशस्य सुप्त्वात्सुपि चेति दीर्घः । सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्येति परिभाषा तु नेह प्रवर्तते । कष्टाय क्रमणे इत्यादिनिर्देशेन तस्या अनित्यत्वज्ञापनात् । रामाभ्याम् ॥

204. After a stem ending in अ, there is substituted य for the Dative ending ए ॥

Thus राम+ए=राम+य=रामाय. Here the य being taken to be sthânivat to ए gets also the designation of सुप् and therefore the अ of राम is lengthened before य by the rule VII 3. 102. S. 202. The maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधि रनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य. "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" does not apply here. Thus य is substituted here, because the preceding word ends in a short अ, thus this short अ occasioned the existence of य, therefore this य cannot occasion the destruction of अ ॥ But that however it does, for it is on account of this य, that the preceding अ is replaced by आ ॥ The anitya nature of this maxim is indicated by Pânini himself, by forming the dative of कष्ट as कष्टाय in Sûtra III. 1. 14 &c.

The ङे is the anomalous Genitive case of the Dative ending ङे; this affix is exhibited without any vibhakti in VII. 1. 28 S. 382. The ङेः should not be taken as the Genitive singular of ङि the affix of the Locative singular.

So also रामाभ्याम् as before. The dative plural is formed thus राम+भ्यस्
Here applies the following Sûtra —

२०५ । बहुवचने झल्येत् । ७ । ३ । १०३ ॥

झलादौ बहुवचने सुपि परे अतोऽन्तस्यैकारः स्यात् । रामेभ्यः । बहुवचने किम् । राम । रामस्य । झलि किम् । रामाणाम् । सुपि किम् । पचध्वम् । जश्त्वम् ॥

205. Before a case-ending beginning with भ् or स् (lit. a झल् consonant), in the Plural, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal stem.

As रामेभ्यः ॥ Why in the Plural? Observe राम ; रामस्य ॥ Why before a case-affix beginning with a झल consonant? Observe रामाणाम् (the lengthening here is by VI. 4. 3. S 300) Why a case-affix? Observe पचध्वम्, and not पचेध्वम ॥

Now, we form the Ablative Singular राम+ङसि=राम+आत् (by VII 1. 12. S. 201) Here the त् of the affix should be changed to द् by झलां जशोऽन्ते and द् will then optionally be changed to त by the following Sûtra.

२०६ । वावसाने । ८ । ४ । ५६ ॥

अवसाने झलां चरो वा स्युः । रामात् । रामाद् । द्वित्वे रूपचतुष्टयम् । रामाभ्याम् । रामेभ्यः । रामस्य सस्य द्वित्वपक्षे खरि चेति चर्त्वेऽप्यान्तरतम्यात्सस्य स एव न तु तकारः । अल्पप्राणतया प्रयत्नभेदात् । अत एव सः सीति तादेशा आरभ्यते ॥

206. The चर् is optionally the substitute of a झल् that occurs in a Pause.

The words झलां चर् is understood in the sûtra A sonant or a surd non-aspirate may stand as final in a Pause but not an aspirate consonant By VIII. 2 39, S 84, a non-aspirate sonant can only stand in a final position. This ordains that a non-aspirate surd may also stand as the final, when there is Pause. Thus रामात् or रामाद्. The final त् and द् may be doubled by अनचि च (VIII. 4. 47) we get four forms as रामात् or रामात्त् or रामाद् or रामाद्द् ॥ *N. B.*—This is not approved by Tatvabodhini, as the meaning of the sûtra अनचि च is that after a vowel every consonant except ह may be doubled provided that a *consonant* follows, for the word अनच् 'non-vowel' does not mean absence of *all* letters, but rather the absence of vowels only Inferentially there must be a consonant. Bhattoji has taken the negation in अनचि in the sense of Prasajya pratishedha; while the proper view is to take it as a Paryudâsa pratishedha.

So also रामाभ्याम्, रामेभ्यः, रामस्य ॥ In रामस्स्य when the स is doubled, this स will not be changed to त by खरि च VIII. 4 55 S 121. but it will remain as स only, because there is difference between स and त as regards effort, the स being अल्प प्राण Had त and स been the same, and had त been produced by 'खरि च' then there would have been no need of teaching the substitution of स by त in Sûtras like VIII. 4. 49. S. 2342.

२०७ । ओसि च । ७ । ३ । २०४ ॥

ओसि परे अतोऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रामयोः ॥

207. Before the case-ending ओस्, ए is substituted for the final अ of a Nominal-stem.

As रामे + ओस् = रामयोः

Now, we have to form the Genitive plural —राम + आम्. Here comes the next Sûtra.

२०८ । ह्रस्वनद्यापो नुट् । ७ । १ । ५४ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तान्नद्यन्तादाबन्ताच्चाङ्गात्परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात् ॥

208. The augment न् is added before the Genitive Plural ending आम्, after stems ending in a short vowel, after stems called Nadî (I. 4. 3 &c), and after the stems ending in the Feminine affix आ ॥

As राम + न् + आम् ॥

At this stage applies the next Sûtra.

२०९ । नामि । ६ । ४ । ३ ॥

नामि परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । रामाणाम् । सुपि चेति दीर्घो यद्यपि परस्तथापीह न प्रवर्तते । सन्निपातपरिभाषाविरोधात् । नामीत्यनेन त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषा बाध्यते । रामे । रामयोः । सुपि एत्वे कृते ॥

209. The long vowel is substituted for the final of the stem before the Genitive Plural affix नाम् (having the augment नुट्).

Thus राम + नाम् = रामाणाम् ॥

The sûtra सुपि च (VII. 3. 102. S. 202) would also have caused lengthening and being a subsequent one would also have applied, yet it does not apply here, because of the *Paribhâshâ* सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य ॥ '(That which is taught in) a rule (the application of) which is occasioned by the combination (of two things), does not become the cause of the destruction of that (combination).' But the very fact that this sûtra is enunciated here debars the above *Paribhâshâ*

Now, we have to form the Locative Singular,—राम + इ = रामे ॥ So also रामयोः ॥ The plural will be राम + सु = रामे + सु (VII. 3 103. S 205.) At this stage applies the following sûtra.

२१० । अपदान्तस्य मूर्द्धन्यः । ८ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आपादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

210. Upto the end of the third Pâda of the VIIIth. Book, is throughout to be supplied the following: "A cerebral letter is substituted always in the room of———, when this letter does not stand at the end of a word."

२११ । इण्कोः । ८ । ३ । ५७ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

211. From this, upto the end of the third chapter of the VIIIth. Book, should be supplied in every sûtra, the following:—" when a vowel (with the exception of अ or आ), or a र or a guttural precedes."

The word इण् is a pratyâhâra formed with the second ण् of लण् ॥ It includes all vowels and semivowels except अ and आ ॥ Of the semi-vowels इ is only efficient: so that only is taken in the translation कु means the letters of the क class Thus इण्कोः is supplied in VIII 3 59, to complete the sense.

२१२ । आदेशप्रत्यययोः । ८ । ३ । ५९ ॥

सहे साडः स इति सूत्रात्स इति षष्ठ्यन्तं पदमनुवर्तते । इण्कवर्गाभ्यां परस्यापदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्ययावयवश्च यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । विवृताघोषस्य सस्य तादृश एव षः । रामेषु । इण्कोः किम् । रामस्य । आदेशप्रत्यययोः किम् । सुपीः । सुपिसौ । सुपिसः । अपदान्तस्य किम् । हरिस्तत्र । एवं कृष्णमुकुन्दादयः ॥

212 ष् is substituted for that स् which is a substitute (of the ष् of a root in Dhâtupâṭha by VI 1 64 S. 2264 or which is (the portion of) an affix, under the above mentioned conditions (VIII. 3, 57, 58 S 211, 424), of being preceded by an इण् vowel or a guttural.

The word cerebral is understood here from VIII 3 55, as well as from VIII. 3 56 Therefore, the स is replaced by ष both being *Vivrita* and Aghosha. Thus रामेषु ॥ Why do we say 'when preceded by इण vowel or कु Observe रामस्य ॥ Why do we say a substitute स or that which is an affix Observe सुपीः , सुपिसौ , सुपिसः the स here is part of the Churâdi root पिस " go," and is neither a substituted स nor the स of an affix ॥ Why do we say 'not final in a Pada'? Observe हरिस्तत्र ॥ Similarly should be declined कृष्ण, मुकुन्द and all other words ending in अ ॥

DECLENSION OF राम ॥

	Nom.	Voc	Acc.	Ins.	Dative.	Abl.	Gen	Loc.
Singular	रामः	हे राम !	रामम्	रामेण	रामाय	रामात्	रामस्य	रामे
Dual	रामौ	हे रामौ !	रामौ	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामाभ्याम्	रामयोः	रामयोः
Plural	रामाः	हे रामाः !	रामान्	रामैः	रामेभ्यः	रामेभ्यः	रामाणाम्	रामेषु ॥

DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS

२१३ । सर्वादीनि सर्वनामानि । १ । १ । २७ ॥

सर्वादीनि शब्दस्वरूपाणि सर्वनामसंज्ञानि स्युः । तदन्तस्यापीयं संज्ञा । द्वन्द्वे चेति ज्ञापकात् । सेः परमसर्वेति महत् । परमभवकानित्यत्राकच्च सिद्ध्यति ॥

213. The words sarva, 'all,' and the rest are called sarvanâma or pronouns.

The words ending in *sarva* &c. are also *sarvanâma* This we infer from the Sûtra द्वन्द्वे च I 1. 31 S 224 which prohibits the application of the term *Sarvanama* to *Dvanda* compounds (That is in all other compounds except *Dvandva* , the words ending in *Sarva* &c are *sarvanamas* For some other exceptions see I 1 29 and 30 S 222 and 223) Therefore, w

२१६ । ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ । ७ । १ । १५ ॥

अतः सर्वनाम्नो ङसिङ्योरेतौ स्तः । सर्वस्मात् ॥

216. After a Pronominal stem ending in अ; there is substituted स्मात् for the Ablative ending अस् and स्मिन् for the Locative ending इ ॥

Thus सर्वस्मात् ।

२१७ । आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् । ७ । १ । ५२ ॥

अवर्णान्तात्सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडागमः स्यात् । एत्वषत्वे । सर्वेषाम् । सर्वस्मिन् । शेषं रामवत् एव विश्वादयोऽप्यदन्ताः ।

सर्वादयश्च पञ्चविंशत् । सर्व, विश्व, उभ, उभय, डतर, डतम, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, त्वत्, त्व, नेम, सम, सिम ।

पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम् । स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम् । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः ।

त्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु, किम् , इति ।

उभशब्दो द्वित्वविशिष्टस्य वाचकः । अत एव नित्यं द्विवचनान्तः । तस्येह पाठस्तु उभकावित्यकजर्थः । नच कप्रत्ययेनेष्टसिद्धिः । द्विवचनपरत्वाभावेनोभयत उभयत्रेत्यादाविवायच्प्रसङ्गात् । तदुक्तम् ॥ उभयोऽन्यत्रेति ॥ अन्यत्रेति द्विवचनपरत्वाभावे ।

उभयशब्दस्य द्विवचनं नास्तीति कैयटः । अस्तीति हरदत्तः । तस्माज्जस्ययजादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भावेन तयप्प्रत्ययान्ततया प्रथमचरमेति विकल्पे प्राप्ते विभक्तिनिरपेक्षत्वेनान्तरङ्गत्वान्नित्यैव संज्ञा भवति । उभये ।

डतरडतमौ प्रत्ययौ । यद्यपि संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तग्रहणं नास्ति । सुप्तिङन्तमिति ज्ञापकात् । तथापीह तदन्तग्रहणम् । केवलयोः संज्ञायाः प्रयोजनाभावात् ।

अन्यतरान्यतमशब्दावव्युत्पन्नौ स्वभावाद्द्विबहुविषये निर्धारणे वर्तेते । तत्रान्यतमशब्दस्य गणे पाठाभावान्न संज्ञा ।

त्व त्व इति द्वावप्यदन्तावन्यपर्यायौ । एक उदात्तोऽपरोऽनुदात्त इत्येके । एकस्तान्त इत्यपरे ।

नेम इत्यर्धे । समः सर्वपर्यायः । तुल्यपर्यायस्तु नेह गृह्यते । यथासंख्यमनुदेशः समानामिति ज्ञापकात् ॥

अन्तरं बहिर्योगेति गणसूत्रेऽपुरीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अन्तरायां पुरि ॥

217 After a Pronominal stem ending in अ or आ, the affix आम् of the Genitive Plural gets the augment स् at the beginning

The word आत्, of the last sûtra is understood here Thus सर्वेषाम् (The अ is changed to ए by VII 3 103 S 205 and the स् is changed to ष्) सर्वस्मिन् The rest of the declension of सर्व is like राम

Note—But भवताम् of भवत् ॥ The आम् of the sûtra is the Genitive Plural ending आम्, and not the आम् of the Locative Singular ordained by VII 3.116 S. 270,

for that आम्, takes the augments याट्, आट् or स्याट् (VII 3 112-114), while the present आम् takes सुट् or नुट् ॥ Nor the आम् of the Perfect Tense (III 1 35 &c), because that refers to verb and not to Sarvanâma; nor the आम् of V 4 11, for the same reason. The word आमि is exhibited in the sûtra in the locative case for the sake of the subsequent sûtra VII 1 53 For the purposes of the present sûtra, it should be construed, as if it was in the Genitive case (आमः सर्वनाम्नः सुट्), because सर्वनाम्न being in the Ablative case, the augment सुट् will be added at the beginning of the affix following it, on the maxim तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य ॥

Other *Sarvanâmas* ending in अ as विश्व &c, are similarly declined.

The *Sarvanâmas* are thirty-five in number, namely :—1 सर्व 'all,' 2 विश्व 'all,' 3 उभ 'two,' 4 उभय 'both,' words formed by the affix 5 डतर such as कतर 'which of two,' words formed by the affix 6 डतम as कतम 'which of many,' 7 अन्य 'other,' 8 अन्यतर 'either,' 9 इतर 'other,' 10 त्वत् 'other,' 11 त्व 'other,' 12 नेम 'half,' 13 सम 'all,' 14 सिम 'whole' So also 15 पूर्व 'east,' 'prior,' 16 पर 'subsequent,' 17 अवर 'west or posterior,' 18 दक्षिण 'south or right,' 19 उत्तर 'north or inferior, 'subsequent,' 20 अपर 'other or inferior,' 21 अधर 'west or inferior,' are sarvanâmas when they imply a relation in time or place, as shown above, and not when they are names. So also 22 स्व when it does not mean a kinsman or a treasure,' but means 'own.' So also 23 अन्तर when it means 'outer,' or 'an under or lower garment' is a sarvanâma 24 त्यद् 'he, she, it,' 25 तद् 'he, she, it,' 26 यद् 'who,' 27 एतद् 'this,' 28 इदम् 'it,' 29 अदस् 'that,' 30 एक 'one,' 31 द्वि 'two,' 32 युष्मद् 'you,' 33 अस्मद् 'I,' 34 भवतु 'you,' 35 किम् 'what'

The word उभ 'both' is always used in the dual number, as उभौ, उभाभ्याम्. The object of its being inserted in the list of pronominals, (whilst its declension does not differ from that of नर), is its taking the augment अकच् (V. 3, 71. S. 2026) which it could not have taken, if it were not a pronominal, as उभकौ ॥

Q. But, could not the same purpose have been served by adding the affix क by sûtra V. 3 70. S. 2025?

Ans No. For, the affix अकच् being added before the final vowel of उभ leaves the उभ always a dual word on the maxim तन्मध्यपतितस्तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यते i. e. "(Any term) that may be employed (in Grammar), denotes (not merely what is actually denoted by it, but it denotes also whatever word-form may result when) something (is) *inserted* in that (which is actually denoted by it)." Therefore, अकच् being *inserted* in उभ does not change its character of always being in the dual, while क् being added to it would have destroyed that character. Had it lost its character of being always a dual, then in the case of क् affix, it would have required the insertion of अयच् by sûtra V. 2. 44. S 1845 as it takes it before the affixes त्र and तस् in उभयतः, उभयत्र ॥ Therefore Katyâyana has said.

Vârtika —The word उभय is used in other places where the sense of dual is not necessary. According to Kaiyata, उभय has no dual number, but according to Haradatta it has. Therefore, before the affix जस् (Nom. Pl.), the substitute अयच् (V. 2 44 S 1845) being considered as स्थानिवत् to तयप् which it replaces, the word उभय is considered as ending in तयप् and therefore it would have been optionally a *sarvanâma* by the sûtra I 1 3 3 S. 226. But the affix अयच् being added irrespective of any विभक्ति, it is an *antaranga* rule and therefore, it makes उभय *always* and not optionally a *sarvanâma.* Thus उभये but never उभया ॥

The words डतर and डतम in the above list are affixes ordained by VII 1 25 S 315 and V. 3 92 S. 2047 &c By giving these affixes in this list, it is meant that the words ending in these affixes are सर्वनाम ॥ This is according to the *Paribhâshâ* —" An affix denotes, whenever it is employed (in Grammar, a word-form) which begins with that to which that (affix) has been added and ends with (the affix) itself"

Q If so, then the words ending in तरप् and तमप् should also be called घ (I. 1 22. S. 2003)

Ans This is not so, according to the *Paribhâshâ* :—" An affix, when employed in a rule which teaches the meaning of a technical term, does not denote a word-form ending with the affix"

The employment of the word अन्त (in सुप्तिङन्त 'that which ends with 'Sup or Tin') in I 4. 14 S 29 indicates (the existence of) this Paribhâshâ, for, if the Paribhâshâ did not exist, अन्त would be superfluous, because सुप्तिङ alone would, in accordance with the preceding Paribhâshâ, denote that which ends with 'Sup' or 'Tin'"

Q But this is also a संज्ञा विधि and therefore the affixes डतर, डतम should not denote the words ending in those affixes.

Ans In spite of the above Paribhâshâ, the affixes डतर, डतम denote here the words ending in those affixes Because giving these affixes the name of *sarva-nâma*, would be useless, because nowhere in this Grammar, these affixes by themselves have been treated as Sarva-nâma

The words अन्यतर and अन्यतम are not derivative words formed by the affixes डतर and डतम, but are considered as primary words, and, therefore, they naturally denote निर्धारण specifying अन्यतर denoting, निर्धारण of one out of two, and अन्यतम denoting निर्धारण or determination of one out of many. In other words, they do not get the force of निर्धारण by virtue of sûtras V. 3 92 and 93 S 2047 and 2048 but by their inherent force The word अन्यतम, however, not being read in the above list of *sarvanâmas* is not a Sarvanâma.

There are two स्व in the above list, namely स्वत् and स्व, having the same meaning namely "other," and both ending in अ. But the final अ of one is udâtta, and of the other anudâtta. Some give स्वत् as a separate word ending in त् and say that both have anudâtta accent. The word नेम means "half." The word सम is a sarvanâma, when it is synonymous with the word सर्व 'all,' and not when it means 'equality.' When it has the latter sense of 'equality,' it is declined like नर i. e. like ordinary words ending in अ, as Pânini himself indicates in I. 3. 10. S. 128 where he uses the regular Genitive plural समानाम्, meaning 'among or of equals.' As a pronominal the Genitive plural would have been समेषाम्॥

Vart:—The word अन्तर when qualifying the word पुरि 'a city,' is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, and is, therefore, declined like ordinary nouns. As, अन्तरायां पुरि वसति 'he lives out of the city.'

२१८। पूर्वपरावरदक्षिणोत्तरापराधराणि व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायाम्। १। १। ३४॥

एतेषां व्यवस्थायामसंज्ञायां सर्वनामसंज्ञा गणपाठात्सर्वत्र या प्राप्ता सा जसि वा स्यात्। पूर्वे पूर्वाः॥ स्वाभिधेयापेक्षावधिनियमो व्यवस्था। व्यवस्थायां किम्। दक्षिणा गायकाः। कुशला इत्यर्थः। असंज्ञायां किम्। उत्तराः कुरवः॥

218. The words pûrva 'prior,' para 'after,' avara 'posterior,' dakshina 'south,' uttara 'north,' apara 'other,' and adhara 'inferior,' when they discriminate relative position, not when they are appellatives, are optionally sarvanâma, before the affix jas.

These seven words have already been mentioned in the list of Sarvanâmas. They are always sarvanâmas, when they have the meaning given to them in the list, *i. e.*, when they imply a relation in time and space, but when used in any other sense than vyavasthâ or the fixed limit with regards to their own meaning, limit in time and space, they are not sarvanâmas, nor are they so when they are used as appellatives (संज्ञा). Thus, when the word दक्षिण means 'clever,' it is not a Sarvanama, as, दक्षिणा गायकाः 'clever minstrels,' similarly in उत्तराः कुरवः 'the Northern Kurus,' the word उत्तर is not a pronominal, for though it declares a direction, it is a Proper Noun (like Northmen).

When these seven words are sarvanâma, they are declined like **sarva**, except in the nominative plural when they may be declined either as sarvanâmas, or as ordinary nouns. The option allowed in the case of these words is a prâpta-vibhâshâ.

२१९। स्वमज्ञातिधनाख्यायाम्। १। १। ३५॥

ज्ञातिधनान्यवाचिनः स्वशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात्। स्वे। स्वाः। आत्मीया इत्यर्थः। आत्मान इति वा। ज्ञातिधनवाचिनस्तु स्वाः। ज्ञातयोऽर्था वा।

219. The word sva 'own,' when it does not mean a kinsman or property, is optionally a sarvanâma, before the affix जस्.

The word स्व when it does not mean a ज्ञाति 'kinsman' or धन 'property' or 'wealth' is always a sarvanâma, in every number and case, as it has been enumerated among the pronominals, except in the nominative plural where it is optionally so Thus स्वे पुत्राः or स्वाः पुत्राः 'one's own sons,' स्वे गावः or स्वाः गावः 'one's own cows'.

But when it means 'kinsmen' or 'articles of property' स्वाः alone is the nom. pl. As, स्वाः ज्ञातयो 'these kinsmen' प्रभुताः स्वाः ॥

२२० । अन्तरं बहिर्योगोपसंव्यानयोः । १ । १ । ३६ ॥

बाह्ये परिधानीये चार्थेऽन्तरशब्दस्य या प्राप्ता संज्ञा सा जसि वा स्यात् । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा गृहाः । बाह्या इत्यर्थः । अन्तरे अन्तरा वा शाटकाः । परिधानीया इत्यर्थः ॥

220. The word antara being always a sarvanama, when meaning "outer" or "a lower garment," is optionally so before the affix जस्.

The word अन्तर when it means बहिर्योग, *viz*, 'outer' is always sarvanâma, so also, when it means उपसंव्यान or 'a lower garment.' Thus अन्तरे गृहाः or अन्तरा गृहाः 'outer houses, the residence of Chandal, and other low castes.' So अन्तरे or अन्तराः शाटकाः 'the inner garments, such as petticoats worn under the upper garments." The word अन्तर when used in the above sense is always sarvanâma, but in the nominative plural, it is optionally so. But, when it is not used in the above senses, it is never a sarvanâma, e. g. ग्रामयोरंतरे वसति 'he lives between the two villages,' where the regular locative is अन्तरे ॥

२२१ । पूर्वादिभ्यो नवभ्यो वा । ७ । १ । १६ ॥

एभ्यो ङसिङ्योः स्मात्स्मिनौ वा स्तः । पूर्वस्मात् । पूर्वात् । पूर्वस्मिन् । पूर्वे । एवं परादीनामपि ॥ शेषं सर्ववत् । एकशब्दः संख्यायां नित्यैकवचनान्तः ॥

221. स्मात् and स्मिन् are optionally substituted for the Ablative and Locative endings. after पूर्व and the eight that follow it.

Thus पूर्वस्मात् or पूर्वात्, पूर्वस्मिन् or पूर्वे, परस्मात् or परात्, परस्मिन् or परे, अवरस्मात् or अवरात्, अवरस्मिन् or अवरे, दक्षिणस्मात् or दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणस्मिन् or दक्षिणे, उत्तरस्मात्, or उत्तरात्, उत्तरस्मिन्, or उत्तरे, अपरस्मात्, or अपरात्, अपरस्मिन्, or अपरे. अधरस्मात्, or अधरात्, अधरस्मिन्, or अधरे, स्वस्मात्, or स्वात्, स्वस्मिन् or स्वे, अन्तरस्मात् or अन्तरात्, अन्तरस्मिन् or अन्तरे ॥)

The word 'एक' when denoting a numeral is always singular But in any other meaning, it may have other numbers also, as एके, एकेषाम् ('of some'). 'एक' has eight meanings.

२२२ । न बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २९ ॥

बहुव्रीहौ चिकीर्षिते सर्वनामसंज्ञा न स्यात् । त्वकं पिता यस्य स त्वत्कपितृकः । अहकं पिता यस्य स मत्कपितृकः । इह समासात्प्रागेव प्रक्रियावाक्ये सर्वनामसंज्ञा निषिध्यते । अन्यथा लौकिके विग्रहवाक्य इव तत्राप्यकच् प्रवर्तेत । स च समासेऽपि श्रूयेत । अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तमतिभवकानितिवत् । भाष्यकारस्तु त्वकत्पितृको मकत्पितृक इति रूपे इष्टापत्तिं कृत्वैतत्सूत्रं प्रत्याचख्यौ । । यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् । संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतास्तु न सर्वादयः । महासंज्ञाकरणेन तदनुगुणानामेव गणे सन्निवेशात् । अतः संज्ञाकार्यमन्तर्गणकार्यं च तेषां न भवति । सर्वो नाम कश्चित्तस्मै सर्वाय देहि । अतिक्रान्तः सर्वमतिसर्वस्तस्मै अतिसर्वाय देहि । अतिकतरं कुलम् । अतितत् ॥

222. The words sarva &c , are not Sarvanâma when they are intended to be employed in a Bahuvrîhi compound.

Thus त्वकं पिता यस्य = त्वत्कपितृकः । Similarly, अहकं पितायस्य = मत्कपितृकः । Here the affix अकच् is added by sûtra V. 3 71 S 2026 in the sense of contempt or unknown relationship Here before the taking place of the compound, the name of the *sarvânama* is prohibited with regard to the words त्वत्कम् and अहकं other wise, in ordinary language, the word अकच् would have been used, as it is employed, in the above analytical stage. This अकच् would have been retained even in the compound, as it is retained in the compound अतिभवकान् whose analysis is अतिक्रान्तो भवकन्तम्. But the word त्वत् and मत् not being treated as a *sarvanama* take only the ordinary affix क (V. 3 70 S 2025) and not the affix अक Had they been treated as *sarvanama* then अकच् would have been inserted before त् by V 3. 71 S 2026 giving the forms त्वकत् and मकत् and these forms would have been retained in the compound

But Patanjali has given the forms त्वकत्पितृकः - and मकत्पितृकः and has shown the futility of having made this Sûtra at all According to his opinion, this Sûtra is unnecessary Therefore, according to the maxim, when the three sages differ, the opinion of the last one is authoritative, we should follow the opinion of Patanjali in this matter.

Vârtika.—The words सर्व &c. when employed as proper names (संज्ञा) or as a secondary member of a compound (उपसर्जन) are not to be declined as *sarvanâma*. This we infer by Panini's using such a big word as Sarvanâma, instead of making a short technical name like हि &c. Therefore सर्व &c are Sarvanamas when they have the meaning of "all &c" as given above in the list, because only those words have been included in the list

which have the appropriate meaning of "all" &c, and not words which denote something else, though their form may be "sarva &c" Because in the list such words are only included which have the attributes of the thing defined Therefore, the rules applicable to these words by the fact of being called *sarvanâma* संज्ञाकार्यम् or the rules applicable to portions of them by the fact of their being enumerated in this list अन्तरगणकार्य do not apply. Thus the rules VII. 1. 25. S. 315, VII. 2 102. S 265 and VII 2 106 S. 381 are rules of अन्तर गण कार्य, that is rules which have taken up particular portions of words given in this list. These rules do not apply to words when they are used as संज्ञा and उपसर्जन Therefore if सर्व be the name of a person, the dative will be सर्वाय, as सर्वाय देहि "give to the person called Sarva" Here the dative is not सर्वस्मै Similarly when these words are so compounded with others as to lose their original independent character, namely when they are उपसर्जन, they are not treated as sarvanama, but follow the regular declension, as अतिसर्वाय देहि "give to (him who is) Above-all." Similarly अतिकतर कुलम् Here there is not the substitution of अद्ड् as required by sûtra VII 1. 25 S. 315 For कतर would have formed कतरत् but अतिकतर does not form अतिकतरत् but अतिकतरम् because here कतर is उपसर्जन and therefore अन्तर् गण कार्य rule VII 1 25 S. 315 does not apply Similarly अतितत् Here VII 2 102 S. 265 requiring the substitution of अ for the final of तद् and the rule VII 2 106 S 381 requiring the substitution of स for the non-final त do not apply. For though the ordinary form of Nominative Singular of तत् is सः, the compound of तत् with अति will not be अतिसः in the nominative, but अतितत्.

२२३। तृतीयासमासे। १। १। ३०॥

अत्र सर्वनामता न स्यात्। मासपूर्वाय। तृतीयासमासार्थवाक्येऽपि न। मासेन पूर्वाय॥

223. In the Instrumental Determinative Compounds the words sarva &c. are not sarvanâma.

Thus the word मासपूर्व is a compound of मास and पूर्व = मासेनपूर्व meaning 'prior by a month,' where the word mâsa is in the instrumental case. This compound will be declined like ordinary words, e g. its dative will be मासपूर्वाय, though the dative of पूर्व, when standing by itself, is पूर्वस्मै, ॥ The same will be the case even when there is no compounding, but the sense is of the Instrumental compound, as मासेन पूर्वाय॥

२२४। द्वन्द्वे च। १। १। ३१॥

द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा न। वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम्। समुदायस्यायं निषेधो न त्ववयवानाम्। नैवं सत्यन्तर्विधिनासुट्प्रसङ्ग सर्वनाम्नो विहितस्यामः सुडिति व्याख्यातत्वात्।

224. And in the Collective Compound, II. 2. 26 the words sarva etc., are not sarvanâma.

Thus वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् ॥ This sûtra prohibits the designation Sarvanâma with regard to the *whole* compound, and not with regard to its various members. The word इतर therefore is already a Sarvanâma Then there arises the following difficulty Why should not सुट् be added to आम् in the genitive plural, giving us the form वर्णाश्रमेतरेषाम ? We reply, that आम् gets सुट् only then when it is ordained after a Sarvanâma Here it is not ordained after a Sarvanâma, but after a Dvanda compound which is not a Sarvanâma

This prohibition applies to the compound as a whole and not to its various members If so, why should not the augment सुट् come before the genitive plural affix आम् (VII. 1. 52. S 217) in the case of इतर also here, by the rule of तदन्तविधि This is not so because in explaining that sûtra, we have used the word विहितस्य *i. e.* सुट् is added only to that आम which is specifically ordained after a Sarvanâma and not to every आम in general Thus, the compound वर्णाश्रमेतर means, वर्ण 'the castes,' आश्रम 'the orders' and इतर 'the others.' The word इतर in this compound is not to be treated as a sarvanâma, but an ordinary word. Therefore, in the Genitive plural we have —वर्णाश्रमेतराणाम् and not इतरेषाम्. So also पूर्वापराणाम् of the priors and the posteriors.

२२५ । विभाषा जसि । १ । १ । ३२ ॥

जसाधारं यत्कार्यं शीभावाख्यं तत्र कर्तव्ये द्वन्द्वे उक्ता संज्ञा वा स्यात् । वर्णाश्रमेतरे । वर्णाश्रमेतराः । शीभाव प्रत्येव विभाषेत्युक्तमतो नाकच् । किंतु कप्रत्यय एव । वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः ॥

225. (Their dvandva compounds) are optionally sarvanâma, when the nominative plural termination jas follows.

It declares that before the termination जस् (which is the termination of the nominative plural and which in the pronominals is replaced by शी), the dvandva compounds may be treated either as sarvanâmas or as ordinary words Thus the plural of वर्णाश्रमेतर may be either वर्णाश्रमेतराः or वर्णाश्रमेतरे, that is, the word may take either जस् or शी ॥

The option allowed in the case of the application of the affix जस् 1st. pl. to the dvandva compounds of pronominals, does not extend to the dvandva compounds of pronominals which take the affix अकच् (V 3 71). There the sûtra 224 is absolute. Thus, वर्णाश्रमेतरकाः Here अकच् is not added but क only in the plural. This affix अक् (अकच्) comes before the last vowel, with what follows it, of the pronominals and indeclinables.

२२६ । प्रथमचरमतयाल्पार्धकतिपयनेमाश्च । १ । १ । ३३ ॥

एते जसः कार्यं प्रत्युक्तसंज्ञा वा स्युः । प्रथमे । प्रथमाः ॥ शेषं रामवत् । तय प्रत्ययः ततस्तदन्ता ग्राह्याः । द्वितये । द्वितयाः । शेषं रामवत् । नेमे । नेमाः । शेषं सर्ववत् । विभाषाप्रकरणे तीयस्य ङित्सूपसंख्यानम् ॰ ॥ द्वितीयस्मै । द्वितीयायेत्यादि । एवं तृतीयः । अर्थवद्ग्रहणान्नेह । पट्टजातीयाय । निर्जरः ॥

226. And also the words prathama 'first'; charama 'last,' as well as words ending with the affix taya (V. 2 42); alpa 'few', ardha 'half', katipaya 'some,' and nema 'half' are optionally sarvanâma, before the nom. pl. termination.

Thus we have प्रथमे or प्रथमाः, चरमे or चरमाः, अल्पे or अल्पाः, अर्द्धे or अर्द्धाः कतिपये or कतिपयाः, नेमे or नेमाः, द्वितये or द्वितयाः ॥

The words 'optionally when the affix जस् follows" are understood in this sûtra. By the word तय in the aphorism, is meant words ending in the affix तय. The rest are pratipadikas or crude bases. The word नेम has already been enumerated among the pronominals, therefore, the option in its case, is what is called prâpta-vibhâsâ, the result of which will be that though in the nom. pl. it may be declined like राम, the rest of its declension is like sarva, while in the case of prathama &c the nom pl may be like sarva, but the rest of their declension must be like that of राम. The word ubhaya, has been formed by the addition of the affix तय, and it is already enumerated in the list of pronominals, therefore, by the present sûtra, its nom pl. admits of two forms.

The application of the affix kan or akach must depend upon the nature of these words, if pronominals, then akach, otherwise kan.

Vart.—The words formed by the affix तीय such as, द्वितीय and तृतीय, are optionally declined as sarvanâma before the case-affixes having an indicatory ङ (ङित्), which are the singular terminations of dative, ablative, genitive and locative, as, द्वितीयस्मै or द्वितीयाय, तृतीयाय or तृतीयस्मै.

Paribhâshâ.—(A combination of letters capable of) expressing a meaning (denotes), whenever it is employed (in Grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it) does not denote (the same combination of letters) void of a meaning.

Therefore पटुजातीयाय and not पटुजातीयस्मै. Here the affix is जातीय and not-तीय, and in the affix जातीय, the portion तीय has no independent meaning of its own.

Here ends the declension of Sarvanamans.

सर्व

	Nom	Voca-	Acc	Insti	Dati	Abla.	Geni.	Locative.
Sing.	सर्वः	हे सर्व	सर्वं	सर्वेण	सर्वस्मै	सर्वस्मात्	सर्वस्य	सर्वस्मिन्
Dual	सर्वौ	" सर्वौ	सर्वौ	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वाभ्याम्	सर्वयोः	सर्वयोः
Pl	सर्वे	" सर्वे	सर्वान्	सर्वैः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेभ्यः	सर्वेषाम्	सर्वेषु

Now, we take up the declension of the word निर्जर ॥ The Nominative Singular will be निर्जर + सु = निर्जरः ॥ The nominative dual will be निर्जर + औ ॥ Here applies the following sûtra

२२७ । जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । २ । १०१ ॥

जराशब्दस्य जरस् वा स्यादजादौ विभक्तौ । पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य तदन्तस्य च । अनेकाल्त्वा-त्सर्वादेशे प्राप्ते । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् जरशब्दस्य जरस् । निर्जरसौ । निर्जरसः । इनादीन् बाधित्वा परत्वाज्जरस् । निर्जरसा । निर्जरसे । निर्जरसः । पक्षे हलादौ च रामवत् । वृत्तिकृता तु पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन इनातोः कृतयोः सन्निपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वमाश्रित्य जरसि कृते निर्जरसिन निर्जरसादिति रूपे न तु निर्जरसा निर्जरस इति केचिदित्युक्तम् । तथा भिसि निर्जरसैरिति रूपान्तरमुक्तम ॥ तदनुसारिभिश्च षष्ठ्येकवचने निर्जरस्येत्येव रूप स्वीकृतम् । एतच्च भाष्यविरुद्धम् ॥

227. जरस् may be substituted for जरा, optionally before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

By the *Paribhâshâ*,—(A word or base which occurs in a rule) in which (the term) पद or अङ्ग is valid, (denotes) both that (word or base by itself) and (it denotes) also (any word or base) which ends with that (word or base). The substitute जरस् will come in the case of निर्जर also.

The substitute जरस् consists of more than one letter and therefore by sûtra I. 1. 55. S. 45, should it not replace the whole of निर्जर ? No, because of the following

Paribhâshâ,—Substitutes take the place of that (or of part of that) which (in a rule) is actually enunciated Therefore जरस् will replace the जर portion of निर्जर and not the whole But the rule is "जरा is replaced by जरस" There is no जरा with long आ in निर्जर, then why should there be any substitution? But this substitution takes place according to the *Paribhâshâ*.—That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means (in consequence of this change) something else (than what it was before the change had taken place). Therefore जर of निर्जर is considered the same as जरा ॥

Thus निर्जर + औ = निर्जरस् + औ = निर्जरसौ. The plural will be निर्जरसः ॥

The Instrumental singular will be formed by आ as निर्जरसा The substitute vibhakti ending इन or आत् is debarred by जरस् and does not take place in the case of निर्जर Thus निर्जरसा; निर्जरसे &c.

In the other alternative and also before the case affixes beginning with consonants, the declension of निर्जर will be like राम ॥

According to the Vrittikâra the affixes इन and आत् will come by the rule of pûrva-vipratishedha, prohibition in anticipation, and as the सन्निपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application, the Instrumental and Ablative singular forms will

be निर्जरसिन and निर्जरसात् and not निर्जरसा and निर्जरस The Instrumental Plural will be निर्जरसै.। Those who follow this opinion make the Genitive singular निर्जरस्य ॥ But all this is against the opinion of the Bhâsyakâra.

निर्जर

	Nom.	Voca.	Acc.	Instr.	Dati.	Abla.	Geni	Locative.
Sing	निर्जरः	निर्जर	निर्जरसम्	निर्जरसा	निर्जरसे	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसि
Dual	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जरसौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरसो:	निर्जरसोः
Pl.	निर्जरस	निर्जरसः	निर्जरसः	निर्जरै	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्य	निर्जरसां	निर्जरेषु

OPTIONAL FORMS

Sing	निर्जर	निर्जर	निर्जरम्	निर्जरेण	निर्जराय	निर्जरात्	निर्जरस्य	निर्जरे
Dual	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जरौ	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जराभ्याम्	निर्जरयोः	निर्जरयो
Pl	निर्जराः	निर्जराः	निर्जरान्	निर्जरैः	निर्जरेभ्यः	निर्जरेभ्य	निर्जराणाम	निर्जरेषु

२२८ । पद्दन्नोमास्हृन्निशसन्यूषन्दोषन्यकञ्छकन्नुदन्नासञ्छस्प्रभृतिषु । ६ । १ । ६३ ॥

पाद, दन्त, नासिका, मास, हृदय, निशा, असृज्, यूष, दोष्, यकृत्, शकृत्, उदक, आस्य एषां पदादय आदेशाः स्यु शसादौ वा । यत्तु आसनशब्दस्य आसन्नादेश इति काशिकायामुक्त तत्प्रमादिकम् । पादः । पादौ । पादा । पादम् । पादौ । पदः । पादान् । पदा । पादेन इत्यादि ॥

228 In the weak cases (beginning with the accusative plural) the following stems are optionally substituted —पद् for पाद, दत् for दन्त, नस् for नासिका, मास् for मास, हृद् for हृदयं, निश् for निशा, असन् for असृज्, यूषन् for यूष, दोषन् for दोस्, यकन् for यकृत, शकन् for शकृत, उदन् for उदक and आसन् for आस्य ॥

The Kâsikâ gives आसन् as the substitute for आसन This is a mistake. Thus पादः, पादौ, पादाः; पादम् पादौ, पदः or पादान्, पदा or पादेन &c.

२२९ । सुडनपुंसकस्य । १ । १ । ४३ ॥

सुट् प्रत्याहारः स्वादिपञ्चवचनानि सर्वनामस्थानसंज्ञानि स्युरक्लीबस्य ॥

229. The first five case affixes comprised in the pratyâhâra suṭ (*i. e*, the three case-terminations of the nominative, and the singular and dual of the accusative) are called also sarvanâmasthâna; except the case-affixes of the neuter gender.

२३० । स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थाने । १ । ४ । १७ ॥

कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परत पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

230. When the affixes beginning with सु (IV 1 2) **and** ending in कप् (V. 4. 151) follow, not being Sarvanâmasthâna (I. 1. 43) then that which precedes is called pada

२३१ । यचि भम् । १ । ४ । १८ ॥

यकारादिष्वजादिषु च कप्प्रत्ययावधिषु स्वादिष्वसर्वनामस्थानेषु परतः पूर्वं भसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

231. And when an affix, with an initial य or an initial vowel, being one of the affixes, beginning with सु and ending in क, follows, not being Sarvanâmasthâna, then what precedes, is called Bha.

२३२ । आकडारादेका संज्ञा । १ । ४ । १ ॥

इत ऊर्ध्वं कडाराः कर्मधारये इत्यतः प्रागेकस्यैकैव संज्ञा ज्ञेया । या पराऽनवकाशा च । तेन शसादावचि भसंज्ञैव न पदत्वम् । अतो जश्त्वं न । दतः । दता । जश्त्वम् । दद्भ्यामित्यादि । मासः । मासा । भ्यामि रुत्वे यत्वे च यलोपः । माभ्याम् । माभिरित्यादि ॥

232. From this sûtra up to the aphorism Kadârâḥ Karmadhâraye (II.2. 38 S. 751) only one name of each thing named is to be understood.

Note What is that name then ? That which comes last, where the claims are otherwise equal (I 4 2 S 175) and that which, were its claims disallowed, would have no other opportunity of conducing to any result, would be the recognised name As a short vowel is called 'light' by I 4 10, S 31 and it is also called 'heavy' when it precedes a conjunct consonant (I 4 11, S. 32) Thus a short vowel has two names 'light' and 'heavy.' But it will not be called 'light' when it precedes a conjunct consonant, but will have only one name *i. e*, 'heavy' Thus in भिद् to divide छिद् to split, the इ is 'light' while the same letter is 'heavy' in शिक्षा teaching भिक्षा begging

Thus in the root तक्ष् the अ is 'heavy' and therefore in forming its aorist we have the form अततक्षत् Similarly अररक्षत् . The rule VII. 4 93 not applying here, as that rule is applicable to laghu vowels only

Therefore, in the affixes beginning with the Accusative Plural and whose initial letter is a vowel, the preceding stem gets the name of *bha* only and not that of pada. The result of which is that the hard consonants are not changed into soft. Thus the accusative Plural of दन्त is दतः The Instrumental singular is दता ॥ The त् is not changed to द् by the जश् rule. But before the affixes beginning with consonants, the preceding stem gets the name of Pada and we have the softening of the consonants, as दद्भ्याम् &c. Similarly Ac. Pl. मासः, Ins. Sg. मासा. Before the affix भ्याम् the स of मास् will

be changed to ह which will be changed to य which being elided, we have the forms माभ्याम्, माभिः ॥

२३३ । भस्य । ६ । ४ । १२९ ॥ अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

233. Whatever will be taught in the following up to the end of the sixth Adhyâya, should be understood to apply to the nominal stems called Bha (I. 4. 18, 19 S 231 and 1896).

२३४ । अल्लोपोऽनः । ६ । ४ । १३४ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोप स्यात् ॥

234. Of a Bha stem ending in अन्, the अ is elided.

२३५ । रषाभ्यां नो णः समानपदे । ८ । ४ । १ ॥

एकपदस्थाभ्यां रेफषकाराभ्यां परस्य नस्य ण स्यात् । यूष्णः यूष्णा । पूर्वस्मादपि विधौ स्थानिवद्भाव इति पक्षे तु अङ्व्यवाय इत्येवात्र णत्वम् । * पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेष्विति निषेधात् ॥

235. After र् and ष्, the ण् is the substitute of न्, when they occur as component letters of the same word.

Therefore the Ac Pl of यूषन् is formed by eliding the अ and changing the न् into ण, as यूष्णः, Ins Sg यूष्णा ॥

If we apply the rule of स्थानिवद्भाव by sûtra अचः परस्मिन् पूर्वविधौ (I. 1. 57 S 50), and this we can do by explaining the compound pûrva-vidhau = purvasmâd vidhau meaning " when a rule is to be applied on account of or *after* something which precedes the substitute " and consider the लोप to be स्थानिवद् to अ, in that case also the न will be changed to ण by the rule VIII 4 2 S 197 i e न is changed to ण even when a vowel intervenes But as a matter of fact, the लोपादेश is not स्थानिवत् according to the following vârtika

Vârtika.—In the last three chapters of the 8th Book of Pânini's Ashtâdhyâyi, the rule of स्थानिवत् will not apply.

२३६ । नलोपः प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य । ८ । २ । ७ ॥

नेति प्रातिपदिकेति च लुप्तषष्ठीके पदे । प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञकं यत्पदं तदन्तस्य नकारस्य लोपः स्यात् । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्दीर्घत्वमेत्वमैस्त्वं च न । यूषभ्याम् । यूषभिः । यूषभ्यः इत्यादि ॥

236. The न् at the end of a Nominal-stem, which is a Pada (I. 4. 17 S. 230), is elided.

The words न and प्रातिपदिक in the text are to be taken in the genitive case , the sign of the genitive being elided here.

The elision of न by this Sûtra being considered asiddha for the purposes of the application of the previous Sûtras, there is not the lengthening

of sûtra VII 3 102 S 202. or the ए substitution of VII. 3 103. S 205 or the ऐस substitution of VII. 1. 9. S 203 Therefore the forms are वृषभ्याम् and not वृषाभ्याम्; वृषभिः and not वृषैः, वृषभ्य and not वृषेभ्य ॥

२३७ । विभाषा ङिश्योः । ६ । ४ । १३६ ॥

अङ्गावयवोऽसर्वनामस्थानयजादिस्वादिपरो योऽन् तस्याकारस्य लोपो वा स्यात् ङिश्योः । वृष्णि । वृषणि । पक्षे रामवत् । पद्दन्नितिसूत्रे प्रभृतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थम् । तथा च । औङ श्यामपि दोषन्नादेशो भाष्ये ककुद्दोषणी इत्युदाहृतः । तेन 'पद्‌ङ्‌घ्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम्, स्वान्तं हृन्मानसं मन' इति च सगच्छते । आसन्यः । दोषशब्दस्य नपुंसकत्वमप्यत एव भाष्यात् । तेन दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचरं इति सगच्छते । भुजबाहू प्रवेष्टो दोरिति साहचर्यात्पुंस्त्वमपि । दोषं तस्य तथाविधस्य भजत इति । द्वयोरह्नोर्भवो द्व्यह्न ॥

237. In a Bha-stem ending in अन्, the अ is optionally elided before the Locative ending इ and before the ending शी (ई) of the Nominative and Accusative Dual Neuter.

As वृष्णि or वृषणि In all other cases the word वृषण् is declined like राम The word ङिश्यो: is a compound of ni and śî and not ङ्शि for the stem is not Bha there

The word प्रभृति in the sûtra VI. 1 63 S 228 is used in the sense of प्रकार i.e the affixes therein taught, are illustrative only, the substitution will take place even when a Sarvanâmasthâna affix follows. Therefore, where the dual affix औ is replaced by शी, and it is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix there also that rule VI 1 63 applies, for we have in the Bhâsya the example of ककुद्दोषणी Similarly also the following are valid "पद्‌ङ्‌घ्रिश्चरणोऽस्त्रियाम्" here पाद is changed before the Nom Sg सु, which is not a weak affix, "स्वान्तंहृन्मानसं मनः" here हृदय is changed to हृद in the Nom Sg These are from Amara-Kosha. and आसन्यं प्राणमूचु "They (the Devas) said to the Prâna in the mouth" (Brihadâranyaka I 3 7) Here आस्य is changed to आसन् before the affix य। आसन्यं means that which is born in the mouth. The word दोष् (hand) is used in the neuter gender in the Bhâsya of Pâtanjali Therefore the following usage is correct —"ससुपाद्गनुद्यम्य दक्षिणं दोर्निशाचरम्", । दो is also masculine gender because it is used along with भुज बाहू प्रवेष्टो ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word द्व्यहः ।

२३८ । संख्याविसायपूर्वस्याह्नस्याहन्नन्यतरस्यां ङौ । ६ । ३ । ११० ॥

सख्यादिपूर्वस्याह्नस्याऽहन्नादेशो वा स्यात् ङौ । द्व्यह्नि । द्व्यहनि । द्व्यह्ने । विगतमहर्व्यहः । व्यह्नि । व्यहनि । व्यह्ने । अह्न. साय सायाह्न. । सायाह्नि । सायाहनि । सायाह्ने ॥

238. अहन् may optionally be substituted for अह्न, in the Locative singular, when a Numeral, or वि or साय-precedes it.

Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भवः = द्व्यह्न , ॥ The Locative singular of this is द्व्यह्नि or द्व्यहनि, ॥ So also द्व्यह्ने, ॥ With त्रि—त्र्यह्नि त्र्यहनि, त्र्यह्ने with साय—सायाह्नि सायाहनि, सायाह्ने ॥ These are एकदेशिसमास , and this very sûtra is an indicator that अहन् may be compounded with other words than a Numeral, or त्रि or साय ॥ Thus we have मध्याह्ने or मध्यम हानि, (II. 2. 1) But पूर्वाह्णे and अपराह्णे only

Note.—The compounding in the above examples takes place by the rule II. 1. 51 S 728, with the force of भव IV. 3 11 S. 13 81 Thus द्वि + अहन्. Here we add the Samâsânta affix टच् by the rule V 4 91 S. 788 and the अहन् is replaced by अह्न by V. 4 88 S. 790. While the तद्धितार्थ affix ठञ् which was ordained by IV. 3 11 S. 1381 is elided by IV 1 88 S. 1080

Here ends the declension of masculine words ending in अ

पाद्

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	पादः	पादम्	पादेन	पादाय	पादात्	पादस्य	पादे
			or	or	or	or	or
			पदा	पदे।	पद	पद	पदि
Dual	पादौ	पादौ	पादाभ्यां	पादाभ्यां	पादाभ्याम् पद्भ्यां	पादयो	पादयोः
			or	or		or	or
			पद्भ्याम्	पद्भ्याम्।		पदोः	पदोः
Plural	पादा	पादान्	पादैः पद्भिः	पादेभ्यः	पादेभ्य	पादानां	पादेषु
		or		or	or	or	or
		पदः		पद्भ्यः।	पद्भ्यः	पदाम्	पत्सु

दन्त (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS ARE SHOWN BELOW)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	दता	दते	दत	दत	दति
Dual	...	दद्भ्याम्	दद्भ्याम्	दद्भ्याम्	दतो	दतोः
Plural	दत.	दद्भि	दद्भ्य	दद्भ्य	दताम्	दत्सु

मास (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	मासा	मासे	मासः	मासः	मासि
Dual	...	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	माभ्याम्	मासो	मासो
Plural	मासः	माभिः	माभ्यः	माभ्य	मासाम्	मास्सु

यूष (ITS OPTIONAL FORMS)

	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	...	यूष्णा	यूष्णे	यूष्णः	यूष्णः	यूष्णि
Dual	...	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूषभ्याम्	यूष्णो	यूष्णोः
Plural	यूष्णः	यूषभि	यूषभ्य	यूषभ्यः	यूष्णाम्	यूषसु

Now, we take up the declension of the masculine words ending in आ such as विश्वपा

२३९ । दीर्घाज्जसि च । ६ । १ । १०५ ॥

दीर्घाज्जसि इचि च परे प्रथमयोः पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घो न स्यात् । वृद्धिः । विश्वपौ । सवर्णदीर्घ । विश्वपाः यद्यपीह औङि नादिच्चीत्येव सिद्धं जसि तु सत्यपि पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घे क्षतिर्नास्ति तथापि गौर्यौ गौर्य इत्याद्यर्थं सूत्रमिहापि न्याय्यत्वादुपन्यस्तम् ॥

239. The substitution of a long vowel homogeneous with the first, does not take place when a long vowel is followed by a nominative or accusative case-affix beginning with a vowel (other than अ) or by the Nom Pl. affix अस् ॥

The long vowel required by VI 1 102, S. 164 does not take place in the case of words ending in long vowels Thus Nominative Singular of विश्वपा is विश्वपाः, Nom Dual विश्वपा + औ = विश्वपौ by the general rule of Vṛddhi and Nom. Pl. is विश्वपाः by lengthening the homogeneous letters अ and आ.

In the declension of विश्वपा the above forms are regularly obtained. In the case of Nom Dual, the lengthening required by VI. 1. 102. S 164 is debarred by VI. 1. 104 S. 165 as well. In the case of Nom. Pl. विश्वपा + अस् (अस्) there will be no harm if VI 1. 102 S 164 be applied, for even that rule will give the form विश्वपाः. Therefore in the case of विश्वपा the present Sûtra is not absolutely necessary. But we have given it here for the sake of logical consistency, for this Sûtra applies to stems ending in long vowels like गौरी, the Nom. Dual and Pl of which will be गौर्यौ and गौर्य respectively.

२४० । आतो धातो : । ६ । ४ । १४० ॥

आकारान्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्य भस्याऽङ्गस्य लोपः स्यात् । अलोऽन्त्यस्य । विश्वपः । विश्वपा । विश्वपाभ्यामित्यादि । एवं शङ्खध्मादयः । धातोः किम् । हाहान् । टा सवर्णदीर्घ । हाहा । ङे वृद्धि । हाहै । ङसिङसोर्दीर्घ । हाहाः । ओसि वृद्धिः । हाहौः । ङौ आद्गुणः । हाहे । शेषं विश्वपावत् । आत इति योगविभागादधातोरप्याकारलोपः क्वचित् । त्त्व भः ॥

240. The final आ of a Bha stem, when it ends in a root, is elided.

The *lopa* will be of the final vowel by I. 1. 52 S. 42. Therefore Accu Pl. will be विश्वपः ; Inst. Sing विश्वपा, विश्वपाभ्याम् &c

Like विश्वपा should be declined, शङ्खध्मा &c. Why do we say the आ of a root? Observe हाहान् (the accusative Pl. of हाहा). Its Instr. Sing will be हाहा + टा = हाहा by lengthening of homogeneous vowels. Its Dat. Sing. will be हाहा + ङे = हाहै by Vriddhi. Its Abl and Geni. Sing. will be हाहाः + ङसि or ङस् = हाहाः by lengthening. Its Gen and Loc: dual will be हाहा + ओस् = हाहौः

by Vriddhi Its Loc Sing will be हाहा + ङि = हाहे by guna The rest are like विश्वपा

By the rule of *yoga vibhaga* (योगविभागादिष्ट सिद्धिः) *i e* "From a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we may derive such results as may be desirable," the present Sûtra may be divided into two Sûtras eg (1) आतः, the final आ of a Bha stem is always elided, (2) धातोः, the final आ of a Bha Stem when it ends in a root is always elided. Thus are formed क्त्वः and ड्नः the Genitive Singulars of Ktvâ and śnâ For Panini himself has declined क्त्वा and श्ना by the elision of आ, see VII 1 37. S 3332 (समासेऽनञ्पूर्वे क्त्वो ल्यप्) and III. 1. 83 S 2557. (हलः श्नः शानज्झौ)

Here ends the declension of words ending in long आ.

विश्वपा

	Nom	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	विश्वपाः	हे विश्वपा	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपा	विश्वपे	विश्वपः	विश्वपः	विश्वपि
Dual	विश्वपौ	,, विश्वपौ	विश्वपौ	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपाभ्याम्	विश्वपोः	विश्वपोः
Plural	विश्वपाः	,, विश्वपाः	विश्वपः	विश्वपाभिः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाभ्यः	विश्वपाम्	विश्वपासु

हाहा

Singular	हाहाः	हे हाहाः	हाहाम्	हाहा	हाहै	हाहाः	हाहाः	हाहे
Dual	हाहौ	,, हाहौ	हाहौ	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहाभ्याम्	हाहौ	हाहौः
Plural	हाहाः	,, हाहाः	हाहान्	हाहाभिः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाभ्यः	हाहाम्	हाहासु

Now we take up the declension of the word हरि The Nom sing will be हरिः Nom Dual will be हरि + औ = हरी by lengthening the preceding vowel VI. 1. 102 S. 164 The Pl is हरि + जस् ॥ Here applies the following.

२४१ । जसि च । ७ । ३ । १०९ ॥

ह्रस्वान्तस्याङ्गस्य गुणः स्याज्जसि परे । हरयः ॥

241. Before the affix अस् of the Nom. Pl., guṇa is substituted for the final short vowel of a nominal stem

Therefore the इ of हरि is *gunated* to ए. Thus हरि + अस् = हरे + अस् = हरयः । The Vocative Sing. will be हरि + सु Here the following rule applies.

२४२ । ह्रस्वस्य गुणः । ७ । ३ । १०८ ॥

ह्रस्वस्य गुणः स्यात्सम्बुद्धौ । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति सम्बुद्धिलोपः । हे हरे । हरिम् । हरी । हरीन् ॥

242. For short इ and उ final in a nominal-stem, a guṇa is substituted in the Vocative Singular.

Therefore the इ of हरि is changed to ए and the affix is elided by VI. 1. 69 S. 193 Thus we get हे हरे

The Acc forms are हरिम्, हरी, हरीन्

The Instr sing is हरि+टा. Here the following two rules apply

२४३ । शेषो घ्यसखि । १ । ४ । ७ ॥

अनदीसंज्ञौ ह्रस्वौ याविदुतौ तदन्तं सखिवर्जं घिसंज्ञं स्यात् । शेष किम् । मत्यै । एकसंज्ञाधिकारात्सिद्धे शेषग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । ह्रस्वौ किम् । वातप्रम्ये । इदुतौ किम् । मात्रे ॥

243 The rest of the words that end in short इ and उ are called ghi with the exception of the word sakhi.

Thus हरि is a ghi word Why do we say 'the rest of the words'? Observe मत्यै, for मति being a feminine noun does not get the name of ghi but retains its name of *nadî*, for otherwise its declension will be मतये, formed by appplying the rule VII 3 112 S 268 and VII 3 111 S 245 But मतये is of course a wrong form Though by the rule I 4 1 S 232 if the word gets its designation ghi, it can never get the designation nadi and *vice versa*, and मति which is a nadi word can never be called *ghi*, and so even if the word शेष had not been used in the sûtra, there would not have been any fear of मति being confounded with a *ghi* word, still शेष is used in the sûtra for the sake of precision and clearness Why do we say short इ and उ? Observe वातप्रम्ये ॥ Why do we say इ and उ; ? Observe मात्रे ॥

Note —This defines the word ghi The peculiarity of the declension of ghi words will be treated later on The word hrasva is understood in this sutra. The word shesha or 'the rest' implies 'the words ending in short इ or उ which are not the names of females, or if they are feminine names, they are not nadi words'

As अग्नि fire. Before case-affixes having an indicatory n, the ghi nouns gunate their vowel VII. 3 111. As अग्नि+ङे=अग्ने+ए=अग्नये "to the fire" So also वायु+ङे=वायवे "to the wind." But the declension of sakhi in these cases is —सख्या सख्ये सख्यु: and सख्यौ

२४४ । आङो नाऽस्त्रियाम् ७ । ३ । १२० ॥

घेः परस्याङो ना स्यादस्त्रियाम् । आङिति टासंज्ञा प्राचाम् । हरिणा । अस्त्रियां किम । मत्या ॥

244. ना is substituted for the ending आ of the Instrumental singular, after the Ghi stems, when they are not Feminine.

The word आङ् is the ancient name of the affix टा Thus हरि+टा=हरि+ना =हरिणा Why do we say when they are not feminine? Observe मति+टा =मत्या.

Now we form the Dat. Sing. हरि+ङे. Here applies the following Sûtra.

२४५ । घेर्ङिति । ७ । ३ । १११ ॥

घिसञ्ज्ञकस्य ङिति सुपि गुणः स्यात् । हरये । घेः किम् । सख्ये । ङिति किम् । हरिभ्याम् । सुपि किम् । पट्वी । घेर्ङितीति गुणे कृते ॥

245. For the इ and उ of the stems called घि (I. 4. 7.) Guṇa is substituted in the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular.

Why of घि stems? Observe सख्ये Why in the Singulars of the Dat Abl. Gen and Loc only? Observe हरिभ्याम् ॥ The word case-ending (सुपि) is understood here also, as the counter-examples are पट्वी &c. ॥

The word पट्वी is formed by adding ङीष् to पटु (IV 1 44 S 502) ङीष् is not a case-affix, though it is ङित् and is added to पटु which is घि ॥

Thus हरि + ङे = हरे + ए = हरये.

Now we form the Ablative singular, हरि + ङसि = हरे + अस् (the इ of हरि is *guṇated* by the present Sûtra). At this stage applies the following Sûtra.

२४६ । ङसिङसोश्च । ६ । १ । ११० ॥

एङो ङसिङसोरति परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् । हरेः । हर्योः । हरीणाम् ॥

246. In the room of ए or ओ (in the body of a word), + अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive Singular, the single substitute is the form of the precedent.

Therefore हरे + अस् = हरेः The genitive dual will be हर्योः The pl हरीणाम ॥

Now, we form the Loc Sing हरि + ङि = हरे + इ ॥ (The इ is guṇated by the preceding sûtra). At this stage applies the folowing rule.

२४७ । अच्च घेः । ७ । ३ । ११९ ॥

इदुद्भ्यामुत्तरस्य ङेरौत्स्याद् घेरन्तादेशश्चाकारः । हरौ । हर्योः । हरिषु । एवं श्रीपत्यग्निरविकव्यादयः ॥

247. After a Ghi (I. 4. 7) stem ending in short इ or उ, औ is substituted for the इ of the Loc. Sg. and अ is substituted for the final of such Ghi stem.

Therefore हरि + इ = हर + औ = हरौ ॥ The Loc. du. and pl. will be हर्योः and हरिषु respectively

श्रीपति, अग्नि, रवि, कवि &c. are declined like हरि ॥

DECLENSION OF हरि

	Nom.	Voc.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl	Gan.	Loc.
Sing	हरि·	हे हरे	हरिम्	हरिणा	हरये	हरे	हरेः	हरौ
Dual	हरी	,, हरी	हरी	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हरिभ्याम्	हर्योः	हर्योः
Plural.	हरयः	,, हरय	हरीन्	हरिभिः	हरिभ्यः	हरिभ्य	हरीणाम्	हरिषु

—— o ——

Now we decline the word सखि ॥ There applies the following rule.

२४८ । अनङ् सौ । ७ । १ । ९३ ॥

सख्युरङ्गस्याऽनङादेशः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे। ङिच्चेत्यन्तादेशः ॥

248. अनङ् (अन्) is substituted for the इ of सखि before सु of the Nominative Singular, (but not in the Vocative Singular).

Thus सखि + सु = सखन् + सु ॥ The अनङ् being a ङित् augment, replaces the final only, and not the whole (I. 1. 53 S 43). Now apply the following rules.

२४९ । अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा । १ । १ । ६५ ॥

अन्त्यादलः पूर्वो वर्ण उपधासंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

249. The letter immediately preceding the last letter of a word is called the penultimate.

Therefore in सखन्, the अ of ख is penultimate or उपधा. Being उपधा, the following rule applies to this अ.

२५० । सर्वनामस्थाने चासंबुद्धौ । ६ । ४ । ८ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

250. In a stem ending in न् the preceding vowel is lengthened in strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular.

Therefore, the अ is lengthened and we have सखान् + स्. Now the affix स् consists of a single letter and is called अपृक्त by the following rule.

२५१ । अपृक्त एकाल्प्रत्ययः । १ । २ । ४१ ॥

एकाल्प्रत्ययो यः सोऽपृक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

251. An affix consisting of a single letter is called an *Aprikta*.

The result of this स् being called अपृक्त is that it is elided by the following rule:

२५२ । हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो दीर्घात्सुतिस्यपृक्तं हल् । ६ । १ । ६८ ॥

हलन्तात्परं दीर्घौ यौ ङ्यापौ तदन्ताच्च परं सुतिसीत्येतदपृक्तं हल् लुप्यते । हल्ङ्याब्भ्य' किम् । ग्रामणीः । दीर्घात्किम् । निष्कौशाम्बिः । अतिखट्वः । सुतिसीति किम् । अभैत्सीत् तिपा सहचरितस्य सिपो ग्रहणात्सिचो ग्रहणं नास्ति । अपृक्तमिति किम् । बिभर्ति । हल् किम् । बिभेद । प्रथमहल् किम् । राजा । नलोपो न स्यात् सयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सखा । हे सखे ॥

252. After a consonant, there is the elision of the nominative-affix स्, and the tense-affix ति and सि (when reduced to the form of त् and स्) being consonants; and so also after the long vowels ई and आ of the feminine (affix ङी and आप्), there is the elision of the nominative affix स् ॥

The sûtra translated literally means —After a word ending in a consonant, or ङी, or आप् when a long vowel, the affixes सु, ति and सि when reduced to a single consonant affix (अपृक्त हल्) are elided. But ति and सि are elided only after consonant and hence we have translated it as above.

Why do we say "after a consonant, or a feminine affix ई and आ"? Observe ग्रामणीः, सेनानीः ॥ Why do we say "after a long-vowelled feminine affix"? Observe निष्कौशाम्बिः, अतिखट्वः, where the feminine affixes have been shortened Why do we say "when followed by सु ति, and सि"? Observe अभैत्सीत् ॥ The सि being read along with ति, does not include सिच्, but refers to सिप् only Why do we say 'when reduced to a single letter'? Observe बिभर्ति Why do we say 'the *consonant* is elided'? Observe बिभेद ॥ Here the apṛkta affix अ of the Perfect is not elided though it being the substitute of ति is like ति, and ought to have been elided, had the word हल् not been used in the sûtra.

Why do we say 'first consonant'? Observe राजा

Why has the elision of स् (सु), त् (तिप्) and स् (सिप्) been ordained after consonants, as they would of themselves have been dropped by VIII 2 23; being the finals of a compound consonant? Then the forms राजा, सखा could not be evolved. As राजन्+स्=राजान्+स (VI 4 8 S. 250)=राजान्स and by eliding स by Rule VIII. 2 23, the form would have become राजान्! and the final न् could not have been elided by VIII 2. 7, for it is a maxim enunciated in the very opening of the Second chapter of the 8th Book, that in the last three chapters of that Book (2nd, 3rd and 4th Chapters), a subsequent rule is as if it had not taken effect, so far as any preceding rule is concerned, therefore, the rule VIII. 2. 7 ordaining the elision of न्, does not find scope,

since VIII 2. 23 (ordaining elision of सु,) is considered as if it had not taken effect.

Thus Nom Sg सखा Voc Sg हे सखे In forming the Dual सखि + औ the following rules apply.

२५३ । सख्युरसम्बुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ९२ ॥

सख्युरङ्गात्पर संबुद्धिवर्जं सर्वनामस्थान णित्कार्यकृत् स्यात् ॥

253. After सखि, the endings of the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, are णित् ॥

That is, they cause Vriddhi according to the following rule —

२५४ । अचो ञ्णिति । ७ । १ । ११५ ॥

ञिति णिति च परेऽजन्ताङ्गस्य वृद्धि स्यात्। सखायौ। सखायः। सखायम्। सखायौ। घिसंज्ञाऽभावान्न तत्कार्यम्। सख्या। सख्ये ॥

254. Before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vṛiddhi is substituted for the end-vowel of a stem.

Thus सखि + औ = सखै + औ = सखायौ. Similarly Nom. Pl. सखाय, Acc Sing. सखायम् Acc. dual सखायौ.॥

Instrumental Sing. will be formed by the affix आ; and as the word सखि is not a घि word (See I 4 7. S 243) it does not take न or *guṇa* as required by VII. 3 120 S 244 or VII. 3. 1. S 245. Thus we have सखि + आ = सख्या

Dative Sing. will be सखि + ए = सख्ये.

In forming the Ablative and Genitive, the following rule applies·—

२५५ । ख्यत्यात्परस्य । ६ । १ । ११२ ॥

खितिशब्दाभ्यां खीतीशब्दाभ्यां कृतयणादेशाभ्यां परस्य ङसिङसोरत उत्स्यात्। सख्यु ॥

255. There is the substitution of उ for अ of अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, after सखि and पति, when for the इ of those two stems य् is substituted.

The phrase ङसिङसो and उत् are understood here also The ख्य means and includes खि and खी when the इ is changed to य, and त्य denotes ति and ती, the इ being changed to य ॥ Thus सखि + अस् = सख्युः as सख्युरागच्छति, सख्यु स्वम् ॥ So also पत्युरागच्छति, पत्युः स्वम् ॥ The illustration of खी is सखी which is derived from the Denominative Verb thus सखेन वर्तते = सखः, सखामिच्छति = सख + क्यच् (III. 1. 8) = सखीय (VII 4. 3) Now by adding क्विप् to the Denominative root सखीय we get सखी 'one who wishes for a friend'. The Ablative and Genitive Singular of this word will be सखी + अस् = सख्यु' also. Of ती we have the following example लूनमिच्छति = लूनीय, add क्विप = लूनी, the Ablative and Genitive

singular of which is also लून्युः, the न् of लूनी being the substitute of त् of Nishthâ is considered like त् (VIII 2 1). The peculiar exhibition of ख्य and त्य in the sutra, instead of saying directly सखिपतिभ्यां indicates that the rule does not apply to words like अतिसखि &c where we have अतिसख, सेनापते॰ ॥ The word अतिसखि is घि in spite of the prohibition (I. 4 7), for that prohibition applies only to सखि and not to a compound which ends in it, on the maxim असम्भवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति ॥ "That which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika does (contrary to I 1 72) not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself". According to some this rule applies to all खी and ती, such as सुखी॰ one who loves pleasure' (सुखमिच्छति = सुखाय + क्विप्) and सुती 'one who wishes a son' (सुतमिच्छति = सुतीय + क्विप्)) Thus सुख्युः, सुत्यु &c

२५६ । औत् । ७ । ३ । ११८ ॥

इदुद्भ्यां परस्य ङेरौत्स्यात् । उकारानुवृत्तिरुत्तरार्था । सख्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । शोभनः सखा सुसखा । सुसखायौ । सुसखाय । अनङ्णित्त्वयोराङ्गत्वात्तदन्तेऽपि प्रवृत्तिः । समुदायस्य सखिरूपत्वा भावादसखीति निषेधाप्रवृत्तेर्घिसंज्ञा । सुसखिना । सुसखये । ङसिङसोर्गुणे कृते कृतयणादेशत्वाभावात् ख्यत्यादित्युत्व न । सुसखे॰ । सुसखौ इत्यादि । एवमतिशयितः सखा अतिसखा । परमः सखा यस्येति विग्रहे । परमसखा । परमसखायावित्यादि । गौणत्वेऽप्यनङ्णित्वे प्रवर्तेते सखीमतिक्रान्तोऽतिसखि । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्न टच् । हरिवत् । इहानङ्णित्वे न भवतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वेन सखिशब्दस्य लाक्षणिकत्वात् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैव ग्रहणात् ॥

256 After a stem ending in इ or उ short, and which is not a Nadi or a Ghi, औ is substituted for the इ of the Locative Singular.

As सख्यौ the rest of the declension of this word is like हरि

But the declension of this word, when it forms the final member of a compound, is somewhat different. Thus the word सुसखा meaning a good friend, is declined as सुसखा, सुसखायौ, सुसखाय Here the adding of the affix अनङ् (VIII. 1. 93 S 248) and treating the case affixes as णित् as required by VII 1. 92. S 253. are operations which relate to the अङ्ग or base and therefore those rules apply not only to the single word सखि but to a compound word also that ends in सखि. But the compound word सुसखि has not exactly the same form as सखि, therefore the rule I.4 7 S 243 which makes the specific mention of the word सखि does not apply to सुसखि Therefore the word सुसखि is घि and its Instrumental and Dative will be सुसखिना and सुसखये ॥ Similarly in Ablative and Genitive singulars the इ being *gunated* by VII 3 111 S 245 the last rule will not apply, because here the bases are सुसखे + अस् and सुसखे + ङसि and सुसखे + ङि The last and the present rules apply only to that form of सखि where the खि is changed to ख्य.

In the case of नदी words आम् is taught by the previous sûtras; in the case of घि words औ preceded by अ substitution of घि letters will be taught in the next sûtra, so by the rule of exclusion, the present sutra applies to words other than nadî and ghi

Therefore the Ablative, Genitive and Locative Singular of सुसखा will be सुसखे , सुसखेः and सुसखौ respectively

Similarly the compound word अतिसखि meaning 'one who has thrown away his friend' (सखा masculine) is declined like सुसखा ॥

But the word परमसखा when treated as a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning 'he whose friend is the Supreme' may give rise to a difficulty. For, here सखि is merely a secondary word, the real word being the object denoted by the word परमसखि We therefore cannot treat सखि to be the अङ्ग or base, as we treated it in the case of the word सुसखा How is this word परमसखि to be declined? It is declined like सुसखा, for though the word सखि here is merely a secondary word and not the base or अङ्ग, yet the rules of अनङ् and णित् apply to this case also. Thus परमसखा and परमसखायौ &c

Now in the declension of the word अतिसखि when it is a compound meaning 'he who has thrown away his friend' (सखी feminine) the affix टच् does not apply, because the rule which says that the Masculine includes the feminine is not universal That rule is thus enunciated प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् *i e.* 'A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed (in grammar), also (such a crude form) as is derived from it by the addition of (an affix denoting) gender.' Now applying this Paribhâsha to rule V. 4 91 S 788 which declares that the affix टच् is added to the words râjan, ahan, and sakhi when at the end of a compound, the Masculine word सखि would include the feminine word सखी also and therefore the form ought to be अतिसख and not अतिसखि This anomaly, however, is prevented by the fact that the above Paribhâshâ is not universal. The word अतिसखि is declined like हरि and not like the word सखि, and therefore अनङ् and णित् do not apply. Because, the word सखी has been shortened to सखि by the rule I. 2. 48, S 656 and this सखि is, therefore, merely a secondary word and not an original word like the सखि in सुसखि &c, above given Therefore, the following Paribhâshâ applies to this word.—लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयोः &c *i e* "Whenever a term is employed which might denote both something original and also something else resulting from a rule of grammar,—or when a term is employed in a rule which might denote both something formed by another rule in which the same individual term has been employed, and also something else formed by a general rule, —such a term should be taken to denote, in the former case, only that which is original, and in the latter case, only that which is formed by that rule in which the same individual term has been employed."

२५७ । पतिः समास एव । १ । ४ । ८ ॥

पतिर्घिः समास एव घिसंज्ञः स्यात् । पत्यां । पत्ये । पत्युः । पत्यौ । शेषं हरिवत् । समासे तु भूपतिना । भूपतये । कतिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्त ॥

257. The word pati is called ghi, only when it is in a compound.

The word pati would have been ghi by the sûtra I. 4. 7. S. 243; the present sûtra is, therefore, a niyama rule, restricting the use of ghi in the case of pati to its occurring in composition. The word eva 'only' is used in a restrictive sense.

As पत्या 'by the lord' but 'भूपतिना by the lord of the worlds.' So also पत्ये and भूपतये, पत्यु and भूपते, पत्यौ and भूपतौ &c. When पति is ghi, there is guṇa of the vowel before the four ङित् affixes by VII. 3. 111.

Now we take up the declension of the word कति which is always plural. This word is called सख्या or a numeral as well as षट् by the following two rules, and therefore, there is some peculiarity in its declension.

२५८ । बहुगणवतुडति संख्या । १ । १ । २३ ।

एते सख्यासज्ञाः स्युः ॥

258. The words bahu 'many,' gaṇa 'class,' and the words ending in the affix vatu (V. 2. 39), and ḍati (V. 2. 41) are called numerals (sankhyâ).

The word काति is formed by the affix डति therefore it is a Sankhyâ.

२५९ । डति च । १ । १ । २५ ॥

डत्यन्ता संख्या षट्सज्ञा स्यात् ॥

259. And the saṇkhyâs ending with the affix ḍati are called shaṭ.

Because the word काति is formed by the affix डति, therefore it is called षट्. The result of being called षट् is that the declensional affixes are elided. The elision of an affix generally takes place by using one of the three words as given in the following Sûtra.

२६० । प्रत्ययस्य लुकश्लुलुपः । १ । १ ६१ ॥

लुकश्लुलुप्शब्दैः कृत प्रत्ययादर्शन क्रमात्तत्सं‍ज्ञं स्यात् ॥

260 The disappearance of an affix when it is caused by the words luk, slu or lup are designated by those terms respectively.

When an affix is elided by using the term luk, that disappearance gets the appellation of luk, similarly when an affix is elided by using the terms ślu or lup, the disappearance gets the name of ślu or lup.

The nominative and accusative affixes after the word कति are elided by using the term लुक्, as is shown in the following Sûtra.

२६१ । षड्भ्यो लुक् । ७ । १ । २२ ॥

षड्भ्यः परयोर्जश्शसोर्लुक् स्यात् ॥

261. The Nom and Acc. Plural endings are elided after the Numerals called षट् (I. 1. 24 S 369).

Therefore कति + जस् or कति + शस् = कति + O or कति + O Now, what is the effect of this zero, does it produce its action on the stem or does it not? Naturally one would have thought, that when an affix is elided, with it must also vanish all the operations that that affix would have caused on the base. But this is not the case by the following Sûtra

२६२ । प्रत्ययलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । १ । १ । ६२ ॥

प्रत्यये लुप्तेऽपि तदाश्रित कार्यं स्यात् । इति जसि चेति गुणे प्राप्ते ॥

262. When elision of an affix has taken place (lopa), the affix still exerts its influence, and the operations dependent upon it, take place as if it were present.

Therefore though जस् is elided after कति, yet it would cause the *guṇa* of the इ of कति, by VII 3 109 S. 241. Therefore the इ of कति requires to be guṇated; but this contingency is prevented by the following Sûtra.

२६३ । न लुमताङ्गस्य । १ । १ । ६३ ॥

लुक् श्लु लुप् एते लुमन्तः । लुमता शब्देन लुप्ते तन्निमित्तमङ्गकार्यं न स्यात् । कति । कतिभिः कतिभ्यः । कतिभ्यः । कतीनाम । कतिषु । अस्मद्युष्मत्षट्संज्ञकास्त्रिषु सरूपाः । त्रिशब्दो नित्यं बहुवचनान्तः । त्रय । त्रीन् । त्रिभिः त्रिभ्यः ॥

263. Of the base (anga), whose affix has been elided by the use of any of the three words containing लु, the operations dependent on it do not take place, regarding such base.

This sûtra is a special exception to the previous aphorism which was too extensive It declares, that when an affix is elided by using the words लुक्, श्लु, or लुप्, then the 'sign' or लक्षण or the peculiar virtue of the affix also vanishes. Thus there is an important difference in the elision of an affix

by force of the words लुप् &c., and by the word लोप ॥ In one case the virtue of the affix subsists inspite of the elision, in the other it does not Here the affix is elided by enouncing the word 'luk,' the result is, that the affix cannot produce any change which it would otherwise have caused, in the *anga* or inflective base, such as guna &c

Thus we have कति (Nom Pl) कति (Acc Pl), कतिभि (Instru, Pl), कतिभ्यः (Dat. Pl), कतिभ्यः (Abl Pl), कतीनाम् (Gen Pl) कतिषु (Loc Pl).

The word अस्मद् (I,) युष्मद् (Thou), and the words called षट् as defined above are alike in the three genders. Therefore the word कति is masculine, feminine and neuter.

The word त्रि is always used in the Plural Thus त्रयः, (Nom Pl), त्रीन् (Acc. Pl), त्रिभि (Instr Pl.) त्रिभ्य (Dat. Pl) त्रिभ्यः (Abl Pl) But the Genitive Plural is formed in accordance with the following sûtra.

२६४ । त्रेस्त्रय. । ७ । १ । ५३ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयादेशः स्यादामि ॥ त्रयाणाम् । परमत्रयाणाम् । गौणत्वे तु नेति केचित् । प्रियत्रीणाम् । वस्तुतस्तु प्रियत्रयाणाम् । त्रिषु । द्विशब्दो नित्य द्विवचनान्तः ॥

264 त्रय is substituted for त्रि before the Genitive Plural affix आम ॥

As त्रयाणाम (त्रीणाम् however appears in the Veda, as त्रीणामपि समुद्राणाम् ॥) When the word त्रि forms the last member of a compound, even then also its declension is as above, as परमत्रयाणाम. But some say that in those compounds where त्रि is not a principal word, but only a secondary member of a compound, there this substitution will not take place According to them the form would be प्रियत्रीणाम्. But the proper form is प्रियत्रयाणाम् here also

The Locative Plural will be त्रिषु

Now we take up the declension of the word द्वि which is always used in the Dual Number.

The first rule that applies to it is the following.

२६५ । त्यदादीनामः । ७ । २ । १०२ ॥

एषामकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्विभक्तौ । द्विपर्यन्तानामेवेष्टि । द्वौ २ द्वाभ्याम् ३ । द्वयोः २ । द्विपर्यन्तानां किम् । भवान् । भवन्तौ । भवन्त ॥ सञ्ज्ञायामुपसर्जनत्वे च नास्त्वम । सर्वाद्यन्तर्गणकार्यत्वात् । द्विर्नाम कश्चित् । द्वि । द्वी । द्वावतिक्रान्तोऽतिद्विः । हरिवत् । प्राधान्ये तु परमद्वौ इत्यादि । औडुलामि । औडुलोमी । बहुवचने तु उडुलोमा । लोम्नोऽपत्येषु बहुष्वकारो वक्तव्य । बाह्वादीञोऽपवादः । औडुलोमिम् । औडुलोमी उडुलोमान् ।

265. For the final of त्यद् and the rest, there is substituted अ, when an affix, called vibhakti, follows.

Now the question is what are the त्यदादि words त्यदादि words belong to the class of सर्वनाम and form a sub-division of it and would have been the

following, viz —त्यद्, तद्, यद्, एतद्, इदम्, अदस्, एक, द्वि, युष्मद्, अस्मद्, भवतु and किम् but the *ishti* given below excludes the last four words from the list of त्यदादि

Ishti —The त्यदादि sub-division begins with the word त्यद् and ends with the word द्वि (inclusive).

The word द्वि belongs to the class of त्यदादि and therefore its final इ is changed to अ before the affixes, that is the base assumes the form of द्व।

Thus द्वौ (Nom Dual), द्वौ (Acc Dual); द्वाभ्याम् (Instru, Dative and Ablative Duals) द्वयोः (Genitive and Locative Duals). Why have we said that the त्यदादि words do not include the last four words? Observe the declension of भवत् which is declined as भवान्, भवन्तौ, भवन्तः (Nom. Sing., Dual and Plural).

When त्यदादि words are used as संज्ञा (appellative), or, उपसर्जन (secondary members of a compound), then their final is not replaced by अ. Suppose the word द्वि is the name of a person, then it will be declined as द्विः (Nom, Sing.) द्वी (Nom Dual), द्वयः (Nom Pl)

Similarly, when the word द्वि is an उपसर्जन as अतिद्वि (he who excels द्वि), it will be declined as अतिद्वि (Nom Sing), that is like हरि

But when द्वि is the principal member of a compound, the अ substitution will take place, thus परमद्वौ &c.

The word औडुलोमि is thus declined —औडुलोमि (Nom Sing) औडुलोमी (Nom. Dual), but the Nom Pl will be उडुलोमा by the following Vartika.

Vârtika —After the word लोमन् the affix अ comes in the Plural number denoting the descendant. This Vartika debars the इञ् affix of IV. 1. 96. S 1096.

The Accusatives will be औडुलोमिम् (Sing), औडुलोमी (Dual); उडुलोमान् (Plural)

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short इ

—— o. ——

Masculine long ई

वातप्रमीरित्युणादिसूत्रेण माङ ईप्रत्ययः स च कित् । वात प्रमिमीते वातप्रमीः । दीर्घाज्जसि च । वातप्रम्यौ । हे वातप्रमीः ॥ आम पूर्वः ॥ वातप्रमीम् । वातप्रम्यौ । वातप्रमीन् । वातप्रम्या । वातप्रमीभ्याम् ३ । वातप्रम्ये । वातप्रम्य २ । वातप्रम्यो २ । वातप्रम्यम् । दीर्घत्वान्न नुट् । ङौ तु सवर्णदीर्घः । वातप्रमी । वातप्रमीषु । एव ययीपप्यादय । यात्यनेनेति ययीर्मार्गः । पाति लोकमिति पपी सूर्य । यापोः किद् द्वे चेति ईप्रत्यय । क्विबन्तवातप्रमीशब्दस्य तु अमि शसि ङौ च विशेषः । वातप्रम्यम् । वातप्रम्यः । वातप्रम्यि । एरनेकाच इति वक्ष्यमाणो यण् प्रधीवत् । बह्व्य श्रेयस्योयस्य स बहुश्रेयसी । दीर्घङ्यन्तत्वाद्धल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्राप्ते सुलोप ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word वातप्रमी. This word is

formed by the Uṇâdi affix long ई (See Unâdi Sûtras Chapter III. 158 and Chapter IV 1.) added to the root मा to measure, The word literally means 'wind measurer' or 'moving swift as the wind'. It is the name of a kind of an antelope The affix ई of वातप्रमी is कित् (Unâdi Chapter III. 159.) Therefore वातप्रमा + ई = वातप्रमी. The long आ being elided by the rule VI. 4. 64 S 2372

The Nom Sing. is वातप्रमी: ॥ The dual is formed thus :—वातप्रमी + औ. Here the rule VI 1 102 S 164 required the substitution of a single long ई in the place of ई + औ But this is prevented by the rule VI 1. 105. S. 239. and we get the regular form वातप्रम्यौ Similarly Nom. Pl वातप्रम्य: । The Voc. Sing हे वातप्रमी The Acc Sing is thus formed —वातप्रमी + अम्. The single substitution required by VI 1 102 S. 164 is set aside by VI 1 105 S 239. But this latter rule is set aside by the Apavâda rule VI 1 107. (अमि पूर्वः) S 194. by which there is the single substitution of the first vowel, when a simple vowel is followed by the अ of the case ending अम्. Therefore the Acc. Sing is वातप्रमीम्. The Acc Dual and Pl are वातप्रम्यौ and वातप्रमीन्. The Inst: Sing is वातप्रम्या The Ins. Dual and Pl are वातप्रमीभ्याम् and वातप्रमीभि The Dat forms are वातप्रम्ये वातप्रमीभ्याम् वातप्रमीभ्यः The Abl Sing is वातप्रम्य The Genitive Sing and Dual are वातप्रम्य and वातप्रम्यो The Genitive Pl is वातप्रम्याम्. The augment नुट is not added, because the word ends in a long vowel.

The Loc. Sing is thus formed वातप्रमी + इ, = वातप्रमी. The Loc. Pl: is वातप्रमीषु ॥

So the words ययी (literally that which goes or carries one, that is "a horse" or "a road,") and पपी (that which protects or drinks or the sun and moon) are declined like वातप्रमी. These words are also formed by the affix ई (Unâdi III. 159).

If the word वातप्रमी be derived by क्विप् and not कित् ई then in the Acc. Sing and Pl, and Loc Sing the forms will be वातप्रम्यम्, वातप्रम्यः and वातप्रम्यि respectively. वातप्रमी may be derived by क्विप् in this way. वातप्रमी मिव आचरति इति वातप्रमी Here it is a Denominative verb in the sense of âchâra, formed by the affix क्विप् (III. 1 10 and 11 S. 2664 and 2665) and to this Denominative root, क्विप् is added again in the sense of agent (III 2. 76 S 2983). The Acc. S. therefore is, वातप्रमी + अम् = वातप्रम् + य + अम्. Here य is substituted by VI. 4. 82. S 272 and the word is declined like प्रधी.

Now we take up the declension of the word बहुश्रेयसी (one possessed of many admirable qualities). The word श्रेयस् is formed by the affix ईयसुन् added to श्र the substitute of प्रशस्य (V. 3. 60 S 2009). To this is added the affix ङीप् by IV. 1 6 S 455 to form the feminine श्रेयसी.

The Nom Sing of बहुश्रेयसी is बहुश्रेयसी + सु = बहुश्रेयसी + o (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 282).

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are बहुश्रेयस्यौ, बहुश्रेयस्यः.

The formation of Voc Sing. is peculiar and the following rules apply.

Note —The word बहुश्रेयसी is a Bahu-vrîhi compound. There is पुंवद्भाव by the rule VI. 3. 34 S 831 The Samâsânta affix कप् is not added because of the rule V. 4 156 S. 894 The long ई required to be shortened by I 2 48 S 656 is prohibited by the Vârtika under V. 4. 156. S 894.

२६६ । यू स्त्र्याख्यौ नदी । १ । ४ । ३ ॥

ईदूदन्तौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गौ नदीसंज्ञौ स्तः । प्रथमलिङ्गग्रहणं च । पूर्वं स्त्र्याख्यस्योपसर्जनत्वेऽपि नदीत्वं वक्तव्यमित्यर्थः ।

266. Word-forms ending in long î and û, being names of females which are always feminines are called Nadî.

The word यू is a compound of ई + ऊ The word stryâkhya means that which by itself denotes the name of a female These words must be always feminine, having no masculine of the same form, as the word grâmani has. As the words कुमारी Kumârî 'a virgin' यवागू yavâgûh 'rice gruel.'

Why do we say ending in ई and ऊ ? Because feminine nouns not ending in these vowels will not be declined like Nadi words Thus while the Dative of कुमारी will be कुमार्यै, the Dative of दुहितृ will be दुहित्रे.

Why do we say 'which are feminine'? Because if they are names of males, they will not be called Nadî. As ग्रामणीः 'leader of a village', सेनानीः 'leader of an army', खलपूः 'a sweeper'; their Dative being ग्रामण्ये, सेनान्ये खलप्वे

Why have we used the word âkhyâ 'name' in the text? Because the feminine gender must be denoted by the word itself and not by any other epithet used along with the word Thus if the head-borough or the sweeper should be of the female sex, the Dative Singular would still be ग्रामण्ये स्त्रियै, and खलप्वे स्त्रियै

Vartika —The gender of the word as originally used should be taken and not the gender of the Compound word Here the original word श्रेयसी is feminine and though the Compound word बहुश्रेयसी is Masculine still for the purposes of getting the designation of Nadî the whole word बहुश्रेयसी will be treated as Nadî, though श्रेयसी in this Compound word is merely a secondary member (upasarjana)

Therefore बहुश्रेयसी getting the designation of Nadî is affected by the following rule in forming its Vocative.

18

२६७ । अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः । ७ । ३ । १०७ ॥

अम्बार्थानां नद्यन्तानां च ह्रस्वः स्यात् सम्बुद्धौ । हे बहुश्रेयसि । शसि बहुश्रेयसीन् ।

267 A short vowel is substituted in the Voc. Sg. for the आ of the feminine, in the sense of 'mother, mother-dear', as well as for the long vowel of the words called Nadi.

Thus हे बहुश्रेयसि

The Acc Sing and Dual are बहुश्रेयसीम्, बहुश्रेयस्यौ respectively.

The Acc. Pl is बहुश्रेयसीन्

There is no peculiarity in the Instrumental forms

In forming the Dative forms, the following rules apply.

२६८ । आण्नद्याः । ७ । ३ । ११२ ॥

नद्यन्तात्परेषां ङितामाडागमः स्यात् ।

268. The augment आट् is added to the case-endings of the Dat. Abl. Gen. and Loc. Sg. after the stem called Nadi.

When this आट् is added, there is the single substitution of a Vṛiddhi Vowel by the following rule

२६९ । आटश्च । ६ । १ । ९० ॥

आटोऽचि परे वृद्धिरेकादेशः स्यात् । बहुश्रेयस्यै । बहुश्रेयस्याः । नद्यन्तात्परत्वान्नुट् । बहुश्रेयसीनाम् ॥

269. The Vṛiddhi is the single substitute when the augment आट् is followed by any vowel.

The आट् is the augment which ङित् case-affixes take after *nadī*-words (VII. 3 112) बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + ङे = बहुश्रेयस्यै (Dative Singular) (The आट् is the augment also in the Vedic Tense लेट्), similarly, बहुश्रेयस्या

The augment नुट् is added to the Genitive Plural by VII. 1. 54. S. 208. As बहुश्रेयसीनाम्

For the formation of the Loc Sing. the following rule applies.

Note—The anuvritti of एचि ceases that of अचि however, is present. The vowel that is subsequent to the augment आट्, and the आट् which is precedent to a vowel—in the room of these two i e the आट् and the vowel—subsequent and precedent, the Vriddhi is the single substitute The augment आट् is added to the roots beginning with a vowel, in the Imperfect, Aorist and Conditional Tenses (VI 4 72 &c) Thus ऐक्षिष्ट, ऐक्षत, ऐक्षिष्यत, औभीत् औद्धीत्, औब्जीत from roots ईक्ष दर्शने (Bhu 641), उभ उम्भ पूरणे (Tud 32) and उ ब्ज आर्जवे (Tud 20)

Note—The च् 'and' in the sutra shows that the पररूप rule, taught in VI 1 95, 96 when उस्, ओं and आङ् follow, is superseded, when the preceding vowel is आट् ॥ Thus औक्षीयत्, औकारीयत् ॥ आ + ऊढा = ओढा, तामैच्छत् = औढायत् ॥

२७० । ङेराम् नद्याम्नीभ्य । ७ । ३ । ११६ ।

नद्यन्तादाबन्तान्नीशब्दाच्च ङेराम् स्यात् । इह परत्वादाटा नुड् बाध्यते । बहुश्रेयस्याम् । शेषमीक्ष्यन्तवातप्रमीवत् । अङ्यन्तत्वान्न सुलोप । अतिलक्ष्मीः । शेष बहुश्रेयसीवत् । कुमारीमिच्छन् कुमारीवाचरन्वा ब्राह्मणः कुमारी । क्यजन्ताद्याचारक्विबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । हल्ङ्याबिति सुलोपः ।

270 For the ending इ of the Loc. Sg. there is substituted आम्, after a stem called Nadî, after the Feminines in आ, and after नी ॥

The augment नुट् is not added to this आम् but only to the आम् of Genitive Plural, because नुट् of the Sutra VII 1 54, S 208 is superseded by the subsequently taught augment आट् of the VII 3 112. S 268.

Thus बहुश्रेयसी + ङि = बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + ङि (VII, 3 112 S 268) = बहुश्रेयसी + आट् + आम् = बहुश्रेयस्याम् ॥

The rest of the declensions of बहुश्रेयसी are like those of वातप्रमी ॥

The declension of the word अतिलक्ष्मी is as follows :—

Nom Sing. is अतिलक्ष्मीः ॥ Here the affix सु is not elided as in the last case, because ई of लक्ष्मी is part of the word लक्ष्मी and is not a feminine affix and therefore the rule 'हल्ङ्याप्' (VI. 1. 68. S 252) does not apply. The rest of the declensions are like those of बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Note—The word लक्ष्मी is formed by the Unadi affix ई (Unadi Sutras III. 160 लक्षेर्मुट्च, as लक्ष् + मुट् + ई = लक्ष्मी) ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Masculine word कुमारी ॥ This word, though ordinarily feminine, when it is derived from the Denominative root कुमारी meaning a Brahman who desires a कुमारी or acts like a कुमारी (III 2. 76 S 2983) is Masculine, namely, the Denominative Verb कुमारी considered to be formed by the affix क्यच् (III. 1. 8 or III. 1. 10 S. 2657 or 2664) with the affix क्विप् of III 2 76

Note—As कुमार्याम्, किशोर्याम्, गौर्याम्, ब्रह्मबन्ध्वाम्, धीरबन्ध्वाम्, खट्वायाम्, बहुराजायाम्, कारीषगन्ध्यायाम्, नी-ग्रामण्याम्, सेनान्याम् ॥

The word ग्रामणी is formed by क्विप् affix added under III. 2 61, the न is changed to ण by अग्र ग्रामाभ्याम्, and the यण् substitute in the Locative is by VI. 4 82.

Thus कुमारी + सु = कुमारी ॥ सु is elided by VI. 1. 68 S. 252.

In forming the Dual, the following rules apply.

२७१। अचि श्नुधातुभ्रुवां य्वोरियङुवङौ । ६ । ४ । ७७ ॥

श्नुप्रत्ययान्तस्य इवर्णोवर्णान्तधातोर्भ्रूइत्यस्य चाङ्गस्येयङुवङौ स्तोऽजादौ प्रत्यये परे । ङिच्चेत्यन्तादेश॰ । आन्तरतम्याद्धस्वयोरियङुवङौ दीर्घयोरियङुवङाविति प्राप्त ॥

271. Before an affix beginning with a vowel, there are substituted for the उ of नु, the characteristic of the roots of the fifth class, for the final इ, ई, उ and ऊ of a root, as well as for the ऊ of भ्रू, the इय् (for इ or ई) and उव् (for उ or ऊ).

The substitutes इयङ् and उवङ् have indicatory ङ and therefore they are applied at the end and by the rule of nearness of substitutes इयङ् replaces इ and उवङ् replaces उ (whether long or short). Thus कुमारी + औ = कुमार् + इय + औ. But this is prevented by the next Sûtra

Note—Similarly आप्नुवन्ति, राध्नुवन्ति, शक्नुवन्ति, from the roots of the 5th class. चिक्षियतु लुलुवतुः, लुलुवुः, नियौ, नियः, लुवौ, लुव and भ्रुवौ and भ्रुवः ॥

२७२। एरनेकाचोऽसंयोगपूर्वस्य । ६ । ४ । ८२ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य इवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । इति यण् । कुमार्यौ । कुमार्यः । हे कुमारि । अमि शसि च । कुमार्यम् । कुमार्यै । कुमार्यैं । कुमार्याः २ । कुमारीणाम् । कुमार्याम् । प्रधीः । प्रध्यौ । प्रध्यः । प्रध्यम् । प्रध्य । उन्नयतीत्युन्नीः । धातुना संयोगस्य विशेषणादिह स्यादेव यण् । उन्न्यौ । उन्न्यः । हे उन्नीः । उन्न्यम् । ङेराम् । उन्न्याम् । एवं ग्रामणीः । अनेकाचः किम् । नीः । नियौ । नियः । अमि शसि च परत्वादियङ् । नियम् । निय । ङेराम् । नियाम् । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । सुश्रियौ । यवक्रियौ । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । शुद्धधियौ । परमधियौ कथं तर्हि दुर्धियौ वृश्चिकभियेत्यादि । उच्यते । दु स्थिता धीर्येषामिति विग्रहे दुरित्यस्य धीशब्दं प्रति गतित्वमेव नास्ति । यत्क्रियायुक्ताः प्रादयस्तं प्रत्येव गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञा । वृश्चिकशब्दस्य बुद्धिकृतमपादानत्वं नेह विवक्षितम् । वृश्चिकसम्बन्धिनी भीर्वृश्चिकभीरित्युत्तरपदलोपो वा ॥

272. A semivowel is substituted before an affix beginning with a vowel, for the final इ or ई of a root, not preceded by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root, when the stem is not a monosyllable.

Thus instead of इयङ् we get यण् âdeśa, therefore कुमारी + औ = कुमार्यौ, कुमारी + जस् = कुमार्यः ।

The Voc Sing is हे कुमारि ॥ The Acc Sing, Dual and Pl are कुमार्यम्, कुमार्यौ, कुमार्यः There are no peculiarities in the Instrumental forms.

The Dative Sing is कुमार्यै The Ablative and Genitive Singulars are कुमार्याः ॥ The Genitive Pl is कुमारीणाम् ॥ The Loc Sing. is कुमार्याम् ॥

The word प्रधी is thus declined —प्रधीः, प्रध्यौ: प्रध्य, प्रध्यम, प्रध्य. &c This word is derived from the root ध्यै with the prefix प्र The य is changed to इ by Unâdi IV. 115. Thus प्रध्य + क्विप् = प्रधि. The short इ is lengthend by VI. 4. 2. S. 2559. So we have प्रधी.

The declension of the word उन्नी । It is formed by adding the prefix उत् to the verb नी. Therefore this long ई cannot be said to be preceded by a conjunct consonant, for the conjunct consonant of the Sûtra means the conjunct consonant of the verbal root and not the conjunct consonant obtained by adding a prefix to the simple root like नी Therefore, the present Sûtra applies to उन्नी which is declined as उन्नी, उन्न्यौ; उन्न्य ; हे उन्नीः , Acc Sing उन्न्यम्, Loc. Sing उन्न्याम् ॥

In the same way should be declined the word ग्रामणी, the Nom. Sing of which is ग्रामणीः ॥

How do you explain the forms दुर्धियः where there is not यण् though दुर् is a Gati, and the word वृश्चिकभियः where the word वृश्चिक is a Kâraka ? We reply that the preposition दुर् is not a Gati with regard to the word धी, because we analyse the word as दुःस्थिता धीर्येषां, a Bahuvrihi compound, in which दुर is Gati with regard to the word स्थित understood. This compound is formed by the Vârtika प्रादिभ्यो धातुजस्य &c (II 2 24 S 830) by which the subsequent term स्थित is elided after the Gati word दुर् In fact, the word *Gati* is a relative term with regard to the verb which a preposition immediately qualifies, and not with regard to any other verb with which it may be accidentally in contact. Similarly वृश्चिकभीः should not be analysed as an Ablative compound (पञ्चमी तत्पुरुष समासः) formed by I. 4 25 S 588, as वृश्चिका द्बिभेति = वृश्चिकभी, but as वृश्चिक-सम्बन्धिनी भीः ॥ In the first case the compound would mean 'a person afraid of a scorpion', in the other case, which is applicable here, the fear arising from a scorpion In the second case वृश्चिक is not a Kâraka with regard to भी Therefore the vârtika applies to it

२७३ । न भूसुधियोः । ६ । ४ । ८५ ॥

एतयोर्यण्न स्यादचि सुपि । सुधियौ । सुधिय इत्यादि । सखायमिच्छति । सखीयति । ततः क्विप् । अल्लोपयलोपौ । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाद्यणि प्राप्ते । क्वौ लुप्त न स्थानिवत् । एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽन-ङ्गणित्वे । सखा । सखायौ । सखायः । हे सखीः । अमि पूर्वरूपात्परत्वाद्यणि प्राप्ते ततोऽपि परत्वात्सख्युरस-बुद्धाविति प्रवर्तते । सखायम् । सखायौ । शसि यण् । सख्यः । सह खेन वर्तत इति सख । तमिच्छतीति सखीः । सुखमिच्छतीति सुखीः । सुतमिच्छतीति सुतीः । सख्यौ । सुख्यौ । सुत्यौ । ख्यत्यादिति दीर्घस्यापि ग्रहणादुकारः । सख्यु । सुख्यु । सुत्यु । लूनमिच्छतीति लूनी । क्षाममिच्छतीति क्षामीः । प्रस्तीममिच्छतीति प्रस्तीमी । एषां ङसिङसोर्यण् । नत्वमत्वयोरसिद्धत्वात् ख्यत्यादित्युत्वम् । लून्यु । क्षाम्यु प्रस्तीम्युः । शुष्की-यतेः क्विप् । शुष्की । इयङ् । शुष्कियौ । शुष्कियः । ङसिङसो शुष्किय इत्यादि ॥

273. The semi-vowel substitution does not take place in the case of stems ending in भू or the word सुधी, before affixes beginning with a vowel.

Thus प्रतिभु—प्रतिभुवौ, प्रतिभुवः, सुधी—सुधियौ, सुधियः ॥

Now, we take up the example of a word formed from a Denominative root, namely, the word सखी which is thus formed सखायं इच्छति = सखीयति (i e he who desires a friend) Thus the root सखीय is a Denominative root, to this is added the affix क्विप् and the letters अ and य् are both elided Here the elision of य् being considered as स्थानिवत्, there would be यणादेश under the previous Sûtra in declining the word सखी This is prevented by the following

Vârtika —when there is elision before the affix क्विप् the elision is not considered as *sthânivat*

The rules by which the word सखी is formed are the sam which have been already referred to in forming the word कुमारी as explained under VII 3 116 S 270 In declining this word सखी which means "he who desires a friend" the same rules are to be applied which were applied to the word सखि meaning a friend (see VI 1 68 and VII 2 115 S 252, 254), because of the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यतयाऽनङ्गणत्वं ॥ Therefore we get the Nominative forms सखा, सखायौ; सखाय, Voc हे सखी The Acc Sing is सखायम् It is thus formed सखी + अम् Here VI 1 107 S 194 requires Pûrva-rûpa, that is सखीम् But that rule is set aside by the subsequent rule VI 4 82 S 272 requiring यण् which would have given the form सख्यम् Both these forms are wrong, for the last rule even is set aside by the subsequent rule VII 1 92 S 253 Hence the form सखै + अम् = सखायम् ॥

The Acc. Dual is सखायौ The Acc Pl is सख्यः for the Acc Pl not being a Sarvanâmasthâna, there is regular Sandhi There is no peculiarity in other cases of this word सखी, meaning 'one who desires a friend'

There is another word सखी which is thus formed सह खेन वर्तते इति सखः. It is a Bahu-vrîhi compound formed by II 2 28. S 848 The सह is changed to स by VI. 3 82 S 849 In forming the Denominative verb from this सख, we add the affix क्यच् by III 1 8 S 2657 Then, we add long ई by VII 4. 33 S. 2658 and thus we get the Denominative root सखीय From this root, we get the masculine noun सखी with the affix क्विप् on the analogy of the previous word.

Similarly are also formed the words सुखी meaning 'one who desires happiness', and सुती meaning 'one who desires a son' The declension of these words is as follows —Nom Sing सखीः, सुखीः, सुतीः. The dual is सख्यौ ; सुख्यौ ; सुत्यौ, The Abl. and Gen Singular forms are सख्युः, सुख्युः, सुत्युः, by applying the sutra VI 1. 112 S. 255

Similarly the words लूनीः ; क्षामीः, प्रस्तीमी meaning respectively 'one who desires cut off things' e g flowers &c, 'one who desires Vishnu', and 'one who desires crowd' &c. are to be declined

Note.—The word लून is the past participle of the root लू to cut, the *nishthâ* त is changed to न by VIII 2 44 S 3018 क्षाम is the past participle of the root क्षै to wane, the त is changed to म by VIII 2 53. S 3032. Similarly प्रस्तीम is the past participle of the root स्त्यै to make noise, preceded by the preposition प्र The *nishthâ* त is changed to म by VIII 2 54 S 3034 The *Samprasârana* takes place by VI 1 23

The Nom. Sing forms are लूनाः ; क्षामीः ; प्रस्तीमी In other cases their declension is like the word शुद्धी &c, except the Abl and Gen, Sing Here in these cases the words do not really end in ब्धी and त्री and therefore the rule VI I 112 S 255 is not strictly applicable to them, but as the न of लून and the म of क्षाम and प्रस्तीम are substitutes of त and as these are taught in the *Tripâdi*, namely the last three chapters of the *Ashtâdhyayî*, therefore the न and म substitutions are considered *asiddha* for the purposes of the application of the rule contained in the 7¼ adhyâyas In other words these words are considered as लूती, क्षाती, प्रस्तीनी ; and the rule VI I 112 S 255 applying to them, we have the Abl, and Genitive Sing forms as लून्युः, क्षाम्युः ; प्रस्ताम्युः ॥

But the declension of the similarly formed word शुष्की, derived from the noun शुष्क through the derivative verb शुष्कीय with the affix क्विप् is different. शुष्क is the past participle of the root शुष् where the *nishtha* त is changed to क by VIII 2 51 S 3030 Thus the Nom Sing is शुष्कीः The Nom Dual and Pl are शुष्कियौ, and शुष्कियः with the affix इयङ् by VI 4 77 S 271 and not with यण् because the long ई is preceded by a conjunct consonant. The Abl and Geni, singular is शुष्कियः &c,

Similarly पक्की is formed from the past participle पक्क where the *Nishtha* त is changed to व VIII 2 52 S 3031 after the root पच् 'to cook'

Here ends the declension of the masculine words ending in long ई ॥

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शम्भुर्हरिवत् । एवं विष्णु वायु भान्वादय॰ ॥

Declension of Masculine words ending in उ ॥ The declension of the word शम्भु is like that of हरि ॥ So also of विष्णु, वायु, भानु ॥

The declension of the word क्रोष्टु is somewhat different in the first five cases, where the following rules apply

२७४ । तृज्वत्क्रोष्टुः । ७ । १ । ९५ ॥

क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तृजन्तेन तुल्य वर्तते असम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । क्रोष्टुशब्दस्य स्थाने क्रोष्टृशब्दः प्रयोक्तव्य इत्यर्थः ॥

274 The word क्रोष्टु 'a jackal' is treated in the strong cases (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) as if it ended in तृच् (तृ) ॥

Note—The word क्रोष्टु is declined like क्रोष्टृ in the strong cases As क्रोष्टा, क्रोष्टारौ, क्रोष्टारः, क्रोष्टारम्, क्रोष्टारौ ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in weak cases, and हे क्रोष्टो in the Vocative Singular The accent in the strong cases is also that of the तृच् affix, i e. acute on the final The word क्रोष्टु is formed by the affix तुन् (Un सितनिगमि &c, 1. 69)

The word क्रोष्टु is treated as क्रोष्टृ and therefore the rules applicable to the words ending in ऋ apply to it, viz, the following Sutras.

२७५ । ऋतो ङि सर्वनामस्थानयोः । ७ । ३ । ११० ॥

ङौ सर्वनामस्थाने च परे ऋदन्ताङ्गस्य गुणः स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

275. Guṇa is substituted for the final ऋ of a stem, in the Locative singular and in the Strong cases.

This rule requires क्रोष्टृ to be changed to क्रोष्टर्, but this is prevented by the following

२७६ । ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां च । ७ । १ । ९४ ॥

ऋदन्तानामुशनसादीनां चानङ् स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे ॥

276. Anaṅ (अन्) is substituted for the final of the stems ending in ऋ as well as for the final of uśanas, purudaṅśas, and anehas, in the Nominative Singular (but not in the Vocative Singular).

२७७ । अप्तृन्तृच्स्वसृनप्तृनेष्टृत्वष्टृक्षत्तृहोतृपोतृप्रशास्तॄणाम् । ६ । ४ । ११ ॥

अबादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । नप्त्रादिग्रहणं व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नियमार्थम् । तेन पितृभ्रातृप्रभृतीनां न । उद्गातृशब्दस्य तु भवत्येव । समर्थसूत्रे उद्गातार इति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । क्रोष्टा । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टारः । क्रोष्टारम् । क्रोष्टारौ । क्रोष्टून् ॥

277 In the strong cases, with the exception of the Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened in अप्, in stems formed by तृन् and तृच् affixes, and in स्वसृ, नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, क्षत्तृ, होतृ, पोतृ and प्रशास्तृ ॥

The words नप्तृ &c, in this sûtra are taken to denote *Niyama*, for if नप्तृ &c be taken as derivative words formed with the affix तृन् or तृच्, there was no necessity of their separate mention in this sûtra, because the word तृन् and तृच् of the sûtra would have included them. Therefore we say the inclusion of these words shows *Niyama*, or restriction, namely, other derivative words formed by the Unâdi affixes तृन् and तृच् are not governed by this rule, such as the words पितृ भ्रातृ &c But the word उद्गातृ is governed by this rule, because we find the उद्गातारः in the Mahâbhâsya. Thus we get the forms क्रोष्टा, क्रोष्टारः, क्रोष्टारम्, क्रोष्टारौ; क्रोष्टून् ॥

In the Instrumental and other cases, there are double forms and the following rules apply —

२७८ । विभाषा तृतीयादिष्वचि । ७ । १ । ९७ ॥

अजादिषु तृतीयादिषु क्रोष्टुर्वा तृज्वत् । क्रोष्ट्रा । क्रोष्ट्रे ॥

278 क्रोष्टु may optionally be treated as Kroshṭṛ, before the endings beginning with a vowel, in the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

As क्रोष्ट्रा or क्रोष्टुना, क्रोष्ट्रे or क्रोष्टवे, क्रोष्टुः or क्रोष्टोः, क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्ट्रोः or क्रोष्ट्वोः ॥ But क्रोष्टून् in the Accusative Plural, and क्रोष्टुभ्यां before consonant-beginning affixes

In forming the Abl and Genitive, the following rules apply.

२७९ । ऋत उत् । ६ । १ । १११ ॥

ऋदन्तान् ङसिङसोरति परे उकार एकादेशः स्यात् । रपरत्वम् ॥

279. In the room of ऋ+अ of the case-affix अस् of the Ablative and Genitive singular, the single substitute is the letter short उ ॥

Note —Thus होतृ + अस् = होतुस् (The उ must always be followed by र् I 1 51 though this उ is not the substitute of ऋ only, but of ऋ + अ conjointly on the maxim that a substitute which replaces *two*, both shown in the genitive case, as ऋत and अकारस्य in this sûtra, gets the attributes of every one of these separately as the son C of a father A and mother B (though both conjointly produce him) may be called indifferently the son of A or the son of B So the उ may be called the substitute of ऋ or अ) ॥ The final स् is then elided by VIII 2. 24 and we have होतुर् = होतुः ॥ Thus होतुरागच्छति, होतुः स्वम् ॥

२८० । रात्सस्य । ८ । २ । २४ ॥

रेफात्संयोगान्तस्य सस्यैव लोपो नान्यस्य । रेफस्य विसर्गः । क्रोष्टुः । आमि परत्वात्तृज्वद्भावे प्राप्ते । * नुमचिरतृज्वद्भावेभ्यो नुट् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । क्रोष्टूनाम् । क्रोष्टरि । क्रोष्ट्रोः । पक्षे हलादौ च शम्भुवत् ॥

280. Of a word ending in a conjunct consonant, only स् is elided, if it comes after र; (but any other consonant coming after र is not elided).

Thus क्रोष्टृ + अस् = क्रोष्टुर्स् ॥ Here the final स् is elided and the र् is changed to visarga. Thus we get क्रोष्टुः Before the Gen. Pl · आम्, क्रोष्टु requires to be treated as क्रोष्टृ by VII. 1. 97. S 278 but this is prevented by the following *Vârt* —नुम् and नुट् augments come in supersession of the Trich-vadbhâva ordained by the preceding sûtras. Thus the Dative of the Neuter noun

प्रियक्रोष्टु will be प्रियक्रोष्टुने ऽरण्याय, हितक्रोष्टुने वृषलकुलाय, and not 'क्रोष्ट्रे ॥ Similarly with नुट्, as क्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Loc. forms are क्रोष्टरि or क्रोष्टौ, क्रोष्टुः &c

Before affixes beginning with consonants there is only one form

Note —The word क्रोष्टु is formed from the root क्रुश् to cry' or 'to call' with the affix तुन् by the Unâdi I 69 Similarly the word क्रोष्टृ is formed from the same root with the affix तृच् ॥ Both words denote the same object, i e 'a jackal' But the word क्रोष्टु is defective in the first five cases, where क्रोष्टृ supplies the want

Here ends the declension of Masculine words ending in short उ ॥

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हूहूः हूहौ । हूहः । हूहूम । हूहौ । हूहूनित्यादि । अतिचमूशब्दे तु नदीकार्यं विशेषः । हे अतिचमु । अतिचम्वै । अतिचम्वा २ । अतिचमूनाम् । अतिचम्वाम् । खलपू ॥

Now, we take up the declension of Masculine words ending in long ऊ ॥ As हूहू (name of a celestial songster) The Nom and Acc forms are हूहूः, हूहौ, हूहः । हूहूम्, हूहौ, हूहून् &c

In declining the word अतिचमू', the *Nadi* rules will apply, i. e. I. 4. 3. S, 266, 267, 268 &c. The Voc Sing is therefore हे अतिचमु ॥ The Dat. Sing is अतिचम्वै, Abl and Gen singular अतिचम्वा, Gens, Pl अति चमूनाम्, Loc Sing अतिचम्वाम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of the Noun खलपू ॥ The Nom. Sing · is खलपू ॥

In forming the Nom , Dual the following rule applies

२८१ । ओः सुपि । ६ । ४ । ८३ ॥

धात्ववयवसंयोगपूर्वो न भवति य उवर्णस्तदन्तो यो धातुस्तदन्तस्यानेकाचोऽङ्गस्य यण् स्यादजादौ सुपि । गतिकारकेतरपूर्वपदस्य यण् नेष्यते । खलप्वौ । खलप्वः इत्यादि । एवं सुल्वादय. । अनेकाचः किम् । लूः । लुवौ । लुवः ॥ धात्ववयवेति किम् । उल्लूः । उल्लौ । उल्लः । असंयोगपूर्वस्य किम् । कटप्रुवौ । कटप्रुवः । गतीत्यादि किम् । परमलुवौ । सुपि किम् । लुलुवतुः । स्वभूः । न भूसुधियो. ॥ स्वभुवौ । स्वभुवः ॥

281. When a case-affix, beginning with a vowel follows, then the semivowel व् is substituted for the final ऊ of a stem containing more than one syllable, if the stem ends with a verbal root ending in ऊ not preceded if by a conjunct consonant forming part of the root.

As no roots at the end of a stem end in short उ, the latter is not mentioned in the translation. Thus खलपू 'a sweeper' —d. खलप्वौ, pl. खलप्वः, so also शतस्वौ and शतस्वः and सकृल्लू dual सकृल्ल्वौ and सकृल्ल्वः ॥ But लुलुवतु and लुलुवः before tense-affixes (non—सुप्), लू—लुवौ, लुवः (because consisting of one syllable only). Why do we say forming part of the root? Observe, उल्लूः; उल्वौ, उल्वः ॥ Here the conjunct consonant is not part of the root but is

part of the preposition उत् + लू = उल्लू ॥ Why do we say when not preceded by a conjunct consonant? Observe कट्प्रू, कट्प्रुवौ कट्प्रुव । Why do we say that the first member must be a Gati or a Karaka? Observe परमलू, परम लुवौ, परमलुवः ॥ Why do we say when a *case-affix* follows? Observe लुलुवतु ॥

But the declension of the word स्वभू is not governed by this rule but by VI 4 85 S 273 Thus Nom forms are स्वभू, स्वभुवौ, स्वभुव ॥ So also स्वयभू ॥

But the declension of the Noun वर्षाभू (the frog) is different and is governed by the following rule

२८२ । वर्षाभ्वश्च । ६ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अस्योवर्णस्य यण् स्यादचि सुपि । वर्षाभ्वौ । वर्षाभ्वः । दृम्भवतीति दृम्भूः । अन्दूदृम्भूजम्बूकफेलूकर्कन्धूदिधिषूरित्युणादिसूत्रेण व्युत्पादितः । दृम्भ्वौ । दृम्भ्वः । दृन्भूम् । दृम्भ्वौ । दृम्भून् । शेष हूहूवत् । दृन्निति मान्ते हिसार्थेऽव्यये भुव क्विप् । दृन्भूः । दृन्करपुन पूर्वस्य भुवो यण् वक्तव्य । दृन्भ्वौ । दृन्भ्व इत्यादि खलपूवत् । करभ्वौ । करभ्वः । दीर्घपाठे तु कर एव कार । स्वार्थिक प्रज्ञाद्यण् । कारभ्वौ । कारभ्वः । पुनर्भूर्योगिक पुसि । पुनर्भ्वावित्यादि । दृम्भूकाराभूशब्दौ स्वयभूवत् ॥

282 व is substituted for the ऊ of वर्षाभू also, when a case-affix beginning with a vowel follows.

As वर्षाभ्वौ, वर्षाभ्व ॥

This is an exception to rule S 273

The words अन्दू, दृम्भू, जम्बू, कफेलू, कर्कन्धू, दिधिषू are Unâdi formed words under Unâdi sûtras I 96 Thus दृम्भू "an author" or "a reciter", दृम्भौ, दृम्भ्व, दृम्भूम्, दृम्भ्वौ, दृम्भून्, The rest of the declensions is like those of हूहू ॥ The word दृम्भू is formed from the root दृम्भ् with the affix ऊ (technically कु)॥ But there is another word दृन्भू (meaning a kind of tree, snake or monkey) formed from the indeclinable word दृन् to injure and the verb भू with the affix क्विप् ॥ The declension of this word is governed by the following

Vârt—The semi-vowel substitution takes place when दृन्, कार and पुनर precede भू, as दृन्भ्वौ, दृन्भ्व, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भ्व काराभ्वौ (कराभ्वौ) काराभ्व (कराभ्व) ॥

In this vârtika, one reading is कर, and another reading is कार, namely करभू or कारभू (the meaning of both is the same, because कार is formed by the affix अण् without changing the sense, under sutra V 4 38, S 2106)

The word पुनर्भू must be taken as a masculine derivative word, and not the word पुनर्भू which is always feminine.

The Nouns दृन्भू and काराभू are declined like स्वयंभू ॥

Note—**According to Eastern Grammarians, these two words are declined like वर्षाभू ॥**

Here ends the declension of Masculines in long ऊ ॥

Declension of masculines ending in ऋ.

धाता । हे धात । धातारौ । धातार ॥ ऋवर्णान्नस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ धातॄणामित्यादि । एव नप्त्रादय । उद्गातारौ । पितां । व्युत्पत्तिपक्षे नप्त्रादिग्रहणस्य नियमार्थत्वान्न दीर्घ । पितरौ । पितर पितरम् । पितरौ । शेष धातृवत् : एवं जामातृभ्रात्रादय. । ना । नरौ । नर । हे न ॥

We take up the declension of the word धातृ It is governed by the rules already referred to before, namely VII. 3 110. S. 275, VII 1 94 S 276, VI. 1 111 S. 279 and VIII. 2 24 S. 280 Thus धाता धातारौ, धातारः Voc. हे धातः

Vârtika.—After words ending in ऋ, the dental न is changed to cerebral ण.

Therefore Genitive Pl · is धातॄणां ॥

The declension of नप्तृ &c mentioned in VI. 4 11. S. 277. is like धातृ ॥ So also that of उद्गातृ ॥

But the declension of पितृ is not like this. पितृ is a Unâdi formed word, about which there are two views. Some consider Unâdi affixes as no affixes at all, and therefore Unâdi words, as रूढि words Others consider such words as derivative. According to the first view, the declension of पितृ is governed by VII. 3. 110 S 275. and the ऋ of पितृ is guṇated Thus Nom Dual and Pl · are पितरौ; पितर.

According to the second view, the word पितृ is considered to be formed with the affix तृण् and तृच् added to the root पा 'to protect' by Unâdi sutra II 94. Then the sutra VI 4. 11 S 277 is read in a restrictive sense, by taking the word नप्तृ as restricting the rule only to नप्तृ &c and not to पितृ Therefore, we never have पितारौ but always पितरौ Thus पिता. पितरौ, पितरः , पितरम्, पितरौ. The rest of the declensions is like those of धातृ. The words जामातृ, भ्रातृ &c are to be similarly declined.

	Nom	Acca.	Instr.	Dati.	Abl.	Geni	Locative.
Sing	धाता	धातारं	धात्रा	धात्रे	धातु·	धातुः	धातरि
Dual	धातारौ	धातारौ	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धातृभ्यां	धात्राः	धात्रो
Plural	धातार	धातॄन्	धातृभिः	धातृभ्य	धातृभ्यः	धातॄणाम्	धातृषु

——— o ———

Sing	पिता	पितर	पित्रा	पित्रे	पितुः	पितुः	पितरि
Dual	पितरौ	पतरौ	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पितृभ्यां	पित्रोः	पित्रोः
Plural	पितरः	पितॄन्	पितृभि·	पितृभ्यः	पितृभ्य	पितॄणां	पितृषु

The declension of the Noun नृ is ना, नरौ, नर: The Voc. Sing. is हे नः ॥

In the Genitive Plural there are two forms according to the following rule

२८३ । नृ च । ६ । ४ । ६ ॥

नृ इत्येतस्य नामि वा दीर्घ स्यात् । नृणाम् । नृणाम् ।

283. So also नृ before the Genitive Plural नाम् is lengthened optionally

As त्वं नृणां नृपते, and त्वं नृणां नृपते॥ According to some this option is confined to the Vedas, according to others it extends to secular literature also.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in short ऋ ॥

——— o ———

Declension of masculines ending in long ॠ ॥

कॄ तॄ अनयोरनुकरणे प्रकृतिवदनुकरणमिति वैकल्पिकातिदेशादित्वे रपरत्वम् । कीः । किरौ किरः । तीः । तिरौ । तिरः इत्यादि गीर्वत् । इत्वाभावपक्षे तु ऋदुशन इति ऋतो ङीति च तपरकरणा दनङ्गुणौ न । कॄ । क्रौ । क्रः । कॄम् । क्रौ । कॄन् । क्रा । क्रे इत्यादि ॥

कॄ and तॄ are two roots, when imitative names are formed, we get the nouns कॄ and तॄ ॥ These nouns are treated like verbs कॄ and तॄ on the following maxim *Paribhâshâ* —"An imitative name is like original" Therefore the rule VII 1 100 S. 2390 read with I. 1. 51. S. 70. applies to these words Thus we have किर् and तिर् as bases. Therefore the Nom : forms are कीः, किरौ, किरः ; तीः, तिरौ, तिरः, These are, in fact, declined like the nouns ending in consonant र् as गिर् ॥

The above *Paribhâshâ* is, however, optional and the इर् substitution may not take place In that case, the rules VII 3 110 S 275 and VII 1. 95. S 276 requiring the gunation and अनङ् substitution do not apply, because those rules are confined to bases ending in short ऋ as the word ऋत् in those sûtras shows, for the indicatory त् shows that the short ऋ is to be taken (see I 1 70 S 15) Therefore, the declension of these words is कॄ, क्रौ, क्रः, कॄम्, क्रौ ; कॄन्, क्रा, क्रे etc.

Here ends the declension of masculines ending in long ॠ

——— :o. ———

Declension of Nouns ending in ऌ ॥

गम्लृ शक्लृ अनयोरनुकरणेऽनङ् । गमा । शका गुणविषये तु लपरत्वम् । गमलौ । गमल । गमलम् । गमलौ । गम्लॄन् । गम्ला । गम्ले । ङसिङसोश्च ऋत उदित्युत्वे लपरत्वे संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । गमुल् । शकुल् । इत्यादि ॥

We take the declension of nouns गम्लृ and शक्लृ the imitative nouns formed from the roots गम्लृ 'to go' and शक्लृ 'to be able'. In the Nom. Sing. we have अनङ् by VII. I. 94. S. 276, as गमा, शका ॥ In the other strong cases, we have guṇa by VII 3. 110 S 275, as गमलौ, गमल ; गमलम्, गमलौ. गम्लॄन्, गम्ला, गम्ले ॥

In Abl and Gen singular, the sûtra VI 1 111 S 279 and I 1 51 S 70 will apply Therefore, the लृ+अ of the affix will be changed to उ followed by ल् ॥ Thus we have गम्लृ+अस्=गमुल्+स् ॥ The स् itself will be elided, because it is a final consonant Thus, we have गमुल् ॥ So also शकुल् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in लृ ॥

—— o ——

से । सयौ । सय । स्मृते । स्मृतयौ । स्मृतय ॥

Declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word से ॥ This word is thus formed, स+इः=सेः or स+ई=से ॥ The short इ is the name of Kâma (Cupid), as it may be considered to be derived from the word अ meaning Vishnu with the अपत्य affix इ meaning the son of अ ॥ Similarly ई may be considered to be the feminine of अ, namely the wife of Vishnu से may therefore mean 'he who is accompanied by Kâma" or 'he who is accompanied by Lakshmi." Therefore, the word से is declined as से, सयौ सयः ॥

Similarly the word स्मृते which has also two meanings, 'he who remembers Kâma (इ)' or 'he who remembers Lakshmi'. The word स्मृत being *Nishthâ* is placed first in this Bahu-vrîhi compound by II 2. 36 S. 899. Thus we get स्मृते, स्मृतयौ, स्मृतय ॥

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ए ॥

—— o ——

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

We take the word गो; to which the following rules apply:—

२८४ । गोतो णित् । ७ । १ । ९० ॥

ओशब्दात्पर सर्वनामस्थान णिद्वत् स्यात् । गौः । गावौ । गाव ॥

284. The endings of the strong cases are णित् after गो ॥

That is, these affixes produce all the णित् operations such as Vṛiddhi &c. As गौः, गावौ, गाव ॥ Why have we added a त् after गो? The rule applies to the form गो, and not when it assumes the form गु, as in चित्रगु, शबलगु ॥

Note—How do you explain the forms हे चित्रगो, हे शबलगव·? This is done on the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनरवृत्ताविधि र्निष्ठितस्य, (when an operation which is taught in the Angâdhikâra VI 4—VII 4 has taken place, and another operation of the Angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place) For when Guṇa once takes place before the Vocative and the Nominative Plural affix by VII 3 108-109, the णित्व operation of this rule will not again take place. Or गोतः in the sûtra may be construed as Sam-

bandha-lakshanâ Sasthî (a Genitive denoting a general relation) and the meaning will be "that sarvanâmasthâna affix, denoting singular, dual, plural, which refers to the meaning of गो or 'cow" While in चित्रगु, the sarvanâmasthâna affix does not refer to 'cow' but to another *object*, namely to a "*person*' who possesses brindled cows त् in गोत् in this view is for specification only

२८५ । औतोऽम्शसोः । ६ । १ । ९३ ॥

आ ओत इति छेद । ओकारादम्शसोरचि परे आकार एकादेशः स्यात् । शसा साहचर्यात्सुबेव अम् गृह्यते । नेह । अचिनवम् । असुनवम् । गाम् । गावौ । गाः । गवा । गवे । गोः । इत्यादि । ओतो णिदिति वाच्यम् । विहितविशेषणं च । तेन । सुद्यौः । सुद्यावौ । सुद्यावः । ओकारान्ताद्विहितं सर्वनामस्थानमिति व्याख्यानान्नेह । हे भानो । हे भानवः । उ शम्भु स्मृतो येन सः, स्मृतौ । स्मृतावौ । स्मृताव । स्मृताम् । स्मृतावौ । स्मृताः । इत्यादि ॥

285. For ओ of a Nominal stem+अ of the Accusative case-ending अम् and अस्, the single substitute is आ ॥

The word ओतः is a compound of आ+ओत ॥ Thus गो+अम्,=गाम्, गो+अस्=गाः ॥ Thus गां पश्य, गाः पश्य ॥ This debars the Vriddhi of VII 1 90. So also द्यां or द्याः पश्य, as the word द्यो is also a nominal stem ending in ओ ॥ The Sârvanâmsthâna affixes are णित् after this word also (see VII. 1 90) which would have caused Vriddhi, therefore, this आ debars the Vriddhi. The word अम् here means the affix of the Accusative Singular, as it is read in connection with the case-affix शस् and as the word सुप् of the last sûtra governs this also. Therefore अम् the verbal Tense-affix of the Imperfect is not meant thus we have अचिनवम्, असुनवम् ॥ गाम्, गावौ, गाः ; गवा ; गवे ; गोः etc.

Vârtika.—The sûtra VII. 1. 90 S 284 should be read as ओतोणित् meaning the ending of strong cases are णित् after bases ending in ओ ॥

Vârtika.—And the endings are णित् after those bases only which have ओ in them. Thus, the Noun सुद्यो is declined as सुद्यौः, सुद्यावौ, सुद्यावः ॥

Some read the sûtra as ओत णित्, so that the rule will apply to द्यो also as, द्यौः, द्यावौ, द्यावः ॥ If the reading be taken गोतः, then we extend this rule to द्यो also, by taking गो as merely illustrative of all words ending in ओ, and this is done by the letter त् in गोत, for the तपर rule applies to *letters*, and not to *words*, so that गोत means and includes words ending in ओ ॥

The *Sarva-nâma sthâna* affixes are णित् only after original bases ending in ओ and not after a derivative base ending in ओ ॥ Therefore the Sarvanama sthâna affix सु or जस् coming after the base भानो, which the Noun भानु assumes in the Vocative case is not to be treated as णित्, because the ओ here is derivative Therefore हे भानो हे भानवः ॥

Similarly, the word स्मृतो formed from स्मृत+उ meaning 'he wh

remembers उ or शम्भु', is declined as स्मृतौः, स्मृतावौ, स्मृतावः, स्मृताम्, स्मृतावौ; स्मृताः etc

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ओ ॥

—— o ——

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ऐ

We take the word रै (wealth)

२८६ । रायो हलि । ७ । २ । ८५ ॥

रैशब्दस्याकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्धलि विभक्तौ । अचि आयादेशः । राः । रायौ । रायः । रायम् । रायौ । रायः । राया । राभ्यामित्यादि ॥

286. Before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, आ is substituted for the final of रै ॥

Before affixes beginning with vowels, the ऐ of रै is changed to आय् by the ordinary rules of Sandhi Thus राः रायौ, रायः, रायम्, रायौ, रायः, राया, राभ्याम् &c.

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ऐ.

—— o ——

Declension of Nouns ending in औ.

ग्लौः । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । ग्लावम् । ग्लावौ । ग्लावः । इत्यादि । औतोऽम्शसोरितीह न प्रवर्तते । ऐऔजिति सूत्रेण ओदौतोः सावर्ण्याभावज्ञापनात् ॥

We take the word ग्लौ It is declined as ग्लौः, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः, ग्लावम्, ग्लावौ, ग्लावः etc.

The sutra VI. 1 93 S 285 applied only to bases ending in ओ and not to those which end in औ Because ओ and औ are not savarna letters, a fact which we learn from Panini mentioning them separately in the Maheswara sûtras ए ओङ् and ऐ औच्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in vowels.

—— o ——

DECLENSION OF सखि

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc.
Singular	सखा	सखायम्	सख्या	सख्ये	सख्युः	सख्युः	सख्यौ	हे सखे
Dual	सखायौ	सखायौ	सखिभ्याम्	सखिभ्याम्	सखिभ्याम्	सख्योः	सख्योः	सखायौ
Plural	सखायः	सखीन्	सखिभिः	सखिभ्यः	सखिभ्यः	सखीनाम्	सखिषु	सखायः

शोभनः सखा=सुसखा

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	सुसखा	सुसखाय	सुसखिना	सुसखये	सुसखः	सुसखे	सुसखौ	सुसखे
Dual	सुसखायौ	सुसखायौ	सुसखिभ्या	सुसखिभ्या	सुसखिभ्यां	सुसख्यो	सुसख्यो·	सुसखायौ
Plural	सुसखायः	सुसखीन्	सुसखिभिः	सुसखिभ्यः	सुसखिभ्य	सुसखानाम्	सुसखिपु	सुसखायः

पति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	पतिः	पतिम्	पत्या	पत्ये	पत्यु	पत्यु	पत्यौं	हे पते
Dual	पती	पती	पतिभ्यां	तिभ्याम्	पतिभ्यां	पत्योः	पत्यो·	पता
Plural	पतयः	पतीन्	पतिभि	तिभ्य	पतिभ्यः	पतीनाम्	पतिषु	पतयः

भूपति

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Ab	Gen	Loc	Voc.
Singular	भूपति·	भूपातिम्	भूपातिना	भूपतये	भूपतेः	भूपनेः	भूपतौ	भूपते
Dual	भूपती	भूपती	भूपातिभ्याम्	भूपातिभ्यां	भूपतिभ्यां	भूपन्यो	भूतत्योः	भूपतीं
Plural	भूपतय	भूपतीन्	भूपातिभिः	भूपातिभ्यः	भूपतिभ्यः	भूपतीनाम्	भूपातिषु	भूपतय

कति

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Plural	कति	कति	कतिभि	कतिभ्यः	कतिभ्य	कतीनाम	कतिषु ॥

त्रि

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Plural	त्रयः	त्रीन्	त्रिभि	त्रिभ्य	त्रिभ्यः	त्रयाणाम्	त्रिषु

द्वि

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc
Dual	द्वौ	द्वौ	द्वाभ्याम्	Do	Do	द्वयो	द्वयो

अतिद्वि

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.
Singular-	अतिद्वि	अतिद्विम	अतिद्विना	अतिद्वये	अतिद्वे	अतिद्वे	अतिद्वौ
Dual	अतिद्वी	अतिद्वी	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्विभ्याम्	अतिद्व्यो	अतिद्व्यो
Plural	अतिद्वय	अतिद्वीन्	अतिद्विभि	अतिद्विभ्य	अतिद्विभ्य	अतिद्वीनाम्	अतिद्विषु

20

औडुलोमिः

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen.	Loc	Voc.
Si	औडुलोमि	औडुलोमिम्	औडुलोमिना	औडुलोमय	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमे	औडुलोमौ	औडुलोमे
D	औडुलोमिः	औडुलोमी	औडुलोमिभ्या	औडुलोमिभ्या	औडुलोमिभ्या,	औडुलोम्या	औडुलोम्योः,	औडुलोमी
P	उडुलोमा	उडुलोमान्	उडुलोमै	उडुलोमेभ्यः	उडुलोमेभ्य	उडुलोमानाम्	उडुलोमेषु	उडुलोमाः

वातप्रमी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.	Voc
Singular	वातप्रमी	वातप्रमीम् or वातप्रम्यम्,	वातप्रम्या	वातप्रम्य	वातप्रम्यः	वातप्रम्य	वातप्रमी or वातप्रम्यि,	हे वातप्रमीः
Dual	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रम्यौ	वातप्रमीभ्या	वातप्रमीभ्या	वातप्रमीभ्यां	वातप्रम्योः	वातप्रम्यो	,,
Plural	वातप्रम्य	वातप्रमीन् or वातप्रम्य,	वातप्रमीभि	वातप्रमीभ्य	वातप्रमीभ्य,	वातप्रम्याम्	वातप्रमीषु	,,

बहुश्रेयसी

	Nom	Voc	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Si	बहुश्रेयसी	हे बहुश्रेयसि	बहुश्रेयसीम्	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्यै	बहुश्रेयस्याः	बहुश्रेयस्या	बहुश्रेयस्याम्
D	बहुश्रेयस्यो	बहुश्रेयस्यो	बहुश्रेयस्यौ	बहुश्रेयसीभ्या	,,	,,	बहुश्रेयस्योः	,,
P	बहुश्रेयस्यः	,,	बहुश्रेयसीन्	बहुश्रेयसीभि	बहुश्रेयसीभ्यः	,,	बहुश्रेयसीनाम्	बहुश्रेयसीषु

अतिलक्ष्मी

	Nom	Voc	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
S	अतिलक्ष्मी	हे अतिलक्ष्मि	अतिलक्ष्मीम्	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्यै	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्याम्
D	अतिलक्ष्म्यो	अतिलक्ष्म्या	अतिलक्ष्म्यौ	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्यां	,,	,,	अतिलक्ष्म्योः	अतिलक्ष्म्योः
P	अतिलक्ष्म्य	अतिलक्ष्मय	अतिलक्ष्मीन्	अलक्ष्मीभि	अतिलक्ष्मीभ्य	,,	अतिलक्ष्मीनाम्	अतिलक्ष्मीषु

कुमारी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc.	Voc
Singular	कुमारी	कुमार्यम्	कुमार्या	कुमार्यै	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याः	कुमार्याम्	हे कुमारी
Dual	कुमार्यौ	,,	कुमारीभ्यां	कुमारीभ्या	कुमारीभ्याम्	कुमार्यो	,,	,,
Plural	कुमार्यः	,,	कुमारीभ्यः	कुमारीभिः	कुमारीणाम्	कुमारीषु	,,	,,

प्रधी

	Nom	Acc	Ins.	Dat	Abl	Gan	Loc	Voc
Sing	प्रधी	प्रध्यम्	प्रध्या	प्रध्ये	प्रध्य	प्रध्य	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीः
Dual	प्रध्यौ	प्रध्यौ	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्यां	प्रधीभ्या	प्रध्यो	प्रध्या	प्रध्यौ
Plural	प्रथ्य	प्रध्य	प्रधीभि	प्रधीभ्य	प्रधीभ्य	प्रध्याम्	प्रधीषु	प्रध्यः

उन्नी

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	उन्नी	उन्न्यम्	उन्न्या	उन्न्ये	उन्न्य	उन्न्य·	उन्न्याम्	उन्नी
Dual	उन्न्यौ	उन्न्यौ	उन्नीभ्या	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्नीभ्यां	उन्न्यां	उन्न्यो	उन्न्यौ
Plural	उन्न्य	उन्न्य	उन्नीभि·	उन्नीभ्य	उन्नीभ्य·	उन्न्याम	उन्नाषु	उन्न्य

ग्रामणी

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	मामणीः	मामण्यम्	माम्ण्या	मामण्ये	ग्रामण्यः	ग्रामण्य	मामण्या	मामणी
Dual	मामण्यौ	मामण्यो	मामणीभ्या	मामणीभ्या	मामणीभ्या	मामण्या	मामण्यो	मामण्या
Plural	मामण्य	मामण्य·	मामणीभि·	मामणीभ्य·	ग्रामणीभ्य·	मामण्या	मामणीषु	मामण्य

नी

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc	Voc
Sing	नीः	नियम्	निया	निये	निय	निय	नियाम्	नी·
Dual	नियौ	नियौ	नीभ्या	नीभ्याम्	नीभ्याम्	नियों	नियो	नियौ
Plural	निय·	`निय	नीभिः	नीभ्यः	नीभ्यः	नियाम्	नीषु	निय

Sing	सुतीः	सुत्यम्	सुत्या
Dual	सुत्यौ	सुत्यौ	
Plural	सुत्यः	सुत्य	like प्रधीः

शंभु

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen	Loc	Voc
Singular	शभु	शभुम्	शभुना	शभवे	शभो·	शभा	शभा	शभा
Dual	शभू	शंभू	शभुभ्याम्	शभुभ्या	शभुभ्यां	शभ्वां	शभ्वो	शभू
Plural	शभवः	शभून्	शभुभि·	शभुभ्यः	शभुभ्य	शभूनाम्	शभुषु	शभवः

क्रोष्टु

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Singular	क्रोष्टा	क्रोष्टारम्	क्रोष्ट्रा क्रोष्टुना	क्रोष्ट्रे क्रोष्टवे	क्रोष्टुः क्रोष्टो	क्रोष्टु· क्रोष्टो	क्रोष्टरि क्रोष्टौ
Dual	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टारौ	क्रोष्टुभ्यां	क्रोष्टुभ्या	क्रोष्टुभ्या	क्रोष्ट्रा	क्रोष्ट्रो
Plural	क्रोष्टार·	क्रोष्टून्	क्रोष्टुभि·	क्रोष्टुभ्यः	क्रोष्टुभ्य	क्रोष्टूनाम्	क्रोष्टुषु

हूहू

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	°Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	हूहू·	हूहूम्	हूह्वा	हूह्वे	हूह्वः	हूह्वः	हूह्वः
Dual	हूह्वौ	हूह्वौ	हूहू-याम्	हूहूभ्यां	हूहूभ्यां	हूह्वोः	हूह्वोः
Plural	हूह्व	हूह्वः	हूहूभि	हूहूभ्यः	हूहूभ्यः	हूह्वाम्	हूहूषु

खलपू

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gan	Loc.
Singular	खलपू	खलप्वम्	खलप्वा	खलप्वे	खलप्वः	खलप्व	खलप्वि
Dual	खलप्वा	खलप्वौ	खलपूभ्यां	खलपूभ्यां	खलपभ्याम्	खलप्वो	खलप्वोः
Plural	खलप्व.	खलप्व	खलप्ाभिः	खलपूभ्यः	खलपूभ्य	खलप्वां	खलपूषु

स्वभू

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Singular	स्वभू	स्वभुवम्	स्वभुवा	स्वभुवे	स्वभुव	स्वभुवः	स्वभुवि
Dual	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुवौ	स्वभुभ्यां	स्वभूभ्यां	स्वभुभ्यां	स्वभुवोः	स्वभुवो
Plural	स्वभुव	स्वभुव	स्वभूभि	स्वभूभ्य·	स्वभूभ्य	स्वभुवां	स्वभूषु
Singular	वर्षाभू	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्वा	वर्षाभ्वे	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्वि
Dual	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभ्वौ	वर्षाभुभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्याम्	वर्षाभूभ्यां	वर्षाभ्वो	वर्षाभ्वोः
Plural	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभ्व	वर्षाभूभि	वर्षाभूभ्य	वर्षाभूभ्य	वर्षाभ्वां	वर्षाभूषु

नृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Sing	ना	नरम्	न्रा	न्रे	नुः	नु	नरि
Dual	नरौ	नरौ	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	नृभ्यां	न्रो.	न्रोः
Plural	नर.	नॄन्	नृभि	नृभ्यः	नृभ्यः	,,	नृषु

कॄ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins,	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	कीः	किरम्	किरा	किरे	किर	किरः	किरि
Dual	किरौ	किरौ	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	कीर्भ्याम्	किरोः	किरोः
Plural	किरः	किरः	कीर्भि	कीर्भ्य	कार्भ्य.	किराम्	कीर्षु

OR

	Nom	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Sing	कॄः	कॄम्	क्रा	क्रे	क्र.	क्र	क्रि
Dual	क्रौ	क्रौ	कॄभ्या	कॄभ्यां	कॄभ्यां	क्रोः	क्रोः
Plural	क्रः	कॄन्	कॄभि	कॄभ्य.	कॄभ्य.	क्राम्	कॄषु

गम्लृ

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat	Abl.	Gen.	Loc
Sing	गमा	गमलम्	गम्ला	गम्ले	गमुल्	गमुल्	गमलि
Dual	गमलौ	गमलौ	गम्लृभ्याम्		,,	गम्लोः	गम्लोः
Plural	गमल.	गमॄन्	गम्लृभिः	गम्लृभ्यः	,,	गमॄणां or गमॣणां	गम्लृषु

से

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat.	Abl	Gen	Loc.
Sing	सेः	सयम्	सया	सये	सयः	सयः	सयि
Dual	सयौ	सयौ	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सेभ्यां	सयो	सयो
Plural	सयः	सय	सेभिः	सेभ्य	सेभ्यः	सयाम्	सेषु

गो

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen	Loc.
Sing	गौ	गाम्	गवा	गवे	गो·	गो	गवि
Dual	गावौ	गावौ	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गोभ्यां	गवोः	गवोः
Plural	गावः	गाः	गोभिं	गोभ्याः	गोभ्याः	ग	गाषु व ब्

स्मृतो

	Nom.	Acc	Ins	Dat.	Abl.	Gen	Loc
Sing	स्मृतोः	स्मृताम्	स्मृतवा	स्मृतवे	स्मृतोः	स्मृतोः	स्मृतवि
Dual	स्मृतावौ	स्मृतावौ	स्मृताभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृतोभ्यां	स्मृनवो	स्मृतवोः
Plural	स्मृताव	स्मृता	स्मृतोभि·	स्मृतोभ्य	स्मृतोभ्यः	स्मृतषाम्	स्मृतोषु

रै

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl	Gen.	Loc.
Sing	रा	रायम्	राया	राये	राय	रायः	रायि
Dual	रायौ	रायौ	राभ्यम्	राभ्यां	राभ्यां	रायोः	रायो
Plural	रायः	राय	राभि	राभ्यः	राभ्य	रायाम्	राषु

ग्लौ

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Sing	ग्लौ	ग्लाव	ग्लावा	ग्लावे	ग्लाव·	ग्लावः	ग्लावि
Dual	ग्लावौ	ग्लावौ	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लौभ्यां	ग्लावौः	ग्लावौः
Plural	ग्लावः	ग्लावः	ग्लौभि	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लौभ्यः	ग्लावाम्	ग्लौषु

———·o:———

अथाजन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER IX

DECLENSION OF FEMININES ENDING IN VOWELS

Now we take up the declension of the word रमा (This word is formed from the root रम् 'to play' with the affix अच् and the feminine affix टाप्) The Nom Sing is रमा The affix सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252 In forming the Nom and Acc Dual the following rule applies —

२८७ । औङ आपः । ७ । १ । १८ ॥

आबन्ताद्दङ्गात्परस्यौङ शी स्यात् । औङित्यौकारविभक्तेः संज्ञा । रमे । रमाः ॥

287. After a stem ending in the feminine affix आ, ई is substituted for the dual endings औ of the Nominative and Accusative

The ङ in औङ् is for the purpose of including औट् also There is, in fact, no such affix as औङ् taught by Pânini any where. Thus रमा + औ = रमा + शी = रमे ॥

The Pl will be रमाः ॥

The Vocative Sing is formed according to the following Sûtra

२८८ । संबुद्धौ च । ७ । ३ । १०६ ।

आप एकारः स्यात्संबुद्धौ । एङ्ह्रस्वादिति संबुद्धिलोपः । हे रमे । हे रमे । हे रमाः । रमाम् । रमे । रमाः । अत्वान्नत्वाभावः ॥

288. ए is substituted for the final आ of a Feminine stem, in the Vocative Singular.

Thus रमा + सु = रमे + सु = रमे ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI 1 69 S 193. Thus Voc Sing Dual and Pl are हे रमे, हे रमे, हे रमाः respectively

The Acc forms are रमाम्, रमे, रमाः ॥ The न is not added in the Acc Pl because it is feminine The rule VI 1 193 S 196 applies only to he Masculine nouns

In forming the Instrumental, the following applies

२८९ । आङि चापः । ७ । ३ । १०५ ॥

आङि ओसि च परे आबन्तस्याऽङ्गस्य एकारः स्यात् । रमया । रमाभ्याम् । रमाभिः ॥

289. Before the case-endings ओस् and before आ of

the Instrumental, ए is substituted for the final आ of the Feminine-affix.

आङ् is the name given to the affix टा, the Ins Sing by the ancient grammarians

Thus रमा + टा = रमे + आ = रमया ॥ The Instr dual and Pl forms are रमाभ्याम् रमाभिः ॥

In forming the Dative, the following sûtra applies —

२९० । याडापः । ७ । ३ । ११३ ।

आप परस्य ङिद्वचनस्य याडागमः स्यात् । वृद्धिरेचि । रमायै । सवर्णदीर्घः । रमायाः । रमयोः । रमासु । एवं दुर्गादय ॥

290 The augment याट् is added to the Dat. Abl. Gen and Loc. Sg after a Feminine stem ending in आ ॥

Thus रमा + ङे = रमायाट् + ङे = रमाया + ए = रमायै according to VI 1 88 S 72

The Abl and Gen Singulars are thus formed —रमा + ङसि = रमा + याट् + ङसि = रमाया + अस् = रमायाः ॥

The Gen and Loc dual रमयोः is formed as follows रमा + ओस् = रमे + ओस् (VII 3 105 S 289) = रमयोः ॥

The Gen Pl is रमाणाम् (नु being added by VII 1. 54 S 208)

The Loc Sing रमायाम् is formed according to VII 3 116 S 270. Thus रमा + याट् + ङि = रमा + याट् + आम् = रमायाम् ॥

The Loc dual and Pl are रमयोः and रमासु ॥ The Feminine Nouns दुर्गा &c are to be similarly declined

———— o ————

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Pronoun सर्वा ॥ In the first three cases, it is declined like रमा ॥ In forming the Dative and other cases the following rules apply —

२९१ । सर्वनाम्नः स्याड्ढ्रस्वश्च । ७ । ३ । ११४ ॥

आबन्तात्सर्वनाम्नः परस्य ङितः स्याट् स्यादापश्च ह्रस्वः । याटोऽपवादः । सर्वस्यै । सर्वस्याः २ । एकादेशस्य पूर्वान्तत्वेन ग्रहणादामि सर्वनाम्न इति सुट् । सर्वासाम् । सर्वस्याम् । सर्वयोः । सर्वासु । एवं विश्वादय आबन्ताः ॥

291 After a Pronominal stem ending in long आ of the Feminine, the Dat Abl. Gen and Loc Sg receive the augment स्याट् and the आ of the stem is shortened

As सर्वस्यै विश्वस्यै यस्यै तस्यै कस्यै, भवत्यै भवत्या, सर्वस्याः विश्वस्याः, यस्याः तस्याः, कस्याः, अन्यस्यै अन्यस्याः ॥

But अमुष्यै where the stem does not end in long आ of the Feminine

This debars the augment याट् Thus Dat Sing is formed as follows. सर्वा + स्याट् + ङे = सर्व + स्या + इ = सर्वस्यै ॥

Similarly the Abl and Gen Singular सर्वस्या is formed.

In Gen Pl सुट् is added by VII. 8 52 S 217 Though the Feminine pronoun सर्वा is not mentioned in the सर्वादि class, yet the word सर्वा is called सर्वनाम, for the ekâdes'a आ of सर्वा (सर्व + आ = सर्वा) is considered as the final of the first, and hence the rule VII. 1. 52. S 217 will apply to it. Thus we get the Gen Pl. सर्वासाम् ॥

The Loc Sing is thus formed सर्वा + ङि = सर्व + स्या + आम् = सर्वस्याम् ॥ The Loc Dual and Pl forms are सर्वयोः and सर्वासु ॥

So also other Feminine Pronouns ending in आ like विश्वा &c. are to be declined.

२९२ । विभाषा दिक्समासे बहुव्रीहौ । १ । १ । २८ ॥

अत्र सर्वनामता वा स्यात् । उत्तरपूर्वस्यै । उत्तरपूर्वायै । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले इति प्रतिपदोक्तस्य दिक्समासस्य ग्रहणान्नेह । योत्तरा सा पूर्वा यस्या उन्मुग्धायास्तस्यै उत्तरपूर्वायै । बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अन्तरस्यै शालायै । बाह्यायै इत्यर्थः । अपुरिति्युक्तेर्नेह । अन्तरायै नगर्यै ॥

292. The Sarvanâma words are optionally declined as such when they occur in a Bahuvrîhi compound signifying direction (II. 2. 26. S. 845).

Thus उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै ॥ The Bahuvrîhi compound specifically taught in II 2 26 S 845 and not every other bahuvrîhi. Therefore when the word उत्तरा or पूर्वा are so compounded as to denote a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East, there the word उत्तरपूर्वा (a mad woman who cannot distinguish between North and East) though a bahuvrîhi compound, formed of pronouns denoting points of compass, but as the whole compound does not denote the intermediate points of the compass but is the Name of a person, it is not treated as a Sarvanâma. Therefore its Dative Sing will be उत्तरपूर्वायै and not उत्तरपूर्वस्यै ॥

The word बहुव्रीहि is used in the sûtra only for the sake of distinctness, for the sûtra would have referred to Bahuvrîhi compound even without employing the word bahuvrîhi in it.

The word अन्तरा is a Sarvanâma denoting 'outer' and so it is declined as अन्तरस्यै शालायै meaning the outer court, but when the word अन्तरा denotes 'a city' it is not a sarvanâma and therefore its declension will be अन्तरायै नगर्यै (See Vârtika under sutra VII 1. 52 S 217)

The word द्वितीया and तृतीया are similarly declined except in the ङित् affixes to which the following rule applies.

२९३ । विभाषा द्वितीयातृतीयाभ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां ङित स्याट् स्यादापश्च ह्रस्वः । इह सूत्रे स्यक्तुं शक्यम् । तीयस्य ङित्सूपसंख्यानात् । द्वितीयस्यै । द्वितीयायै । द्वितीयस्याः । द्वितीयायाः । द्वितीयस्याम् । द्वितीयायाम् शेषं रमावत् । एवं तृतीया ॥ अम्बार्थनद्योर्ह्रस्वः ॥ हे अम्ब । हे अक्क । हे अल्ल ॥ असंयुक्ता ये डलकास्तद्वतां ह्रस्वो न ॥ हे अम्बाडे । हे अम्बाले । हे अम्बिके । जरा । जरसौ । शीभावात्परत्वाज्जरस् । आमि नुट परत्वाज्जरस् । जरसामित्यादि । पक्षे हलादौ च रमावत् । इह पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन शीभावं कृत्वा सन्निपातपरिभाषाया अनित्यतां चाश्रित्य जरसी इति केचिदाहुस्तन्निर्मूलम् । यद्यपि जरसादेशस्य स्थानिवद्भावेनाबन्ततामाश्रित्य । औङ आपः । आङि चापः । याडापः । ह्रस्वनद्यापः । ङेराम् । इति पञ्चापि विधयः प्राप्ताः । एवं नसूनिशपृत्सु । तथाप्यनल्विधाविति युक्तेर्न भवन्ति । आ आबिति प्रश्लिष्य आकाररूपस्यैवाऽऽपः सर्वत्र ग्रहणात् । एवं हल्ङ्याब्भ्य इति सूत्रेऽपि आ आप् ङी ई इति प्रश्लेषादतिखट्वः निष्कौशाम्बिरित्यादिसिद्धेर्दीर्घग्रहणं प्रत्याख्येयम् । नचैवमप्यतिखट्वायेत्यत्र स्वाश्रयमाकारत्वं स्थानिवद्भावेनाप्त्वं चाश्रित्य याट् स्यादिति वाच्यम् । आबन्तं यदङ्गं ततः परस्य याड्विधानात् । उपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्यये तदादिनियमात् । पद्दन्न इति नासिकाया नस् । नसः । नसा । नोभ्यामित्यादि । पक्षे हलादि च रमावत् । निशाया निश् । निशः । निशा ॥

293. After द्वितीया and तृतीया the Dat Abl Gen. and Loc Sg may optionally get the augment स्याट् before which the आ is shortened.

As द्वितीयस्यै or द्वितीयायै; तृतीयस्यै or तृतीयायै, द्वितीयस्याः or द्वितीयायाः, तृतीयस्याः or तृतीयायाः द्वितीयस्याम् or द्वितीयायाम्; तृतीयस्याम्; or तृतीयायाम् ॥

The remaining forms are like those of रमा ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the word अम्बा ॥

According to VII, 3. 103. S. 267. the Voc. Sing is हे अम्ब ॥ So also हे अक्क ॥

The final आ of the word ending in simple ड, ल and क is not shortened. Thus हे अम्बाडे, हे अम्बाले, हे अम्बिके ॥

The declension of जरा is somewhat peculiar Thus Nom Sg जरा + सु = जरा, Nom Dual जरा + औ = जरसौ, जरा is replaced by जरस् (VII 2 101 S 227) before the sûtra शी (VII 1. 18 S 287) could be applied In Gen Pl जरस् substitution takes place before the augment नुट् could be added, hence जरसाम् ॥ But the जरस् substitution is optional, so when there is no जरस् substitution and before consonantal affixes जरा is declined like रमा ॥

Some form the Nom. Dual as जरसी; their reason is that शी will replace औ even where जरस् substitution takes place and सन्निपातपरिभाषा is not of universal application. The Paribhâshâ is as follows :—

सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य i e. "That which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination." This

argument however is incorrect for the form जरसी is nowhere to be found Ques जरस् replacing जरा may be considered as like जरा by the rule of स्थानिवदादेश (I. 1. 56 S. 49), therefore the five rules mentioned above, namely, VII. 1. 18 S 287. VII. 3 105. S 289 VII. 3 113 S 290, VII S 208, VII. 3 116 S. 270 apply to जरा ॥ Similarly those rules would apply also to नस् the substitute of नासिका, निश the substitute of निशा, पृत् the substitute of पृतना 'an army' (See VI. 1 64 S 2264)

Answer. No, for the स्थानिवत् rule does not apply in cases of आल्विधि ॥ For the five rules mentioned above apply only to those Feminine forms which end in long आ and not to those forms which are substitutes of such long आ ending word. In fact, in the above rules the word आप्, ङी should be construed as compounded of आ + आप् = आप् and ङी + ई = ङी, that is those Feminine words in आप् and ङी which retain their आ and ई in this state before the affixes are added and not those words which do not end in आ and ई ॥ For the same reason, the forms अतिखट्वः and निष्कौशाम्बि are not to be governed by these rules for they end in short अ and short इ ॥ Similarly the Dative of अतिखट्व will be अतिखट्वाय ॥ Here also the augment याट् will not apply.

नस् is substituted for नासिका in weak cases and is then declined as नसः; Instr Sg. नसा &c when this substitution does not take place नासिका is declined like रमा ॥ Similarly निशा is declined. But before the affixes भ्याम् &c. the श् is changed to ड् by the following rule

२९४ । व्रश्चभ्रस्जसृजमृजयजराजभ्राजच्छशां षः । ८ । २ । ३६ ॥

व्रश्चादीनां सप्तानां छशान्तयोश्च षकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । षस्य जश्त्वेन डकारः । निड्भ्याम् । निड्भिः । सुपि ड सीति पक्षे धुट् । चर्त्वम् । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चया द्वितीया इति ठत्वाद्यभावो न । न पदान्ताट्टोरिति ष्टुत्वं न । निट्त्सु । निट्सु ॥

294. For the final consonants of vrasch, bhrasj, srij mrij, yaj, râj, and bhrâj, and for the final छ and श, there is substituted ष् before *jhal* letter, or at the end of a word.

Thus व्रश्च्:—व्रष्टा, व्रष्टुम्, व्रष्टव्यम् मूलवृट् ॥ भ्रष्टा । भ्रष्टुम् । भ्रष्टव्यम् । धानाभृट् । सृज स्रष्टा । स्रष्टुम् । रज्जुसृट् । मृज । मार्ष्टा । मार्ष्टुम् मार्ष्टव्यम् । कंसपरिमृट् । यज । यष्टा । यष्टुम् । यष्टव्यम् । उपयट् । राज् । सम्राट् । स्वराट्, विराट्, विभ्राट् ॥

Thus निश् + भ्याम् = निष् + भ्याम् = निड्भ्याम्, निड्भिः ॥ By VIII. 3. 29 S. 131, there is an optional augment धुट् before the Loc. Pl · सुप्; then this ध् is changed to त् and ष् to ट् ॥ This last substitution being considered as *asiddha* because it is a त्रिपादि rule, the त् and स् are not changed to ट् and ष as will be required by *Vârtika* under VIII. 3. 28, S. 131. Nor will the rule VIII. 4 42 S 114 apply Thus we get निट्त्सु or निट्सु ॥

Now appears the following rule also for application.

२९५। षढोः कः सि। ८। २। ४१॥

षस्य ढस्य च कः स्यात्सकारे परे। इति तु न भवति, जश्त्वं प्रत्यसिद्धत्वात्। केचित्तु व्रश्चभ्रस्जेत्यादिसूत्रे धातोरिति सूत्राद्धातोरित्यनुवर्तयन्ति। तन्मते जश्त्वेन जकारे। निज्भ्याम्। निज्भिः। जश्त्वम्। श्चुत्वम्। चर्त्वम्। निच्शु। चोः कुरिति कुत्वं तु न भवति। जश्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्॥ मांसपृतनासानूनां मांस्पृत्स्नवो वाच्याः शसादौ वा * ॥ पृतः। पृता। पृद्भ्याम्। पक्षे सुटि च रमावत्। गोपा विश्वपावत्। मतिः प्रायेण हरिवत्। स्त्रीत्वान्नत्वाभावः। मतीः॥ नात्वं न मत्या॥

295. क is substituted for ष or ढ before स ॥

Therefore निश+सु (Loc. Pl.)=निष+सु=निड्+सु=निक्+सु= But the application of this rule would be wrong, for the जश् rule is considered as *asiddha* for the purposes this rule.

Some explain the last Sûtra by confining it to roots only, they read the anuvritti of धातोः in that Sûtra from the previous Sûtra, VIII. 2 32 S 325 According to them, there will be ज when जश् rule is applied Thus निज्भ्याम्, निज्भिः। In fact, according to this opinion, there is no substitution of ष and so निश्+भ्याम् is changed to निज्+भ्याम्, Therefore, according to them, the Loc Pl will be निश्+सु=निज्+सु=निज्+शु=निच्+शु, The च् is not changed to क् by VIII 2 30 S 378, because the जश् substitution is considered as *asiddha*.

Vârtika Before the affixes of the Acc Pl. and the rest the words मांस, पृतना and सानु are optionally replaced by मांस्, पृत् and स्नु

Therefore Acc Pl. of पृत् will be पृतः, Instr Sg पृता, Instr - Dual पृद्भ्याम् In the other alternative and in the strong cases, namely the first five inflectional cases पृतना is declined like रमा The Feminine गोपा is declined like विश्वपा ॥

The Feminine मति is declined like हरि except in the following cases — The Acc. Pl is मतीः, there is no न because it is Feminine Similarly the Instr Sg is मत्या and not मतिना because VII 3 120 S 244 does not apply to Feminine nouns

Before the ङित् affixes, मति is governed by the following rule

२९६। ङिति ह्रस्वश्च। १। ४। ६॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्रीशब्दभिन्नौ नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गावीदूतौ ह्रस्वौ च इवर्णोवर्णौ स्त्रियां वा नदीसंज्ञौ स्तो ङिति परे॥ आण् नद्याः॥ मत्यै मतये। मत्याः। मतेः। नदीत्वपक्षे औदिति ङेरौत्वे प्राप्ते॥

296. When a case-affix having an indicatory ṅ (ṅit) follows, then feminine words ending in short इ and उ are optionally termed Nadî, as well as feminine nouns in long ई and ऊ which admit of iyaṅ and uvaṅ: but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

Feminine words in long î and u have been defined as nadî, words in

short vowels can never be termed nadı, while even some words in long vowels have also been excluded from the scope of the definition, if they take ıyan and uvaṅ The present sûtra declares an option in the case of all the above words, when a case-affix having an indicatory ङ follows.

The case-affixes having an indicatory n are the Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative singulars Thus we have —

Dative मतये or मत्यै, धनवे or धेन्वै, श्रिये or श्रियै ; Ablative and Genitive मते or मत्या, धेनो, or धेन्वा, श्रिय or श्रियां ; Locative मतौ or मत्याम्, धेनौ or धेन्वां, श्रियि or श्रियां ॥ So also भ्रुवे or भ्रुवै &c But strî is always स्त्रियै &c

When the word मति is treated as a Nadî word, then the Loc Sg requires औ by VII 3 118, S 256 But this is prevented by the following rule,

२९७ । इदुद्भ्याम् । ७ । ३ । ११७ ॥

नदीसञ्ज्ञकाभ्यामिदुद्भ्यां परस्य ङेराम् स्यात् । पक्षे अच्च घेः । मत्याम् । मतौ । एवं श्रुतिस्मृत्यादय ॥

297. After the Feminine nadî words ending in इ and उ short, आम् is substituted for the ङ of the Loc Sg

When this rule does not apply, then it is treated as a घि word and rule VII 3 19 S 247 applies Thus Loc Sg is मत्याम् or मतौ

The words श्रुति, स्मृति &c are declined like मति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of feminine nouns ending in ऋ like तिसृ, and चतसृ the feminine of त्रि and चतुर् which are formed by the following Sûtra.

२९८ । त्रिचतुरोः स्त्रियां तिसृचतसृ । ७ । २ । ९९ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गयोरेतयोरेतावादेशौ स्तो विभक्तौ परतः ॥

298. तिसृ is substituted for त्रि and चतसृ for चतुर् in the feminine, when a case-ending follows.

२९९ । अचि र ऋतः । ७ । २ । १०० ॥

तिसृचतसृ एतयोर्ऋकारस्य रेफादेशः स्यादचि । गुणदीर्घोत्वानामपवादः । तिस्रः २ । आमि नुमचिरेति नुट् ॥

299 र् is substituted for the ऋ of तिसृ and चतसृ before case-affixes beginning with a vowel

In the Genitive there is the augment नुट् under *Vârtika* VIII 2. 24. S. 280. Thus तिसृ + नुट् + आम् = तिसृ + नाम् Here the Sûtra VI 4 3. S. 209 requires the lengthening of the ऋ but it is prevented by the following Sûtra.

३०० । न तिसृचतसृ । ६ । ४ । ४ ॥

एतयोर्नामि दीर्घो न स्यात् । तिसृणाम् । तिसृषु । स्त्रियामिति त्रिचतुरोर्विशेषणान्नेह । प्रियास्त्रयस्त्रीणि वा यस्याः सा प्रियत्रि मतिवत् । आमि तु प्रियत्रयाणामिति विशेष । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य स इति विग्रहे तु प्रियतिसा । प्रियतिस्रौ । प्रियतिस्र । प्रियतिस्रमित्यादि । प्रियास्तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुल प्रियत्रि । स्वमोर्लुका लुप्तत्वेन प्रत्ययलक्षणाभावान्न तिस्रादेशः । न लुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे प्रियतिसृ । * रादेशात् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन नुम् । प्रियतिसृणी प्रियतिसृणि । तृतीयादिषु वक्ष्यमाणपुवद्भावविकल्पात्पर्यायेण नुम्रभावौ । प्रियतिस्रा । प्रियतिसृणा । इत्यादि । ह्रस्वे सत्याप । ह्रु २ । ह्राभ्याम् ३ । ह्रयो २ । गौरी । गौर्यौ । गौर्यः । नदीकार्यम् । हे गौरि । गौर्यै इत्यादि । एव वाणिन्यादयः । प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणादनङ्गिणिद्भावे च प्राप्ते ॥ विभक्तौ लिङ्गविशिष्टाग्रहणम् ॥ सखी । सख्यौ । सख्यः इत्यादि गौरिवत् । अङ्यन्तत्वान्न सुलोपः । लक्ष्मी । शेषं गौरीवत् । एव तरीतन्त्र्यादय· ॥ स्त्री । हे स्त्रि ॥

300. The finals of तिसृ and चतसृ are not lengthened before नाम् ॥

The Loc Pl is तिसृषु

The word स्त्रियाम् qualifies त्रि and चतुर् and not the word अङ्ग 'stem' which is of course understood here Therefore, though the anga may be feminine, yet if त्रि and चतुर् refer to Masculine or Neuter nouns, the substitution will not take place as प्रियास्त्रयऽस्याः or प्रियाणि त्रीणि वा अस्या ब्राह्मण्याः = प्रियत्रिः 'a Brâhmanî to whom three are beloved' dual प्रियत्री, Pl. प्रियत्रयः ॥ Similarly प्रियचत्वा प्रियचत्वारौ, प्रियचत्वार ॥ The word प्रियत्रि will be declined like मति. The only distinction being that the genitive Pl. will प्रियत्रियाणाम्.

Similarly the substitution will take place even where the anga refers to a Masculine, or a Neuter, when त्रि and चतुर् refer to a Feminine, as प्रियास्तिस्रो ब्राह्मण्योऽस्य ब्राह्मणस्य = प्रियतिसा ब्राह्मण· (VII 1 94) प्रियतिस्रौ, प्रियतिस्र· ॥

If the compound is analysed as प्रिया तिस्रो यस्य तत्कुल, namely, if the compound refers to a neuter word, then the form will be प्रियत्रि Here the Nom · and Acc case endings सु and अम् are elided by VII 1 23 S 319 by using the word लुक्. Therefore, there being no प्रत्यय लक्षण (See I. 1. 63 S 263), there will be no तिसृ substitution. But if the Sûtra I. 1. 63 S 263 be considered as not of universal application, then the तिसृ substitution will take place and the Nom and Acc. Singular will be प्रियतिसृ The Nom and Acc. Dual and Plural will be formed by the following *Vârtika*·—

Vârtika —The guna of VII. 3 110 S 275 is debarred in anticipation by VII. 2. 100 S. 299 and therefore there will be the augment नुम् by VII 1. 73 S. 320. Thus the forms are प्रियतिसृणी and प्रियतिसृणि.

Before the Instrumental and other case-endings there will be optionally नुम् or the र् substitution, because the word may be treated optionally as Neuter or Masculine. Thus प्रियतिस्रा or प्रियतिसृणा &c.

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun द्वि The इ of द्वि is replaced by अ according to Sûtra VII 2. 102 S 265 and it assumes the form द्व To this is added the Feminine affix आप् and thus we get the form द्वा. It is always Dual and is declined as द्वे, द्वे, द्वाभ्याम्, द्वाभ्याम्; द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयो, द्वयो ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun गौरी Its Nominative forms are गौरी; गौर्यौ, गौर्यः। Its Voc is हे गौरि according to VII 3 107 S. 267 Its Dat. will be गौर्यै by VII 3. 112 S. 268 and VI 1 90 S. 269.

·The Feminine Nouns वाणी and नदी &c. are similarly declined.

Now we take up the declenson of the Fem Noun सखी There arises the doubt as to whether this word should take the affix अनङ् under Sûtra VII. 1. 93 S. 248 and the affix should be treated as णित् by VII. 1 92 S. 253 on the maxim that "A Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender." For the above rules only use the Prâtipadika form सखी, and so according to this maxim, they may apply to the Noun सखी when it is Feminine. But this is not the case, however, when a *Vibhakti* is to be added, because then the above maxim is set aside by the following

Paribhâshâ —"A Prâtipadika in a rule that teaches an operation which affects the Prâtipadika before a case-termination after the Prâtipadika, does not denote a crude form derived from the Prâtipadika by the addition of an affix denoting gender."

Thus Nom forms of सखी are सखी; सख्यौ; सख्यः The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

———o———

Now we take up the declension of लक्ष्मी As this word is not formed by the Feminine affix ई, therefore the Nom Singular affix सु will not be elided, because the rule of elision taught in VI 1 68·S 252 applies only to those Feminine words which are formed by the Feminine affix ई. The word लक्ष्मी is an Unâdi formed word. The long ई is not a Feminine affix Thus Nom. Sing. is लक्ष्मीः ॥ The rest of the declensions are like those of गौरी.

So are the words तरी, तन्त्री &c. declined.

Note —Some consider the लक्ष्मी to be formed by the *Vàrtika* कृदिकारादक्तिनः under IV. I 45 S. 503 the affix ङीष् is added to every कृदन्त word ending in इ or ई with the exception of the affix क्तिन्. According to this view, लक्ष्मी, तरी &c. are ङी formed, and so the Nom : Sing affix will be elided after them.

———o———

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun स्त्री. Its Nom : Sg. is स्त्री. Its Vocative Sg is हे स्त्रि.

In forming the Nom Dual and Pl. the following rule applies.

३०१ । स्त्रियाः । ६ । ४ । ७९ ॥

स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङ् स्यादजादौ प्रत्यये परे । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः ॥

301. इयङ् is substituted for the ई of स्त्री before an affix beginning with a vowel.

As स्त्रियौ, स्त्रियः ॥

In the Acc Dual and Pl. the following rule gives option as regard the इयङ् *Adeśa*

३०२ । वाम्शसोः । ६ । ४ । ८० ॥

अमि शसि च स्त्रिया इयङ् वा स्यात् । स्त्रियम् । स्त्रीम् । स्त्रियौ । स्त्रियः । स्त्रीः । स्त्रिया । स्त्रियै । स्त्रियाः २ । स्त्रियोः । परत्वान्नुट् । स्त्रीणाम् । स्त्रियाम् । स्त्रियोः । स्त्रीषु । स्त्रियमतिक्रान्तः अतिस्त्रिः । अतिस्त्रियौ ॥

गुणनाभावौत्वनुड्भिः परत्वात्पुंसि बाध्यते । क्लीबे नुमा च स्त्रीशब्दस्येयङित्यवधार्यताम् ॥

जसि च ॥ अतिस्त्रयः । हे अतिस्त्रे । हे अतिस्त्रियौ । हे अतिस्त्रयः ॥ वाम्शसोः ॥ अतिस्त्रियम् । अतिस्त्रिम् । अतिस्त्रियौ । अतिस्त्रियः । अतिस्त्रीन् । अतिस्त्रिणा ॥ घेर्ङिति ॥ अतिस्त्रये । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रियोः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् ॥ अच्च घेः ॥ अतिस्त्रौ अतिस्त्रियोः, ॥

ओस्यौकारे च नित्यं स्यादम्शसोस्तु विभाषया । इयादेशोऽचि नान्यत्र स्त्रियाः पुंस्युपसर्जने ॥

क्लीबे तु नुम् । अतिस्त्रि । अतिस्त्रिणी । अतिस्त्रीणि । अतिस्त्रिणा । अतिस्त्रिणे । ङेप्रभृतावजादौ वक्ष्यमाणपुंवद्भावात्पक्षे प्राग्वद्रूपम् । अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे । अतिस्त्रिणः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रिणोः २ । अतिस्त्रियोरित्यादि । स्त्रियां तु प्रायेण पुंवत् । शसि अतिस्त्रीः । अतिस्त्रिया । ङिति ह्रस्वश्चेति ह्रस्वान्तत्वप्रयुक्तो विकल्पः । अस्त्रीति तु इयङुवङ्स्थानानित्यस्यैव पर्युदासः । तत्सन्नियोगस्यैवानुवृत्तेर्दीर्घस्यायं निषेधो न तु ह्रस्वस्य । अतिस्त्रियै । अतिस्त्रये । अतिस्त्रियाः २ । अतिस्त्रेः २ । अतिस्त्रीणाम् । अतिस्त्रियाम् । अतिस्त्रौ । श्रीः । श्रियौ । श्रियः ॥

302. The substitution of इयङ् for the ई of strī is optional before the accusative endings अम् and शस् (अस्) ॥

Thus स्त्रियम् or स्त्रीम्, स्त्रियः or स्त्रीः

The Instr Sing is स्त्रिया, Dat Sing स्त्रियै Abl and Gen Sing. स्त्रियाः ; Gen Dual स्त्रियोः Gen Pl is formed by the addition of नुट् to the exclusion of इयङ्, because नुट् is taught subsequently. Thus स्त्रीणाम् The Loc forms are स्त्रियाम्, स्त्रियोः ; स्त्रीषु

Now, we take up the declension of अतिस्त्रि, which means "one who has surpassed the woman." Its Nom Sing is अतिस्त्रिः, Dual अतिस्त्रियौ.

Verse —The इयङ् substitution, being taught previously, is superseded by the following rules in the Masculine, because they are taught subsequently, viz. the rule of Guna (VII 3 109, S 241, VII 3. 111 S 245), the ना substitution in the Instr. (VII. 3 120 S. 244), the औ substitution (VII 3 119 S 247)

and the नुट् augment (VII 1 54 S 208) In the Neuter the नुम् being subsequent replaces the इयङ्

Thus the rule 'जसिच' gives us the form अतिस्त्रय The Voc forms are हे अतिस्त्रे ; हे अतिस्त्रियौ , हे अतिस्त्रयः. The Acc forms are अतिस्त्रियम् or अतिस्त्रिम्, अतिस्त्रियौ, अतिस्त्रिय or अतिस्त्रीन् The Instr. Sing is अतिस्त्रिणा The Dat Sing is अतिस्त्रये (with the guna, according to VII 3 111 S 245) The Abl Sing is अतिस्त्रेः ; The genitive forms are अतिस्त्रे, अतिस्त्रियो ; अतिस्त्रिणाम् The Loc Sing. is अतिस्त्रौ formed by अच्च घे (VII 3 119 S 247) The Loc Dual is अतिस्त्रियो.

Verse —The इयङ् substitution taught above, is compulsory before the affixes of the Gen and Loc Duals (Viz ओस्) also the Nom and Acc. Duals (औ) and optionally before the Acc Sing and Pl अम् and शस् and nowhere else when the स्त्री becomes the secondary member of a compound which denotes a Masculine.

When the compound अतिस्त्रि denotes a Neuter, then the declension is as follows.—Nom and Acc forms are अतिस्त्रि, अतिस्त्रिणी, अतिस्त्रीणि. The augment नुम् is added to the affixes of the Dual and Plural by VII. 1. 72 and 73 S 314 and 320 The Instr Sing is अतिस्त्रिणा; VII 1. 73 In the dative and the rest, the Neuter is optionally treated like the Masculine according to VII. 1 74 S 321 Thus the Dat Sing is अतिस्त्रये or अतिस्त्रिणे. The Abl Sing is अतिस्त्रेः or अतिस्त्रिण and so also is Gen Sing. The Gen. and Loc · Dual अतिस्त्रियोः or अतिस्त्रिणो &c.

When the word अतिस्त्रि is Feminine then it is declined almost like the Masculine अतिस्त्रि with the following exceptions —The Acc. Pl: is अतिस्त्रीः; Instr Sing. अतिस्त्रिया. Before the ङित् case affixes, the rule of I. 4. 6 S. 296 applies and there is the option The word अस्त्री of the Sûtra I 4 4 S. 303 which is read by *anuvritti* in the Sûtra I. 4. 6 S 296 is confined to that form of स्त्री which takes the substitution इयङ् Therefore the prohibition regarding the non inclusion of the word स्त्री in the Sûtra I 4 6 S 296 refers to that form of स्त्री which ends in long ई and not to short इ as in अतिस्त्रि The result is that the rule I 4. 6. S. 296 will apply to the word अतिस्त्रि and it will be optionally treated as a *Nadi* word. Therefore, the Dat Sing · is either अतिस्त्रियै (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रये (as a ghi). The Abl · and Genitive Sing forms are either अतिस्त्रियाः (as a Nadi) or अतिस्त्रेः (as a ghi) The Genitive Pl is अतिस्त्रिणाम्. The Loc Sing forms are either अतिस्त्रियाम् or अतिस्त्रौ ॥

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Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun श्री Its Nom; forms are श्री ; श्रियौ, श्रियः

The Vocative is governed by the following rule :—

३०३ । नेयङुवङ्स्थानावस्त्री । १ । ४ । ४ ॥

इयङुवङः स्थितिर्ययोस्तावीदूतौ नदीसंज्ञौ न स्तो न तु स्त्री । हे श्रीः । श्रियै । श्रिये । श्रियाः । श्रियः ॥

303. Feminine words ending in î and û which admit the substitute (इयङ्) iyaṅ and (उवङ्) uvaṅ (VI. 4. 77) are not called Nadî ; except the word strî, (which is called nadî notwithstanding its substituting iyaṅ).

The Vocative Singular is therefore हे श्रीः ॥

The Dative Sing is श्रियै or श्रिये ; Abl Sing is श्रियाः or श्रियः by I 4 6. S. 296.

But in the Gen , Pl · the following Sûtra applies:—

३०४ । वामि । १ । ४ । ५ ॥

इयङुवङ्स्थानौ स्त्र्याख्यौ यू आमि वा नदीसंज्ञौ स्तो न तु स्त्री । श्रीणाम् । श्रियाम् । श्रियि । श्रियाम् । प्रधीशब्दस्य तु वृत्तिकारादीनां मते लक्ष्मीवद्रूपम् । पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियां वर्तमानत्वे नित्यस्त्रीत्वमिति स्वीकारात् । लिङ्गान्तरानभिधायकत्वं तदिति कैयटमते तु पुंवद्रूपम् । प्रकृष्टा धीरिति विग्रहे तु लक्ष्मीवत् । अमि शसि च प्रध्यं प्रध्य इति विशेषः । सुष्ठु धीर्यस्याः सुष्ठु ध्यायति वेति विग्रहे तु वृत्तिमते सुधीः श्रीवत् । मतान्तरे पुंवत् । सुष्ठु धीरिति विग्रहे तु श्रीवदेव । ग्रामणीः पुंवत् । ग्रामनयनस्योत्सर्गतः पुंधर्मतया पदान्तरं विनापि स्त्रियामप्रवृत्तेः ॥ एवं खलपवनादेरपि पुंधर्मत्वमौत्सर्गिकं बोध्यम् । धेनुर्मतिवत् ॥

304. Feminine words ending in î and û, though admitting iyaṅ and uvaṅ substitutes, are optionally termed Nadî, when the affix âm (Gen Pl.) follows, but not so the word strî, which is always Nadî.

श्री + आम् = श्र् इयङ् + आम् = श्रियाम्; or श्री + आम् = श्री + नुट् + आम् (VII 1 54) = श्रीणाम् ;

The Loc Sing is श्रियि or श्रियाम् ।

The word प्रधी is declined like लक्ष्मी according to the author of वृत्तिकार and others, because it is taken to be a word which is always Feminine , and which by its own annotation is Feminine without the help of any other word But according to Kaiyata it is to be declined as a Masculine Noun, because it does not denote any gender. When this word is analysed as प्रकृष्टा धीः then it is to be declined like लक्ष्मी The only peculiarities being in the Acc · Sing and Plural, where the forms are प्रध्यम् and प्रध्यः ।

The word सुधी when analysed as, सुष्ठुधीर्यस्याः " that woman whose understanding is good" or when analysed as सुष्ठुध्यायति या 'She who meditates well', then it is declined as श्री according to वृत्ति author According to others it is

to be declined as a Masculine Noun. But when it is analysed as a कर्मधारय Compound सुष्ठु धीः 'Good intelligence' it is always to be declined as a Feminine Noun like श्री.

The Feminine Noun ग्रामणी 'a female head af a village' is to be declined like the Masculine Noun ग्रामणी, because leadership of a village is, as a general rule, the duty of a male person, and so the word ग्रामणी in exceptional cases only denotes a female, and then it must have some epithet used along with it to indicate that it refers to a woman Similarly, the word खलपू 'a sweeper' applies primarily to a male person though a woman may occasionally take up that work.

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Declension of Feminines ending in उ,

The Feminine Noun धेनु is declined like मति. We take up the declension of the Feminine Noun क्रोष्टु In its declension, the following rule applies —

३०५ । स्त्रियां च । ७ । १ । ९६ ॥

स्त्रीवाची क्रोष्टुशब्दस्तृजन्तवद्रूपं लभते ॥

305. The word क्रोष्टु is treated as if it ended in तृच्, in the feminine, before all case-endings.

And because क्रोष्टु is treated as if it was क्रोष्टृ, the feminine will be formed by the affix ङीप् by IV. 1. 5. as given below —

३०६ । ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥

ऋदन्तेभ्यो नान्तेभ्यश्च स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । क्रोष्ट्री । क्रोष्ट्र्यौ । क्रोष्ट्र्यः । वधूर्गौरीवत् । भ्रूः श्रीवत् । हे सुभ्रु । कथ तर्हि हापितः क्वासि हे सुभ्रु इति भट्टिः । प्रमाद एवायमिति बहवः । खलपूः पुवत् । पुनर्भूः । दृन्करेति यणा उवङो बाधनान्नियङुवङिति निषेधो न । हे पुनर्भु । पुनर्भ्वम् । पुनर्भ्वौ । पुनर्भ्वः ॥

306. The affix ङीप is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Thus क्रोष्टु becomes क्रोष्ट्री and is declined as Nom : क्रोष्ट्री ; क्रोष्ट्र्यौ ; क्रोष्ट्र्यः ।

---o---

Declension of Feminine nouns endings in ऊ,

The Feminine Noun वधू is declined like गौरी ; भ्रू is declined like श्री. Its Voc Sing is हे सुभ्रूः । How then does the Bhatti use the Voc. Sing as सुभ्रु in the following passage हापितः क्वासि हे सुभ्रु'? The Bhatti has misapplied Sûtra I 2. 48 S 656 which is not applicable because भ्रू is not formed by any Feminine affix but by the affix डू added to the root भ्रम (See Unâdi II. 68). If he has not applied that rule, he might have applied the Sutra VII 3. 107. S 267

and so shortened the vowel in the Vocative. But सुभ्रू is not a Nadi word, because of the prohibition I. 4 4 S. 303 and so the rule of shortening will not apply to it. The use by Kâlidâsa of the form सुभ्रु in the sentence विमाने सुभ्रु त्रिनगृहे कृत: is also erroneous.

The Feminine Noun खलपू is to be declined like the Masculine Noun खलपू ।

Now we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun पुनर्भू. By the *Vârtika*. under VI 4. 84 S 282, the ऊ is replaced by व् and thus the उवङ् substitution is prevented, and therefore the prohibition of the *Sutra* I 4. 4 S. 303 does not apply to पुनर्भू which is declined like a Nadi word. Thus the Voc. Sing is हे पुनर्भु. The Acc. forms are पुनर्भ्वम्, पुनर्भ्वौ, पुनर्भ्वः.

In forming the Gen. Pl. the following rule will apply.

३०७ । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन् समासे पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिस्थस्य नस्य नित्यं णत्वं स्यात् । आरम्भसामर्थ्यान्नित्यत्वे सिद्धे पुनर्णग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । यणं बाधित्वा परत्वान्नुट् । पुनर्भूणाम् । वर्षाभूः । भेकजातौ नित्यस्त्रीत्वाभावात् । हे वर्षाभूः कैयटमते । मतान्तरे तु हे वर्षाभु । पुनर्नवायां तु हे वर्षाभु । भेक्यां पुनर्नवायां स्त्री वर्षाभूर्दर्दुरे पुमानिति यादव. । वर्षाभ्वौ । वर्षाभ्वः । स्वयम्भू पुवत् ॥

307. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti; and when the first member contains a cause of change.

Text—The ण is repeated in this sûtra merely for the sake of distinctness, (and not to make the sûtra obligatory as is the view of the author of the Kâsikâ). Because the sûtra would be an obligatory rule even without it, because, the very fact that a separate sûtra is commenced, shows that it is not an optional rule like the sûtras VIII. 4. 10 and 11. S. 1054. and 1055. The augment नुट् is added, because it is subsequentely taught and supersedes the यण् of the *Vârtika* under VI 4. 84 S. 282. Thus पुनर्भूणाम् ॥

Now, we take up the declension of the Feminine Noun वर्षाभू ॥ When the word means a frog, it is both a Feminine and a Masculine and hence according to the opinion of Kaiyata, the Voc. Sing. will be हे वर्षाभूः ॥ According to others, the Voc. Sing is हे वर्षाभु ॥

According to the Lexicographer Yâdava, वर्षाभू is feminine when denoting a frog or the herb called Punarnavâ; and it is masculine when meaning a frog only.

The Nom · Dual and Pl · are वर्षाभ्वौ , वर्षाभ्व ॥

The declension of the Feminine Noun स्वयम्भू is like that of the Masc: Noun.

—— o ——

Declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in ऋ ॥

We take up the declension of the Feminine nouns स्वसृ &c. In the declension of these Nouns the following rule applies.

३०८ । न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्यः । ४ । १ । १० ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्य स्वस्रादिभ्यश्च ङीप्टापौ न स्त ।

स्वसा तिस्रश्चतस्रश्च ननान्दा दुहिता तथा । याता मातेति सप्तैते स्वस्रादय उदाहृता ॥

अप्तृन्निति दीर्घः । स्वसा । स्वसारौ । स्वसारः । माता पितृवत् । शसि मातॄः । द्यावत् रा पुंवत् ॥ नौर्ग्लौवत् ॥

308 The feminine affixes ङीप् and टाप् are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I. 1, 24), 'स्वसृ' &c.

The following seven words belong to the Svasrâdi class·—स्वसा 'a sister', दुहिता 'a daughter', ननान्दा 'a husband's sister', याता 'a husband's wife', माता 'a mother', तिस्र 'three', चतस्र 'four'.

There is lengthening of the penultimate Vowel by VI. 4. 11. S. 277. in the case of स्वसृ ॥ Thus the Nom. forms are स्वसा, स्वसारौ, स्वसारः ॥

The feminine Noun मातृ is declined like पितृ ॥ In the Acc. Pl: the form is मातॄः ॥

—— o ——

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ऐ ॥

The feminine Noun रै is declined like the Masc · Noun रै ॥

—— o ——

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in ओ ॥

The feminine Noun गो is declined like the Masculine Noun गो ॥

—— o ——

Declension of Feminine Nouns ending in औ ॥

The feminine Noun नौ is declined like the Masculine Noun ग्लौ ॥

—— o ——

Here ends the declension of the Feminine Nouns ending in Vowels.

रमा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.	Voc.
Singular	रमा	रमाम्	रमया	रमायै	रमायाः	रमायाः	रमायाम्	हे रमे
Dual	रमे	रमे	रमाभ्याम्	,,	,,	रमयोः	,,	हे रमे
Plural	रमा	रमाः	रमाभिः	रमाभ्यः	,,	रमाणाम्	रमासु	हे रमाः

सर्वा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat	Abl.	Gen	Loc,
Singular	सर्वा	सर्वाम्	सर्वया	सर्वस्यै	सर्वस्या·	,,	सर्वस्याम्
Dual	सर्वे	सर्वे	सर्वाभ्याम्	,,	,,	सर्वयोः	,,
Plural	सर्वाः	,,	सर्वाभिः	सर्वाभ्यः	,,	सर्वासाम्	सर्वासु

उत्तरपूर्वा N. E.

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins	Dat,	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	उत्तरपूर्वा	उत्तरपूर्वाम्	उत्तरपूर्वया	उत्तरपूर्वस्यै or उत्तरपूर्वायै	उ.-पूर्वस्याः or उ -पूर्वाया	,,	उत्तरपूर्वस्याम् or उत्तरपूर्वायामः
Dual	उत्तरपूर्वे	,,	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्याम्	,,	,,	उत्तरपूर्वयोः	,,
Plural	उत्तरपूर्वा	,,	उत्तरपूर्वाभिः	उत्तरपूर्वाभ्य	,,	उत्तरपूर्वासाम् or उत्तरपूर्वाणाम्	उत्तरपूर्वासु

जरा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जरसम्	जरसा	जरसे	जरस	,.	जरसि
Dual	जरसौ	,,	जराभ्याम्	,,	,,	जरसोः	,, .
Plural	जरसः	,,	जराभि·	जराभ्य	,,	जरसाम्	जरासु

OR

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins,	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	जरा	जराम्	जरया	जरायै	जरायाः	,,	जरायाम्
Dual	जरे	,,	जराभ्याम्	,,	,,	जरयोः	,,
Plural	जराः	,,	जराभि	जराभ्य	,,	जराणाम्	जरासु

नासिका

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl.	Gen.	Loc.
Singular	नासिंका	नासिकाम्	नसा	नसे	नसः	नसः	नसि
Dual	नासिके	,,	नोभ्याम्	,,	,	नसो·	,,
Plural	नासिका	नसः	नोभि	नोभ्यः	,,	नसाम्	नस्सु

निशा

	Nom.	Acc.	Ins.	Dat.	Abl	Gen.	Loc.
Singulr	निशा	निशाम्	निशा	निशे	निश·	निश·	निशि
Dual	निशे	,,	निड्भ्याम् or निड्भ्याम्	,,	निशोः	,,	,,
Plural	निशाः	निशः	निड्भिः or निन्भिः	निड्भ्यः or निड्भ्यः	,,	निशाम्	निट्सु or निटसु or निश्स

अथाजन्त नपुंसक लिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER X.

DECLENSION OF NEUTER NOUNS ENDING IN VOWELS.

We take up the declension of the Neuter Noun ज्ञान ॥ In forming Nom : Sing the following rule applies.

३०९ । अतोऽम् । ७ । १ । २४ ॥

अतोऽङ्गात् क्लीबात्स्वमोरम् स्यात् ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ ज्ञानम् ॥ एङ्ह्रस्वादिति हल्मात्रलोपः । हे ज्ञान ॥

309. After a Neutral stem in अ, अम् is substituted for सु and अम् the endings of the nom. and acc. sing.

Thus ज्ञान + अम् = ज्ञानम् (See VI. 1. 11 7. S. 194)

In forming the Voc. Sg. the consonant only of the Nom · Sg. is elided by VI. 1. 69. S. 193. Thus हे ज्ञान, i. e. the म् of अम् is elided and not the अ

३१० । नपुंसकाच्च । ७ । १ । १९ ॥

क्लीबात्परस्यौङ शी स्यात् । भसंज्ञायाम् ॥

310. After a neutral stem, ई is substituted for the nom. and acc. dual औ and the base gets the designation of *Bha.*

Note·—By Sûtra I. 1 43 S. 229 the affixes coming after Neuter bases are not *Sarva-vâma Sthâna*, consequently the base before such affixes is *bha* by I. 4. 18 S. 231 if such affix begins with a Vowel शी is such an affix and therefore the base before this affix is *bha* and hence the following rule applies.

३११ । यस्येति च । ६ । ४ । १४८ ॥

भस्येवर्णावर्णयोर्लोपः स्यादिकारे तद्धिते च परे । इत्यकारलोपे प्राप्ते ॥ औङः श्यां प्रतिषेधो वाच्यः * ॥ ज्ञाने ॥

311. The final इ and अ (both long and short), of a bha stem, are elided before a Taddhita affix and before the feminine affix ई ॥

Thus ज्ञान + शी = ज्ञान् + ई = ज्ञानी. But this is not the correct form. The elision of अ is prevented by the following *Vârtika*. —

Vârt.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of ई (शी), when it is the substitute of औ (VII 1 18), being the case-affix of the nom. and acc. dual in the neuter and of certain feminines in long आ ॥ Before this ई, the preceding vowel, इ and अ are not elided The stem before this ई is also bha by I. 4. 18 in the case of Neuter nouns Thus ज्ञान + ई = ज्ञाने ॥ It is owing to this Vârtika, that we have inserted the word 'feminine' in the translation of the sûtra.

In forming the Nom and Acc Plurals, the following rules apply

३१२ । जश्शसोः शिः । ७ । १ । २० ॥

क्लीबादनयोः शि स्यात् ॥

312. After a neutral stem, इ is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural (जस् and शस्) ॥

Thus ज्ञान + जस or शस् = ज्ञान + शि Now, this शि gets the designation of *Sarvanâma Sthâna* as taught in the next Sûtra and being so called, the Sûtra after that applies to it, by which a न् is inserted.

३१३ । शि सर्वनामस्थानम् । १ । १ । ४२ ॥

शि इत्येतदुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

313. The affix शि (VII. I. 20) is called sarvanâma-sthâna.

३१४ । नपुंसकस्य झलचः । ७ । १ । ७२ ॥

झलन्तस्याऽजन्तस्य च क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । ज्ञानानि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं रामवत् । एवं धनवनफलादयः ॥

314. The augment नुम् is added in the strong cases to a Neuter stem ending in a consonant (other than a nasal or a semivowel), or ending in a vowel.

Thus ज्ञान + शि = ज्ञान + नुम् + शि = ज्ञान । न् + इ = ज्ञान + नि = ज्ञानानि. The penultimate vowel is lengthened by VI. 4 8 S. 250

The Acc forms are similar to those of the Nominative. The rest are declined like those of राम ॥

Thus are to be declined the Neuter Nouns धन, वन, फल &c.

————.o ————

Now we take up the declension of the word कतर In its declension, the following rule applies

३१५ । अद्दड् डतरादिभ्यः पञ्चभ्यः । ७ । १ । २५ ॥

एभ्यः क्लीबेभ्यः स्वमोरद्डादेश स्यात् ॥

315. अद्डु is substituted for the Nom. and Acc. singular endings सु and अम after the five Pronouns डतर &c. (i. e. the stems formed with the affixes 1. डतर, and 2. डतम, and the stems 3. इतर, 4. अन्य and 5. अन्यतर).

Note :—These are the five pronouns, which in the list of Sarvanâmans are read together (See I 1 27 S 213)—डतर, डतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर ॥ Thus कतर + अद्ड्=कतरत् (the अ of katara elided by ड्) as कतरत् तिष्ठन्ति कतरत् पश्य ॥

The force of this indicative letter ड in the affix अद्ड् is to elide the final vowel by the following Sûtra

३१६ । टेः । ६ । ४ । १४३ ॥

डिति परे भस्य टेर्लोप स्यात् ॥ वावसाने ॥ कतरत् । कतरद । कतरे । कतराणि । भस्येति किम । पञ्चम । टेर्लुप्तत्वात्प्रथमयोरिति पूर्वसवर्णदीर्घ एङ्ह्रस्वादिति सबुद्धिलोपश्च न भवति । हे कतरत् । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेष पुवत् । कतमत् । इतरत् । अन्यत् । अन्यतरत् । अन्यतमशब्दस्य तु अन्यतममित्येव ॥ एकतरात्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ एकतरम् । सोरमादेशे कृते सनिपातपरिभाषया न जरस् । अजरम् । अजरसी अजरे । परत्वाज् जरसि कृते झलन्तत्वान्नुम् ॥

316. Before an affix having an indicatory ड्, the last vowel, with the consonant. if any, that follows it, is elided in the case of a *bha* Stem.

Thus कतर+ सु or अम=कतर + अद्ड्=कतर्+अद्=कतरद् or कतरत् (द् is optionally changed to त् by VIII 4 56. S 206.)

The Nom and Acc Dual and Pl. forms are कतरे, कतराणि

Why have we read the anuvritti of *bha* in this Sutra? Observe पञ्चमः

Note :—The anuvritti of *bha* is read into this *Sûtra* from VI 4 129 S 233 the word पञ्चम is formed by adding the affix डट् to the word पञ्चन् with the augment मट् (V. 2 48 & 49 S 1849 and 1850) Thus पञ्चन् + डट् The affix डट् does not cause the elision of the अन् of पञ्चन् but the न् is elided because it is final in a pada (See VIII 2 7 S 236).

Why do we make the affix have an indicatory ड? In order to prevent the lengthening of the vowel in the nominative singular : as कतर + अत्=कतरात् by VI 1 102 In the case of the accusative, अत् being the substitute of अम will be sthânivat, and give us कतरत् by VI 1 107 even without

डु ॥ Why not make the affix merely त् and not अतृड्, it would give कतरत् &c without the aplication of any rule of Sandhi? The simple त् would not give us the Vocative हे कतरत् The final would have been elided in the Vocative, as being an apṛkta See however VI. 1. 1. 69. S. 193.

If in the sûtra VI. 1 69, there is the anuvritti of the word 'apṛkta' then there is fault with regard to अम् (i. e the vocative of members in अम् will not be elided, हे कुण्डम् will be the form required and not हे कुण्ड); if however, the anuvritti of apṛkta ceases, there will be anomaly with regard to pronouns कतरत् &c (i. e. we shall not have the form हे कतरत् but हे कतर). Therefore, by reading the affix अत् with an indicatory ड् i e reading it as अद्ड् we get out of this dilemma, and so there is not the elision of अत् in कतरत् &c in the vocative; nor is there lengthening of the vowel (कतरात्, which would have been the form had there been no ड्)

Thus the Voc · Sing. is हे कतरत्

The Acc. forms are similar to those of the Nominative. In the rest the declension is like that of the Masculine.

The declension of कतम, इतर, अन्य and अन्यतर is like that of कतर Thus कतमत्, इतरत्, अन्यत् and अन्यतरत् ॥ The word अन्यतम forms its Nom and Acc · Sing अन्यतमम् and not अन्यतमत् ॥ Therefore it is a mistake to say सामान्यारिष्वन्यतमत्तमः ॥

Vârtika —Prohibition must be stated with regard to the word एकतर although it is formed with the affix डतर. Thus its Nom Sing is एकतरम् and not एकतरत्.

———·o·———

Now, we take up the declension of the Neuter Noun अजर meaning 'one who does not decay' (अविद्यमाना जरा यस्य) The आ of जरा is shortened by I. 2. 48. S. 656 Thus we get the form अजर Thus अजर + सु = अजर + अम् (VII. 1 24 S. 309) At this stage Sûtra VII. 2 101 S 227 requires the substitution of जरस् in the place of जरा, but this is prohibited by the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination. For अम् is added to अजर as it ended in अ and since अ' has caused the production of अम्, this latter affix though beginning with a vowel will not cause जरस to be substituted for जर ॥

Thus Nom Singular is अजरम् dual is अजरसी or अजरे,

In the case of Nom Plural there is affix शि and when जरस् is substituted, then we have the augment नुम् (VII. 1 72 S. 314) because शि is Sarvanamasthâna This नुम् must be added after the जरस् substitution has taken

place, because जरस् substitution is taught by VII 2. 101 S 227 which is latter in order of the Ashtâdhyâyi than नुम् augment which is taught by VII. 1. 72 S. 314.

Thus अजर + शि = अजरस + नुम् + इ = अजरन् स + इ ॥ At this stage, applies the following Sûtra,

३१७ । सान्तमहतः संयोगस्य । ६ । ४ । १० ॥

सान्तसंयोगस्य महतश्च यो नकारस्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसम्बुद्धौ सर्वनामस्थाने परे । अजरांसि अजराणि । अमि लुकोऽपवादममभावं बाधित्वा परत्वाज्जरस् । ततः सन्निपातपरिभाषया न लुक् । अजरसम् । अजरम् । अजरसी । अजरे । अजरांसि । अजराणि । शेषं पुंवत् । पद्दन्निति हृदयोदकासानां हृद् उदन् आसन् । हृन्दि । हृदा । हृद्भ्यामित्यादि । उदानि । उद्ना । उदभ्यामित्यादि । आसानि । आस्ना । आसभ्यामित्यादि । मांसि । मांसा । मान्भ्यामित्यादि । वस्तुतस्तु प्रभृतिग्रहणं प्रकारार्थमित्युक्तम् । अत एव भाष्ये मांस्पचन्या उखाया इत्युदाहृतम् । अयस्मयादित्वेन भत्वात्संयोगान्तलोपो न । पद्दन्नित्यत्र हि छन्दसीत्यनुवर्तित वृत्तौ तथाप्यपोभीत्यत्र मासश्छन्दसीति वार्तिके छन्दोग्रहणसामर्थ्याल्लोकेऽपि क्वचिदिति कैयटोक्तरीत्या प्रयोगमनुसृत्य पदादयः प्रयोक्तव्या इति बोध्यम् ॥

317. In the strong cases with the exception of Vocative singular, the penultimate vowel is lengthened, in the case of a stem ending in स्, with a Nasal consonant preceding it, and of महत् ॥

That is, a stem ending in the conjunct consonant न्स्, elongates its penultimate vowel before the affixes of the first five cases.

Thus अजरांसि. When जरस् substitution does not take place, the Nom Pl. will be अजराणि In the Acc: Sing ·, we have अजर + अम्

Here three rules present themselves simultaneously, first luk-elision of the affix अम् by VII. 1, 23, (2) then the अम् substitution by VII. 1 24, (3) and thirdly, जरस् for जर by VII. 2. 101 Of these लुक् elision is superseded by अम् of VII. 1. 24 which is an exception to VII. 1. 23, and in its turn अम् is replaced by the जरस् of VII. 2. 101 जरस् being substituted for जर, we have अजरस, now luk cannot again appear and cause elision, as it has already lost the opportunity: and we are left with अम् alone, and have अजरसं ॥

When there is no जरस् substitution, the Acc. Sing. will be अजरम् ॥

The Acc· Dual will be अजरसी or अजरे and Pl: अजरांसि or अजराणि ॥ The rest of the declensions is like those of the Masculine.

Note·—The form अजरांसि is thus evolved अजर + इ ॥ Here if the नुम् augment be added first, it will be a portion of the anga, and will not be an intervention to anything which is to be added or operated upon the anga But this augment will be an intervention with regard to जरा which is but a portion of the word अजर ॥ So that an operation applicable to जरा will not take effect, because

of this नुम् intervention And though tadantavidhi applies in these chapters (अङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदन्तस्य च), yet the maxim is that the substitutes only replace those which are specifically exhibited in a rule (निर्दिश्यमानस्य आदेशा भवन्ति), therefore जरस् would not replace जरा which forms only a portion of a full word अजर ॥ Even if the substitution does take place, the नुम् would be found after the स् of जरस् ॥ Therefore, the जरस् substitution should be made first, because this is a subsequent rule, and having done so, the नुम् should be added after-wards under VII 1 72

The form अजरस is thus evolved. We have अजर + अम् ॥ Here on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्य अनन्यत्वात्, we substitute जरस for जर also, (for जर and जरा are considered as one) Then appears VII 1 23 ordaining the luk of अम् and VII. 1. 24 teaching अम् ॥ The latter rule is preferred for the reasons given above.

Now, we take up the declension of हृदय &c referred to in Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S. 228.

The word हृदय is replaced by हृद्, उदक by उदन् and आस्य by आसन् and मांस by मांस्.

Thus in the weak cases (that is, Acc. Plural and onwards) the forms are हृन्दि हृदा, हृद्भ्याम् &c , उदानि , उदना, उदभ्याम् &c ; आसानि, आस्ना, आसभ्याम् &c ; मांसि, मांसा, मान्भ्याम्, &c.

In fact, the word प्रभृति is used in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63 S 228 in order to indicate method, so that not only the words mentioned in that sûtra, but other words also take such substituted forms before the weak cases. Therefore the author of *Mahâbhâsya* gives the example of 'मांस्पचन्या उखाया' Here there is not the elision of the final of the conjunct consonant

Note:—मांस्पचन्याः is thus formed From the root पच we form पचन with the affix ल्युट् in the sense of instrument and location, under Sûtra, III. 3 93 S 3271 meaning the vessel for cooking To पचन is added the feminine affix ङीप् मांसस्य पचनी = मांस्पचनी Here in forming the compound the genitive sign is elided by लुक् and the affix so elided leaves no trace behind by the Sûtra I 1 63 S 263 and therefore मांस् would not have been substituted for मांस, but for the fact of our having explained the word प्रभृति in the sense प्रकार

By taking this compound under I. 4 20. S. 3390 and taking it to be a *bha*, there is not संयोगान्त लोप. Moreover, if in the Sûtra VI. 1. 63. S 228. the anuvritti of छन्दसि be read from the Sûtra VI. I. 60 S. 3514, yet these words are formed in secular literature also Because, in Sûtra VII. 4. 48 S 442, the author of Mahâbhâshya has read the following Vartika. मासश्छन्दसि meaning न् is substituted for the final of मास before a *bha* affix in the Chhandas. Now अपोभि (VII. 4. 48. S. 442) is a rule of Chhandas. Therefore the repetition of

छन्दस् in the *Vârtika* indicates by implication that छन्दस् rules are not confined to the Vedâs only but are found in secular literature also. In fact, this is the opinion of *Kaiyat* who says that the inclusion of मास in VI 1 63 S 263 is for the purposes of *Chhandas* only The repetition of the word *Chhandas* in मासश्छन्दसि *Vârtika* under Sûtra VII 4 48 S 442 indicates that पद् &c substitution take place in secular literature also.

३१८ । ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य । १ । २ । ४७ ॥

क्लीबे प्रातिपदिकस्याऽजन्तस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । श्रीप । ज्ञानवत् । श्रीपाय । अत्र सन्निपातपरिभाषया अतो धातोरित्याकारलोपो न ॥

318. The short vowel is substituted in the neuter, for the final vowel, of a prâtipadika.

Thus श्रीपा becomes श्रीप which is declined like ज्ञान ॥ The Dative Sing. is श्रीपाय ॥ Here आ is not to be elided by rule VI. 4. 140. S 240 before the affix ङे on the maxim ' सन्निपात लक्षण &c. (See S. 316)

———— o ————

Now, we take up the declension of वारि ॥ Thus Nom · Sg. वारि + सु ॥ Here applies the following rule.

३१९ । स्वमोर्नपुंसकात् । ७ । १ । २३ ॥

क्लीबादङ्गात्स्वमोर्लुक् स्यात् । वारि ॥

319. The nom. and acc. singular case-endings सु and अम् are elided after a Neutral stem.

Thus वारि + सु = वारि + O = वारि ॥

The Nom : Dual is वारि + औ ॥ At this stage, the following rule applies.

१२० । इकोऽचि विभक्तौ । ७ । १ । ७३ ॥

इगन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुमागमः स्यादचि विभक्तौ । वारिणी । वारीणि । नलुमतेति निषेधस्यानित्यत्वात्पक्षे सम्बुद्धिनिमित्तो गुण । हे वारे । हे वारि । आङो न । वारिणा । घेर्ङितीति गुणे प्राप्ते ॥ वृद्ध्यौत्वतृज्वद्भावगुणेभ्यो नुम् पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन * ॥ वारिणे । वारिणः । वारिणोः । नुमचिरेति नुट् । नामीति दीर्घः । वारीणाम् । वारिणि । वारिणो । हलादौ हरिवत् ॥

320. The augment नुम् is added to a Neuter-stem ending in a simple vowel, except अ, before a case-affix beginning with a vowel.

Thus वारि + नुम् + औ = वारि + नुम् = णी (VII. 1. 19. S 310) = वारिणी ॥ The Nom Pl. is वारीणि ॥

The Voc. Sing has two forms हे वारे or हे वारि ॥ हे वारे is formed by the guna of इ under rule VII. 3. 108 S 242 and though the affix is elided, still it leaves its effect behind, in spite of the rule I 1. 63. S. 263 which declares that when an affix is elided by लु it leaves no trace behind. In fact, the rule I. 1 63 S 263 is *anitya*, according to one view. But if that rule is not considered *anitya*, then we have the next form हे वारि ॥

The Inst Sing is वारिणा ॥

The Dat Sing is वारि+ङे ॥ Here the rule घेर्ङिति VII 3. 111 S. 245 requires guna. But the guna is set aside by the following *Vârtika*

Vârtik The augment नुम् comes by superseding in anticipation the rules of Vriddhi, औ substitution, तृज्वद्भाव and *guna.* Thus वारिणे ॥

The Abl. and Gen. sing is वारिणः ॥

The Gen dual is वारिणोः ॥

The augment नुट् is added by the *Vârtika* नुमचिर &c under sûtra VIII 3 24. S 123 in forming the Genitive Plural, and the short इ is lengthened by VI 4 3 S 209 Thus we get the Gen Plural, वारीणाम् ॥

The Loc Sing and Dual are वारिणि and वारिणोः respectively Before the cosonant beginning affix सु of the Loc. Pl it is like that of हरि (VII. 3. 119 S. 247.) i. e वारिषु ॥

———·o———

Now we take up the declension of अनादि ॥ It may be a Masculine or a Neuter Noun. It is not exclusively a Neuter. Hence the following rule applies —

३२१ । तृतीयादिषु भाषितपुंस्कं पुंवद्गालवस्य । ७ । १ । ७४ ॥

प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तैक्ये भाषितपुंस्कमिगन्तं क्लीबं पुंवद्वा स्याट्टादावचि । अनादये । अनादिने । इत्यादि । शेषं वारिवत् । पीलुर्वृक्षस्तत्फलं पीलु तस्मै पीलुने । अत्र न पुंवत् । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्तभेदात् ॥

321. A neuter stem ending in a vowel, except अ of which there exists an equivalent, uniform masculine, is treated like the masculine, in the opinion of Gâlava, before the vowel beginning affixes of the Instrumental and the cases that follow it.

Thus the Dative Singular is either अनादये or अनादिने &c. The rest of the declensions is like those of वारि ॥

पीलु is the name of a tree and is of Masculine gender, its fruit called पीलु is of neuter gender. This last word has only one form. Thus the Dative

The word मधु is thus declined: as N. A. मधु, मधुनी, मधूनि, Voc. हे मधो or हे मधु; D S मधुने, never मधवे, and so on.

So also the words अम्बु &c. The word सानु optionally assumes the form स्नु by the Vârtika under VIII. 2. 41 S 295. Thus स्नूनि or सानूनि ॥

So also प्रियक्रोष्टु, प्रियक्रोष्टुनी ॥ The plural will have नुम् by prohibiting in anticipation the तृज्वद्भाव (VII 1 95 S 274), as प्रियक्रोष्टूनि। In Ins S and other cases, when the rule VII 1 74 applies, we have two forms as प्रियक्रोष्ट्रा or प्रियक्रोष्टुना, प्रियक्रोष्ट्रे or प्रियक्रोष्टवे ॥ In other cases there will be one form with नुम् alone, as प्रियक्रोष्टुना प्रियक्रोष्टुने ॥ There will be नुट् by नुमचिर as प्रियक्रोष्टूनाम् ॥

The Noun सुलु is declined as follows: Nom: and Acc: forms are सुलु, सुलुनी, सुलूनि ॥ Instr singular is सुल्वा or सुलुना ॥

The Noun धातृ is declined as follows:—Nom and Acc: forms are धातृ, धातृणी, धातॄणि ॥ The Voc. Sing. is हे धातः or हेधातृ ॥

The Instr: Singular is धात्रा or धातृणा ॥

Similar is the declension of ज्ञातृ, कर्तृ &c.

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Now we take up the declension of प्रद्यो ending in ओ ॥ In Neuter, the ओ is changed to उ in accordance with the following Sûtra —

३२३। एच इग्घ्रस्वादेशे। १। १ ४८॥

आदिश्यमानेषु ह्रस्वेषु मध्ये एच इगेव स्यात् ॥ प्रद्यु। प्रद्युनी। प्रद्यूनि। प्रद्युनेत्यादि। इह न पुंवत्। यदिगन्तं प्रद्यु इति तस्य भाषितपुंस्कत्वाभावात्। एवमग्रेऽपि। प्ररि। प्ररिणी। प्ररीणि। प्ररिणा। एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वाद्रायो हलीत्यात्वम्। प्रराभ्याम्। प्रराभिः। नुमचिरेति नुड्भ्यात्वे प्रराणामिति माधवः। वस्तुतस्तु सन्निपातपरिभाषया नुडात्त्वं न। नामीति दीर्घस्त्वारम्भसामर्थ्यात्परिभाषां बाधत इत्युक्तम्। प्ररीणाम्। सुनु। सुनुनी। सुनूनि। सुनुना। सुनुने। इत्यादि॥

323. Of एच् vowels, इक् is the substitute, when short is to be substituted.

Note.—This sûtra points out the ह्रस्व substitutes of एच्. We know there are short and long vowels in Sanskrit, but properly speaking the एच् vowels have no corresponding short vowels. Therefore, when, in any rule, एच् vowels are told to be shortened, this sûtra declares that the short vowels of ए and ऐ, ओ and औ, for the purposes of the rule, will be इ and उ respectively. Thus, I 2 47 declares —"the short vowel is the substitute in the neuter of a crude from provided it ends in a vowel" Therefore in compounding अति + रै, the ऐ must be shortened Properly speaking ऐ has no short vowel corresponding to it, but by virtue of this sûtra, इ supplies the place of such a short vowel, and we have अतिरि 'extravagant' so नौ अतिनु 'disembarked or landed,' गो, उपगु 'near a cow.' All avyayîbhâva compounds are neuter (II. 4 18).

Why do we say 'of एच्' ? Because the short of other vowels will not be इक्, Thus the short of आ is अ अति + खट्वा = अति खट्व । अति + माला = अतिमाल ।

Why do we say 'when short is to be substituted ?' Because when प्लुत or prolated vowels are to be substituted for एच्, the इक् will not be the substitute. As देइवदत्त O Devadatta ! इवेदइत्त !

Thus Nom and Acc· forms are प्रद्यु, प्रद्युनी, प्रद्यूनि. The Instr· Sing. is प्रद्युना etc This word is not treated like a Masculine one because it has no corresponding Masculine form 'प्ररि' which is derived from the root रै to give with the prefix प्र The रै being changed to रि by the present Sûtra we get the form प्ररि It is declined as follows·—Nom· and Acc forms are प्ररि प्ररिणी, प्ररीणि. Instr· Sing. प्ररिणा By the maxim एकदेश &c, that is "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change something else, than what it was before the change had taken place," the rule applying to रै will apply to रि also. Hence the rule रायो हलि VII. 2. 85 S 286 will apply to प्ररि also Thus forms before भ्याम् and भि will be प्रराभ्याम् and प्रराभि । According to Mâdhava, the Genitive P l will be प्रराणाम्, the augment नुट् being added by the Vârtika नुमचिर &c. But as a matter of fact, there is not आ before नुट् in accordance with the Maxim सन्निपात लक्षणो विधिरनिमित्त, *i. e* That which is taught in a rule the application of which occasioned by the combination of two things, does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" That is to say this, maxim does not apply and it is not of universal application, as we have already shown under Sûtra VI. 4. 9 S. 209. There the correct form is प्ररीणाम् ॥

The word सुनु which is the shortened form of सुनौ meaning that which has a good boat, is declined in the Nom and Acc : forms as सुनु, सुनुनी, सुनूनि ॥ The Instr and Dat Singular forms are सुनुना, सुनुने respectively. &c.

Here ends the declension of Neuter Nouns ending in Vowels.

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अथ हलन्तपुंलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XI.

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in Consonants.

Now, we take up the declension of the word लिह् derived from the root लिह् 'to taste,' 'to lick' with the affix क्विप् ॥ The Nom. Sing. is लिह्+सु ॥ The ह् is changed to ढ by the following rule.

३२४ । हो ढः । ८ । २ । ३१ ॥

हस्य ढः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । हल्ङ्याबिति सुलोपः । पदान्तत्वाद्दस्य डः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । लिट् । लिड् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहम् । लिहौ । लिहः । लिहा । लिड्भ्याम् । लिट्त्सु ॥

324 ढ is substituted for ह before a jhal letter and at the end of a word.

Thus लिह्+सु = लिह्+ O (The सु is elided by हल्ङ्याप् VI 1. 68 S 252) = लिढ (The ह् is changed to ढ् because it is final in a pada) = लिड् (VIII 2 39 S. 84) or लिट् (VIII. 4 56 S 206)

The Nom: Dual and Pl are लिहौ, लिहः ॥

The Acc forms are लिहम्, लिहौ ; लिहः ॥

The Instr: forms are लिहा, लिड्भ्याम् लिड्भिः ॥

The Loc Pl· is लिट्त्सु (The त् being optionally added by VIII. 3. 29 S. 131) or लिट्सु ॥

Now we take up the declension of दामलिह ॥ It is derived from the Denominative Verb दामलिह्यति (दामलिहमात्मानमिच्छति one who desires a दामलिह्) Here the following sûtra is inapplicable, though the root दामलिह्य begins with द ॥

३२५ । दादेर्धातोर्घः । ८ । २ । ३२ ।

उपदेशे दादेर्धातोर्हस्य घः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । उपदेशे किम् । अधोगित्यत्र यथा स्यात् । दाम-लिहमात्मानं इच्छति दामलिह्यति । ततः क्विपि दामलिट् । अत्र मा भूत् ॥

325 Of a root beginning with द, in original enunciation, the घ is substituted for ह, before a jhal letter or when final in a Pada.

But शामलिह् does not become शामलिक् because the anuvritti of the word उपदेश is understood in the above Sûtra and as in the Dhâtupâtha there is no root like शामलिह्, so this rule is inapplicable (See the Not given below).

Why have we used the word upadesa in explaining the present sûtra ? So that there may be घ substitution in अधोक्, which does not begin with द in its conjugated form, but the root of which begins with द ॥

Note —For the final ह् of a द-beginning root, घ is substituted under similar circumstances As दग्धा, दग्धुम्, दग्धव्यम्, काष्ठधुक्, दोग्धा, दोग्धुम्, दोग्धव्यम्, गोधुक्, from दह् and दुह् ॥ For the त् of the affixes तृ &c ध is substituted by VIII 2. 40, before which, the घ becomes ग by VIII 4 53 For the घ in काष्ठदुघ् is substituted ग by VIII 2 39, or क् by VIII 4 56, and द becomes ध by VIII. 2. 37.

Why do we say "of a root beginning with द" ? Observe लेढा, लढुम्, लेढव्यम्, गुडलिट् ॥

The force of the genitive case in धातोः is not to make it in apposition with the word दोह but it has the force of denoting a part as related to the whole so that it means "the word which begins with द and forms part of a root, for the ह of such a part is substituted घ." What does follow from it ? The letter घ is substituted in अधोग् also, which begins with अ ॥ For without the above explanation (धातोरवयवो या दादिशब्दस्तदवयवस्य हकारस्य &c), the घ would have come in examples like मास्म धोक्, without the augment अ, but not where there was the augment अ ॥ Moreover, that it is an अवयवयोगा षष्ठी will appear necessary in sûtra VIII. 2. 37.

If it has the fore of denoting a 'portion or member', how do you explain the forms दोग्धा दोग्धुम्, for here no *portion* is taken but *whole* word? This will be explained on the maxim of व्यपदेशिवद् भाव "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone, and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach" (व्यपदेशिवद् एकस्मिन्) ॥ Or we may explain the sûtra, by saying 'that root which begins with द in its original enunciation in Dhâtupâṭha' ? Thus in original enunciation the root is लिह् not beginning with द ॥ If a Derivative root be formed from it like शामलिह्य (शामलिहमिच्छति = शामलिह्यति), it is a root which begins with द; the ह of this Denominative root, however, will not be changed to घ, for it is not a root of upadesa. Therefore, when we add क्विप् to this root, we get शामलिट् by VIII. 2. 31, and not शामलिक् ॥

Now we take up the declension of 'दुह' ॥ Here the following sûtra applies .—

३२६ । एकाचो बशो भष् झषन्तस्य स्ध्वोः । ८ । २ । ३७ ॥

धातोरवयवो य एकाच् झषन्तस्तदवयवस्य बशः स्थाने भष् स्यात्सकारे ध्वशब्दे पदान्ते च। एकाचो धातोरिति सामानाधिकरण्येनान्वये तु इह न स्यात्। गर्दभमाचष्टे गर्दभयति। तत क्विप्। णिलोपः। गर्धप्। झलीति निवृत्तम्। स्ध्वोर्ग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्। तेनेह न। दुग्धम्। दोग्धा। व्यपदेशिवद्भावेन धात्ववयवत्वाद्भष्भाव। जश्त्वचर्त्वे। धुक् धुग्। दुहौ। दुहः। षत्वचर्त्वे। धुक्षु॥

326. For the letters ब, ग, ड or द in the beginning of a monosyllable, and belonging to a root, or a portion of it and which ends in झ, भ, घ, ढ or ध, there is substituted भ, घ, ढ or ध respectively in that portion of it which begins with बश् and ends with झष् before स or ध्व, or at the end of a pada (word).

In explaining this sûtra, we have used the word अवयव or a member or a portion. The root itself may be of more than one syllable, but if there is any member in it, which satisfies the requirements of this sûtra, that is to say, which begins with ब, ग, ड or द and ends with झ, भ, घ, ढ, ध, in other words, which begins with the third letter of the *Varga*, except ज and ends with the fourth letter of the Varga, then for ब is substituted भ, for ग, घ, for ड, ढ, and for द, ध ॥ But had we explained the sûtra by saying एकाचोधातोः, that is, of a root which is monosyllabic and satisfies the above qualifications then we could not have got the form गर्धप् from the denominative root गर्दभयति The word गर्धप् is derived from the root गर्दभय by the affix क्विप् to the root and the elision of णि ॥ The द is changed to ध ॥

The anuvritti of झलि ceases here and is not to be read in the sûtra This had commenced from VIII. 2. 26 of the Ashtâ dhyâyî.

By taking the letters स and ध्व in the sûtra, the substitution does not take place before any other letter, such as in दुग्धम्, दोग्धा ॥ Here द is not changed to ध ॥

By applying the maxim व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्, that is "An operation which affects something on account of some special designation which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach," the rule will apply to simple roots like to दुह् &c. also. Therefore दुह्+सु=दुह्+O=दुघ्+O=धुघ्=धुग् or धुक् ॥ The Nom: Dual and Pl: are दुहौ ; दुहः ॥

In forming the Loc· Pl· the present sûtra will apply and we get the form धुक्षु ॥ (स् being changed to ष् by VIII. 3. 59. S 212)

In declining 'द्रुह' the following rule applies.

३२७ । वा द्रुहमुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् । ८ । २ । ३३ ॥

एषां हस्य वा घः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । पक्षे ढः । ध्रुक् । ध्रुग् । ध्रुट् । ध्रुड् । द्रुहौ । द्रुहः । ध्रुग्भ्याम् । ध्रुड्भ्याम् । ध्रुक्षु । ध्रुट्त्सु । ध्रुट्सु । एवं मुहष्णुहष्णिहाम् ॥ विश्ववाट् । विश्ववाड् । विश्ववाहौ । विश्ववाहः । विश्ववाहं । विश्ववाहौ ॥

327. The ह of druh, muh, snuh, and snih is optionally changed to घ before a jhal letter or at the end of a word

The ह of these words is changed to घ optionally ; in the other alternative it would be changed to ढ ॥ Thus Nom Sing is ध्रुक् or ध्रुग् or ध्रुट् or ध्रुड् ॥

Instrumental, Dative and Ablative Dual is ध्रुग्भ्याम् or ध्रुड्भ्याम्. Locative Pl is ध्रुक्षु or ध्रुट्त्सु (VIII. 3. 29. S. 131) or ध्रुट्सु ॥

Similar is the declension of मुह्, स्नुह् and स्निह् ॥

———o:———

Now, we take up the declension of विश्ववाह् ॥ The Nom · forms are विश्ववाट् or विश्ववाड् , विश्ववाहौ, विश्ववाहः ; Acc : Sing and Dual are विश्ववाहम्, विश्ववाहौ ॥

In forming the Acc . Pl . the rule after the following applies, because the base gets the designation of 'bha' before this affix , that is the semi-vowel व is changed to उ ॥ This change is called सम्प्रसारण (Samprasâraṇa) or vocalisation, which is defined in the following sûtra.

३२८ । इग्यणः संप्रसारणम् । १ । १ । ४५ ॥

यणः स्थाने प्रयुज्यमानो य इक् स संप्रसारणसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

328. The ik vowels which replace the semivowels yaṇ are called samprasâraṇa.

Note ·—This defines the word samprasârana or vocalisation. It is the name given to the change of semi vowels into vowels. The pratyâhâra ik includes the four simple vowels इ, उ, ऋ and ऌ, and their corresponding semi-vowels are य, व्, र्, and ल् included in the pratyâhâra yaṇ. The word samprasâraṇa is properly the name of the vowel which has replaced the semi-vowel Thus the past participle of स्वप् ' to sleep,' is formed by adding the nishthâ affix क्त (see sûtra 26). So that we have स्वप् + त But there is a rule (VI. 1. 15) by which there is samprasârana of the व of स्वप् before the कित् affixes, and we have the form सुप्तः ' slept " Similarly from वद्-उदित·, यज्-इष्टम्, व्यध्-विद्ध , ग्रह-गृहीतम्-प्रछ्-पृष्टम्. The term samprasâraṇa is also employed to designate the whole process of the change of the semi-vowels as in VI. 1. 13 ; VI. 4. 131.

३२९ । वाह ऊठ् । ६ । ४ । १३२ ॥

भस्य वाह· सम्प्रसारणमूठ् स्यात् ॥

329. The व् in वाह् is vocalised to ऊ (ऊठ), when the compound stem is Bha.

३३० । संप्रसारणाच्च । ६ । १ । १०८ ॥

संप्रसारणादचि परे पूर्वरूपमेकादेशः स्यात् ॥ एत्येधत्यूठ्सु ॥ विश्वौह । विश्वौहेत्यादि । छन्दस्येव ण्विरिति पक्षे ण्विजन्तादपि ॥

330. There is the single substitution of the first vowel for the vocalised semi-vowel and the subsequent vowel.

Thus विश्ववाह + शस् = विश्व + ऊ + आह् + शस् = विश्व + ऊह् + शस् = विश्वौहः (The Vriddhi is according to VI. 1. 89. S 73) The Instrumental Singular is विश्वौहा and so on.

If वाह in विश्ववाह् be considered to have been formed by the affix ण्वि under sûtra III. 2. 64 S 3410, then there will be affix क्विप् after it by sûtra III. 2. 75. S 2980.

Note :—The word वाह् is a ण्वि formed stem by III 2. 64. It can never stand alone, but, must be preceded by an upapada hence we have used the word "compound." Thus विश्वौहः ॥ By VI 1 108, ऊ + आ (of वा) = ऊ; and then विश्व + ऊह् = विश्वौह the Vriddhi being substituted by VI 1 89 This form could have been evolved by simple samprasâraṇa thus : प्रष्ठ + वह् + शस् = प्रष्ठ + उह् + अस (VI 1. 108) = प्रष्ठ + ओह् + अस् (the affix ण्वि III 2 64, will produce guna) = प्रष्ठौहः (VI 1. 88) In fact ण्वि is never added to वह् (III 2 64) unless the preceding member ends in अ and that अ + ओ of वा will always produce औ ॥ The making of this special samprasâraṇa in ऊठ्, indicates the existence of the following maxim: असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे ; and the samprasâraṇa being a bahiranga operation, is considered as asiddha for the purposes of guṇa which is an antaranga operation therefore, we can never get the form ओह ॥

Now we take up the declension of अनडुह्, In its declension the following rule applies :—

३३१ । चतुरनडुहोरामुदात्तः । ७ । १ । ९८ ॥

अनयोराम् स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने स चोदात्तः ॥

331. चतुर and अनडुह get the acutely accented augment आ (आम्) after the उ in the strong cases.

Thus अनडुह् + सु = अनड्वाह् + सु ॥ Then applies the following rule.

३३२ । सावनडुहः । ७ । १ । ८२ ।

अस्य नुम् स्यात्सौ परे । आदित्यधिकारात्स्वर्णात्परोऽयं नुम् । अतो विशेषविहितेनापि नुमा आम् न बाध्येत । अमा च नुम् न बाध्यते । सोर्लोपः । नुम् विधिसामर्थ्याद्वसुस्रंस्विति दत्वं न । संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वान्नलोपो न । अनड्वान् ॥

332. अनडुह gets the augment नुम before the ending सु of the Nom. Sg. (and Vocative).

By the last अनडुह् gets the augment आ after ड in the strong cases, and अ in Vocative Singular (VII. 1 99). It thus becomes अनड्वाह् and अनडुह्॥ By the present sûtra न् is added after this आ and अ ॥ The case-ending is elided by VI 1. 68, and the final ह् by VIII 2. 23 Thus we have अनड्वान् Nominative Singular, and अनड्वन् in the Vocative Singular The augments आम् and अम् (VII. 1. 98, 99), do not supersede नुम्, nor are they superseded by नुम् ॥

The नुम् is specifically taught by this Sûtra, the ह is not changed to द by VIII. 2. 72 S 334. The final न् is not elided, because the elision of ह् by VIII. 2. 23 S 54 is not perceived by VIII 2. 7. S. 236, requiring the elision of न् because of the rule VIII. 2 1. S 12 So the न् is not elided Thus the Nom Sing is अनड्वान् In forming the Voc the following rule applies.

३३३ । अम् संबुद्धौ । ७ । १ । ९९ ॥

चतुरनडुहोरम् स्यात्संबुद्धौ । आमोऽपवादः । हे अनड्वन् । अनड्वाहौ । अनड्वाहः । अनडुहा ॥

333. चतुर् and अनडुह् get the augment अ after the उ in the Vocative Singular.

This debars the previous rule. As, हे अनड्वन्, हे अनड्वाहौ, अनड्वाह ॥

The Instr Sing. is अनडुहा.

Before the affixes भ्याम्, भि &c, the ह is changed to द by the following rule.

३३४ । वसुस्रंसुध्वंस्वनडुहां दः । ८ । २ । ७२ ॥

सान्तवस्वन्तस्य स्रसादेश्च दः स्यात्पदान्ते । अनडुद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तेति किम् । विद्वान् । पदान्ते इति किम् । स्रस्तम् । ध्वस्तम् ॥

334. द is substituted for the final स् of a word formed with the affix वस् and ending in स and for the final of स्रंस्, ध्वंस् and अनडुह at the end of a Pada (in the wider sense I. 4. 14, 17).

Thus अनडुद्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say that the word formed with the affix वसु must end in सु? Observe विद्वान्.

Why do we say final in a Pada? Observe वस्तम्, ध्वस्तम्.

—— o ——

Now, we take up the declension of तुरासाह्. In its declension, the following rule aplies —

३३५ । सहेः साडः सः । ८ । ३ । ५६ ॥

साड्रूपस्य सहेः सस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः स्यात् । तुराषाट् । तुराषाड् । तुरासाहौ । तुरासाहः । तुराषाड्भ्यामित्यादि । तुर सहत इत्यर्थे छन्दसि सह इति ण्विः । लोके तु साहयतेः क्विप् । अन्येषामपीति पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः ॥

335. ष is substituted for the स in साह्, when this occurs in the form of साड् (साट्) ॥

Thus तुराषाट्, साड् is derived from सह् by the affix ण्वि (III 2 63 S 3409), there is vriddhi of the penultimate, the ह is changed to ढ (VIII. 2. 31). and the upapada is lengthened (VI 3 137 S. 3539).

Note:—साडः स would have been enough, for there is no other form साड् except this derived from सह् why then the word is used in the sûtra? There is another form साड not derived from सह् ॥ Thus सह डेन वर्त्तते = सड, सडस्य अपत्यं = साडि ॥ He in whose name there is the letter ड is called सड, as मृड ॥

Why do we say 'in the form of साड्'? The rule will not apply when the form is साह, as जलासाहम्, तुरासाहम् ॥ Why do we say स "for the स"? So that the आ of साड् may not be changed to cerebral the ड् is already cerebral.

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ह् ॥

——:o:——

There is no masculine noun ending in य् though on the analogy of the Noun कमल् (See 340) we may form तोय् meaning तोयमाचक्षाणः and decline as तोय्, तोयौ, तोय yet this य् will allways be elided by the rule VI 1 66 S. 873 We take up, therefore, the declension of the Masculine nouns ending in व् *eg* सुदिव्. In its declension, the following rule applies —

३३६ । दिव औत् । ७ । १ । ८४ ॥

दिविति प्रातिपदिकस्य औत्स्यात्सौ परे। अल्विधित्वेन स्थानिवत्त्वाभावाद्धल्ङ्यादिति सुलोपो न ॥ सुद्यौः । सुदिवौ । सुदिवः । सुदिवम् । सुदिवौ ॥

336. औ is substituted for the final of the prâtipadika दिव् before सु (Nom. Sg. and Voc. Sg.)

Note:—There is a nominal-stem दिव् which is taken here It has no indicatory letters annexed to it. The root दिव् is not to be taken here, as it has the in-

dicatory letter उ and is exhibited in the Dhâtupâtha as दिवु ॥ The nominal-stem derived from दिवु does not take औ, but ऊ, the Nom Sg of which is द्युः as अक्षद्युः (See VI, 4 19, and VI 1. 131)

The rule VI 1 68 S 252, required the elision of सु; but this is prevented, because औ is not स्थानिवत् to व् for the purposes of अल्विधि rule VI 1. 68 S 252 Thus the Nom forms are सुद्यौः, सुदिवौ, सुदिवः. The Acc. forms are सुदिवम्, सुदिवौ &c.

Before भ्याम् and भिः the following rule applies —

३३७ । दिव उत् । ६ । १ । १३१ ॥

दिवोऽन्तादेश उकारः स्यात्पदान्ते । सुद्युभ्याम् । सुद्युभिः । चत्वारः । चतुरः । चतुर्भिः । चतुर्भ्यः ॥

337. For the final of the nominal-stem दिव्, there is the substitution of उ, when it is a Pada (I. 4. 14 &c).

Note —The portion पद of the word पदान्त must be read into this sûtra from VI 1 109 The word दिव् is here a nominal-stem and not a verbal-root. Thus दिवि कामो यस्य = द्युकामः, द्युमान्, विमलद्यु दिनं, द्युभ्याम्, द्युभिः ॥ We have said that दिव् is here a prâtipadika and not a dhâtu, for as a dhâtu it ought to have its servile letter (anubandha) and should have been read as दिवु ॥ In the case of its being used as a verb, there takes place the substitution of long ऊ for व् by VI 4 19 In that case we shall have अक्षद्यूभ्याम्, अक्षद्यूभिः ॥ The उत् with a त् shows that short उ is meant, and debars ऊठ (VI. 4 19). In the case of ऊठ् substitution the forms will be द्यूभ्याम्, द्यूभिः ॥ The ऊठ् also comes because it is taught in a subsequent sûtra Why do we say 'when it is a Pada'? Observe दिवौ, दिवः ॥

Thus Instr. Dual and Pl. are सुद्युभ्याम्, सुद्युभिः

Here ends the declension of Masculine nouns ending in व् ॥

———:o:———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र्

We take up the declension of चतुर् which is always Plural. Its Nom. Pl. is चतुर्+जस्=चतु+आम्+अस् (S. 331)=चत्वारः । Its Acc; Instr; Dat and Abl. Pl are चतुरः, चतुर्भिः, चतुर्भ्यः, चतुर्भ्यः respectively.

In forming the Gen Pl. the following rule applies:—

३३८ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्च । ७ । १ । ५५ ॥

षट्संज्ञकेभ्यश्चतुरश्च परस्यामो नुडागमः स्यात् । षण्णां । त्रिस्र । चतुर्णाम् ॥

338. The augment न् is added before the Genitive pl. ending आम् after the Numerals called 'shash', and after चतुर् ॥

Text.—The न् is changed to ण by VIII. 4. 1. S, 235 and this ण is optionally doubled by VIII. 4 46. S. 59.

As चतुर्णाम् ॥ A numeral ending in र् is not 'shash', hence the specific mention of चतुर् ॥

Note—This rule applies to compounds ending with these numerals, when these latter are the principal member, as परमषण्णाम्, परमपञ्चानाम्, परमचतुर्णाम्, but प्रियषषाम्, प्रियपञ्चाम्, प्रियचतुराम्, where the Numerals are secondary (upasarjana).

In forming the Loc. Pl, the following is held in abeyance, because the विसर्जनीय taught there applies to that र् which is derived from रु and not to every र.

३३६ । रोः सुपि । ८ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तमीबहुवचने परे रोरेव विसर्जनीयो नान्यरेफस्य । पयस्सु । पत्सु द्वित्वे प्राप्ते ॥

339. Visarjaniya is substituted for the रु called र (and not any other र), before the Locative Plural case-affix सु ॥

This rule not applying, we have चतुर्+सु = चतुर्+षु by VIII. 3. 59 S. 212. Then rule VIII. 4. 46 S. 59 requires optional doubling, but this is set-aside by the following.

३४० । शरोऽचि । ८ । ४ । ४६ ।

अचि परे शरो न द्वे स्तः । चतुर्षु । प्रियचत्वाः । हे प्रियचत्वः । प्रियचत्वारौ । प्रियचत्वारः । गौणत्वे तु नुट् नेष्यते । प्रियचतुराम् । प्राधान्ये तु स्यादेव । परमचतुर्णाम् । कमल कमलं वा आचक्षाणः कमल् । कमलौ । कमल । वस्व । कमल्सु ॥

340. There are not two in the room of a sibilant (शर्), when a vowel follows,

Note :—The word न is to be read into the sûtra. This debars the application of rule VIII 4 46, S, 59. Thus कर्षति, वर्षति, आकर्ष, अक्षदर्शः ॥

Why do we say अचि 'when a vowel follows? Observe दद्दर्शते ॥

Text.—Thus चतुर्षु

Now, we take up the declension of प्रियचतुर् which may he declined in all numbers (See Note under S. 338). प्रियचतुर्+सु = प्रियचतु+आ+र्+स् (VII. 1. 98 S 331) = प्रियचत्वाः In the Voc· Sing, instead of आम् there will be अम् by VII 1 99 S. 333. Thus हे प्रियचत्व । The Nom: Dual and Pl: are प्रियचत्वारौ; प्रियचत्वार, As चतुर् here is a secondary member of a Compound, the augment नुट् required by VII. 1. 55 S 338 is not added to the formation of the Gen: Pl: Thus we have प्रियचतुराम्. But if the compound be not a Bahuvrihi, and चतुर् be a principal member, then the Genitive Pl. will be प्रियचतुर्णाम् ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in र् ॥

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

Now we take up the declension of कमल्. This is derived from the Noun कमलम् or कमला by passing through the चुरादिगण under the rule तत्करोति तदाचष्टे, that is, when the sense is कमलं कमलां वा आचष्टे that one speaks of Kamala or Kamalâ. Thus कमल+णिच् (of चुरादिगण) To this we add the affix क्विप्, when the णिच् is elided by VI. 4. 51. S. 2313 Thus we get कमल् Its declension is Nom. कमल्, कमलौ, कमलः. Its Loc. Pl. is कमल्षु (The स् being changed to ष्).

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ल्.

---o---

There is no noun ending in ञ् Therefore we take up the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in म्. In the declension of these nouns, the following rule applies.

३४१ । मो नो धातोः । ८ । २ । ६४ ।

धातोर्मस्य नः स्यात्पदान्ते । नत्वस्यासिद्धत्वान्नलोपो न । प्रशाम्यतीति प्रशान् । प्रशामौ । प्रशामः । प्रशान्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

341. न is substituted, at the end of a Pada. for the final म of a root.

As प्रशान्, this is formed by adding क्विप् to the root शम् ॥ The lengthening takes place by VI. 4. 15. S. 2556. The न् being considered as asiddha is not elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.

The word पदस्य is understood here also. So we have प्रशामौ, प्रशामः where म is not at the end of a pada.

The Nom : forms are प्रशान्, प्रशामौ प्रशामः ; The Instr : Dual is प्रशान्भ्याम् &c.

---:o:---

Now, we take up the declension of किम् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies ;—

३४२ । किमः कः । ७ । २ । १०३ ॥

किमः कः स्याद्विभक्तौ । अकच्सहितस्याप्ययमादेशः । कः । कौ । के । कम् । कौ । कान् इत्यादि सर्ववत् ॥

342. क is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix.

As कः, कौ, के, कम्, कौ, कान् ॥ The substitution takes place even when the augment अकच् is added Therefore, the substitute is here क and not अ which latter would have been sufficient for किम् ॥ For म of किम being replaced by अ (VII. 2. 102), the इ would be left, which would be replaced

by अ, had the sûtra been किमोऽत् and the forms would have been the same (क्+अ+अ=क VI. 1. 97). See V. 3. 1, 13 &c. The rest of the declension is similar to that of सर्व ॥

Now, we take up the declension of इदम् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies

३४३ । इदमो मः । ७ । २ । १०८ ॥

इदमो मः स्यात्सौ परे । त्यदाद्यत्वापवादः ॥

343. म् is substituted for the final म् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular.

The substitution of म् for म् is to prevent the अ substitution of VII. 2. 102. At this stage applies the next sûtra.

३४४ । इदोऽय् पुंसि । ७ । २ । १११ ॥

इदम इदोऽय् स्यात्सौ पुंसि । सोर्लोपः । अयम् । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

344. अय् is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Nom. Sing. masculine.

As अयम् ॥

The case ending सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In other cases, sûtra VII. 2. 102. S. 265 would apply and there will be Para-rupa (VI. 1. 97. S. 191) and so इदम् will assume the form इद ॥

At this stage, will apply the following rule.

३४५ । दश्च । ७ । २ । १०९ ॥

इदमो दस्य मः स्याद्विभक्तौ । इमौ । इमे । त्यदादेः संबोधनं नास्तीत्युत्सर्गः ॥

345. And म् is substituted for the द् of इदम् before a case-affix.

As इमौ, इमे, इमम्, इमौ, इमान् ॥ Thus इदम्+अम्=इदअ+अम् (VII. 2, 102 S. 265.)=इमअ+अम् (VII 2 109 S. 345.)=इमम् (VI. 1. 97, S. 191).

It is a general rule that there is no Vocative case of त्यदादि words.

In forming the Instrumental and other cases, the following rule applies :—

३४६ । अनाप्यकः । ७ । २ । ११२ ॥

अककारस्येदम इदोऽन् स्यादापि विभक्तौ । आबिति टा इत्यारभ्य सुपः पकारेण प्रत्याहारः । अनेन ॥

346. अन is substituted for the इद् of इदम् in the Instrumental singular and the cases that follow, pro vided that the augment akach is not added.

As अनेन, अनयोः ॥ Why do we say "not when क is added by V. 3. 71"? Observe इमकेन, इमकयोः ॥ The word आप् (आपि) in the sûtra is a pratyâhâra, formed with the आ of टा (Ins. Sg), and प् of सुप् (Loc. Pl).

Before consonantal affixes, the following rule applies.

३४७ । हलि लोपः । ७ । २ । ११३ ॥

अककारस्येदम इदो लोपः स्यादापि हलादौ ॥ नानर्थकेऽलोन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे ॥

347. The इद् of इदम is elided before an âp case-affix beginning with a consonant, provided that the augment अकच् is not added.

Here applies the maxim—"The rule I. 1. 52. S. 42, by which a substitute should take the place of only the final letter of that which is exhibited in the genitive case, is not valid where what is exhibited in the genitive is meaningless, provided the rule teaching the substitution does not teach a change in a reduplicative syllable."

Having elided इद of इदम, the only portion that remains now is म् which is replaced by अ VII. 2 102 S 265 Thus we have only अ left Thus अ+भ्याम् ॥ Now VII 3 102 S 202 declares that a final अ is lengthened before a case affix beginning with यञ् ॥ But the solitary अ is initial and cannot therefore be final and so it should not be lengthened. To remove this doubt, we have the following Sûtra.

३४८ । आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन् । १ । १ । २१ ॥

एकस्मिन् क्रियमाणं कार्यमादाविवाऽन्त इव स्यात् । आभ्याम् ॥

348. An operation should be performed on a single letter, as upon an initial or upon a final.

Thus अ+भ्याम्=आभ्याम् ॥

In forming the Instr : Pl : the following rule applies :—

३४९ । नेदमदसोरकोः । ७ । १ । ११ ॥

अककारयोरिदमदसोर्भिस ऐस् न स्यात् । एभ्यम् । एभिः । अस्यम् । नित्यत्वात् ङेः स्मै ; पश्चाद्धलि- लोपः । अस्मै । आभ्याम् । एभ्य । अस्मात् । आभ्याम् । एभ्यः । अस्य । अनयोः । एषाम् । अस्मिन् । अनयो । एषु । ककारयोगे तु अयकम् । इमकौ । इमके । इमकम् । इमकौ, इमकान् । इमकेन । इमका भ्याम् । इमकैः ॥

349. This substitution of ऐस् (required by VII. 1. 9 S 203) does not take place after इदम and अदस्, except when they end in क ॥

Thus अ+भिः=एभि. (VII 3. 103 S 205) The dative forms are thus

formed :—अ + ङे = अस्मै (VII. 1. 14 S. 215) ; अ + भ्याम् = आभ्याम् ; अ + भ्य = एभ्यः ॥ The Abl ·, Gen : and Loc · forms are as follow —अस्मात्, (VII. 1. 15 S 216); आभ्याम् ; एभ्यः, अस्य (VII. 1. 12. S. 201) ; अनयोः (VII 3 104. S 207 and VII. 2. 112. S. 346) ; एषाम् (VII. 1 52. S. 217) ; अस्मिन् (VII 1 15. S. 216) ; एषु (VIII. 3. 59 S 212).

When अकच् is added the forms are as follows·—Nom · अयकम्, इमकौ, इमके , Acc : इमकम्, इमकौ, इमकान् ; Instr : इमकेन, इमकाभ्याम्, इमकैः ॥

By the following rule, when इदम् is used in the second clause of a sentence referring to a man already mentioned in the first clause, the form is different in the Instr : and other cases.

३५० । इदमोऽन्वादेशेऽशनुदात्तस्तृतीयादौ । २ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अन्वादेशविषयस्येदमोऽनुदात्तोऽश् आदेशः स्यात्तृतीयादौ । अश्वचनं साकच्कार्थम् ॥

350. In the room of idam 'this,' in case of its re-employment in a subsequent member of the same sentence and referring to the same thing (anvâdeśa) there is the substitution of अश् which is anudâtta i. e., gravely accented, when the third case-affix and the rest follow.

Note —The word अन्वादेश means literally saying (âdeśa) 'after' (anu) or after-say or re-employment.

अश् (actually अ) replaces इदम् in all cases except the nominative and the accusative, when anvâdeśa or repetition is implied. अश् replaces the whole of इदम् by I. 1 55 S. 45. and not only the final म्.

Text.—The substitute अश् will replace इदम्, even when the latter takes the affix अकच् (V. 3. 71.)

३५१ । द्वितीयाटौस्स्वेनः । २ । ४ । ३४ ।

द्वितीयायां टौसोश्च परत इदमेतदोरेनादेशः स्यादन्वादेशे । किंचित्कार्यं विधातुमुपात्तस्य कार्यान्तरं विधातु पुनरुपादानमन्वादेशः । यथाऽनेन व्याकरणमधीतमेनं छन्दोऽध्यापयेति । अनयोः पवित्रं कुलमेनयोः प्रभूतं स्वमिति । एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयोः । गणयतेर्विच् । सुगण् । सुगणौ । सुगण । सुगण्ड्सु । सुगण्ट्सु । सुगण्सु । क्विप् । अनुनासिकस्य क्विझलोरिति दीर्घः । सुगाण् । सुगाणौ । सुगाणः । सुगाण्ड्सु । सुगाण्ट्सु सुगाण्सु । परत्वादुपधादीर्घः । हल्ङ्याब्भ्यो लोपः । ततो नलोपः । राजा ॥

351. When an affix of the second case or टा (Ins. Sing.) or ओस् (Loc. dual.) follows, एन which is anudâtta is the substitute of इदम् and एतद् in the case of its re-employment.

Anvâdeśa means the employment again of what has been employed to direct some operation, to direct another operation. Thus, " The grammar has been studied by him *(anena)*, now set him *(enam)*

to read the *Vedas*." or again "of these two *(anayoh)* the family is illustrious and their *(enayoh)* wealth is great." The cases in this form are :—*Acc.* एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr. Sing एनेन; Gen. & Loc Dual एनयोः ।

Here ends the declension of Masc Nouns ending in म्

———o———

There is no Masculine noun ending in ङ् Now we take up the declension of Masculine nouns ending in ण् *e g* सुगण् which is formed by the affix क्विप् added to गण् (III 2 75 S. 2980) Its Nom forms are सुगण्, सुगणौ, सुगणः, Loc. Pl is सुगण्ट्सु, सुगण्ट्सु or सुगण्सु

If it be formed with the affix क्विप् (III 2 76 S 2983), then by VI 4. 15 S. 2666, there is lengthening. Thus the forms will be सुगाण्, सुगाणौ, सुगाण; the Loc: Pl. is सुगाण्ट्सु, सुगाण्ट्सु, or सुगाण्सु

Here ends the declension of Mas Nouns ending in ण्.

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्.

Now, we take up the declension of राजन्. Its Nom. Sg. is राजन्+सु= राजान्+सु (The penultimate being lengthened by VI. 4. 8 S 250)=राजान्+O (the affix being elided by VI. 1. 68. S 252.)=राजा (the न् being elided by VIII. 2. 7. S. 236.).

In forming the Voc. the following rule applies :—

३५२ । न ङिसंबुद्ध्योः । ८ । २ । ८ ॥

नस्य लोपो न स्यात् ङौ संबुद्धौ च । राजन् । ङौ तु छन्दस्युदाहरणम् । सुपां सुलुगिति ङेर्लुक् । निषेधसामर्थ्यात्प्रत्ययलक्षणम् । परमे व्योमन् ॥ ङावुत्तरपदे प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ चर्मणि तिला अस्य चर्मतिलः । ब्रह्मणि निष्ठा अस्य ब्रह्मनिष्ठः । राजानौ । राजानः, राजानम् । राजानौ ॥ अल्लोपोनः । इत्युत्वम् । न चाल्लोपः स्थानिवत् । पूर्वत्रासिद्धे तन्निषेधात् । नापि बहिरङ्गतयाऽसिद्धः । यथोद्देशपक्षे षाष्ठीं परिभाषां प्रति इत्युत्वस्यासिद्धतयाऽन्तरङ्गाभावेन परिभाषाया अप्रवृत्तेः । अभ्योर्ज्ञः । राज्ञ । राज्ञा ॥

352. (But such न्) is not elided in the Locative and Vocative Singular.

This debars the elision of न्, which otherwise would have taken place by the sûtra VIII. 2. 7. S 236 The examples of non-elision of न्, in the Locative singular are to be found in the Vedas As परमे व्योमन् (Rig. I. 164. 39). Here the sign of the Locative, namely, इ (ङि) is elided by VII. 1 39 S. 3561. In the Vocative singular the न् is not elided ; as हे राजन्, हे तक्षन् ॥

The very fact of the prohibition of the elision of न्, as contained in this aphorism, indicates by implication (Jñâpaka), that a word does get the designation of pada, though an affix has been elided after it by using लुक्, yet such elided affix does sometimes produce its effect inspite of I. 1. 63. S. 263.

Vart —Prohibition of the prohibition must be stated, when the Locative word is followed by another word in a compound That is, when a compound is a Locative Tatpurusha, the न् is elided as, चर्मणि तिला अस्य = चर्म तिल, ब्रह्मणि निष्ठाअस्य = ब्रह्म निष्ठ ॥

The Nom : Dual and Pl : are राजानौ, राजान ।

The Acc. Sing and Dual are राजानम्, राजानौ ।

The Acc · Pl is thus formed ·—राजन् + शस् Here राजन् gets the designation of *bha* by I. 4 18. S. 231. and therefore the अ of राजन् is elided by VI. 4 134 S. 234 and the न् is changed to ञ by VIII. 4. 40 S 111. The elision of अ is not *Sthânivat*, because it is so prohibited in Sûtra VII. 2. 1. S 12. Nor can the elision be considered *asiddha* on account of its being bahiranga. There are two aspects under which संज्ञा or technical terms, and *Paribhâshâs* may be viewed in Pâṇini's Grammar. One is यथोद्देशपक्ष and the other is कार्यकालपक्ष. The former *i. e* यथोद्देश सञ्ज्ञापरिभाषम् means that "Samjnâs and Paribhâshâs remain where they are taught," and the latter, *i. e* कार्यकाल सञ्ज्ञा-परिभाषम् means that "Samjnâs and Paribhâshâs are attracted by, or unite with, the rules that enjoin certain operations, provided that Samjnâs occur or are valid in those rules, and provided the Paribhâshâs concern them."

Here we take the first alternative and the change of ज into ञ being asiddha in the view of the rule I. 1. 94. S 38, there is no *antaranga-hood* and so the Paribhâsha which declares that "antaranga is stronger than bahiranga" finds no scope for application. Therefore ज and ञ combining form ज्ञ. Thus we get the Acc Pl राज्ञ Inst. Sing is राज्ञा

Similarly परमे व्योमन् ॥ Here व्योमन् is in the Locative case. व्योमन् + ङि = व्योमन् + O (VII. 1. 39, S 3561) Here the affix is elided by using the word लुक्, and therefore there will be no pratyaya-lakshana (I. 1. 63 S. 263). The result would be that the word व्योमन् would not get the disignation of पद (सुप्तिङन्तपदं) because it has no सुप् after it, so the rule न लोप (VIII. 2 7 S 236) will not hold good, and therefore there will be no elision of न् of व्योमन् ॥ But in that case the present Sûtra would have been useless. But the very fact that this sûtra is made, indicates that the rule न लुमताङ्गस्य is not *nitya*, and so, there will be pratyalakshana. That being the case, the word व्योमन् becomes पद, and so rule VIII. 2. 7 would have applied to it, but for this Sûtra.

Although भ सञ्ज्ञा excludes and debars पदसञ्ज्ञा but in this case it has been superseded by the former.

Now we take up the formation of Acc pl. Thus राजन् + शस् = राज् + O + न् + शस् (अल्लोपोऽन) Here the zero will be sthânivat (by अचः परस्मिन् I 1 57 S. 50) That being the case, न् will not be changed to ञ and so we could not et

the form राज्ञः ॥ But the lopadesa is not sthânivat, because of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवत् (See Mahâbhâshya I. 1 58 and Siddhânta VIII. 4. 1)

If it be said that the lopa rule is Bahiranga, because it takes place on account of the affix शस् which is out side; and the change of न् into ञ is inside it, or antaranga; and therefore the lopa will be asiddha with regard to श्चुत्व, then we reply that there is no relation of Antaranga and Bahiranga here. The Paribhâshâ असिद्धं बहिरङ्गं &c. is derived from the Jñâpaka of वाह ऊठ् (VI 4. 132 S 329.) which belongs to the VIth Adhyâya and consequently does not see the श्चुत्व vidhi of the VIIIth Adhyâya (VIII 4 41 S. 111.) by the sûtra पूर्वत्रासिद्ध, and so there will be no antaranga Bhâva. This proceeds on the view of नयादेश Paksha.

३५३ । नलोपः सुप्स्वरसंज्ञातुग्विधिषु कृति । ८ । २ । २ ॥

सुब्विधौ स्वरविधौ संज्ञाविधौ कृति तुग्विधौ च नलोपोऽसिद्धो नान्यत्र । राजाश्व इत्यादौ । इत्यसिद्धत्वादात्वमेत्वमैस्त्वं च नं । राजभ्याम् । राजभिः । राज्ञे । राजभ्यः । राज्ञः । राज्ञोः । राज्ञाम् । राज्ञि । राजनि । प्रतिदीव्यतीति प्रतिदिवा । प्रतिदिवानौ । प्रतिदिवानः । अस्य भविषयेऽल्लोपेकृते ॥

353. The elision of a final न् (VIII. 2. 7) is considered as if not to have taken effect, in applying the following rules ; (1) rules regarding case-endings, (2) rules regarding accents, (3) rules regarding any technical term of Grammar, and (4) rules regarding the augment तु before a Krit-affix.

The word विधि in the sûtra applies to all the four words preceding it : as सुब्विधि; स्वरविधि &c. The force of the Genitive compound in स्वरविधि, संज्ञाविधि, तुग्विधि is that of ordaining the existence of something : e. g. when an accent is to be given to a word, or a particular designation is be given to it or when तु is to be added to it, (भावसाधन) ॥ The compound सुब्विधि means however, the rule relating to the case-endings themselves, as well as, the rule which would apply to a word, when a case-ending follows (कर्मसाधन) ॥

(1) सुब्विधि — As राजभिः, तक्षभिः ॥ Here the elision of न् of राजन् and तक्षन् being asiddha, the भिस् is not changed to ऐस by VII. 1. 9. S. 203. So also राजभ्याम्, तक्षभ्यां, राजसु, तक्षसु ॥ Here the finals of राज and तक्ष are not lengthened before भ्यां by सुपि च (VII. 3. 102 S. 202.) nor changed to ए before सु by (VII. 3. 103 S. 205) : as in नराभ्यां and नरेषु of the stem ending in अ ॥

The elision of न् taught by VIII. 2 7 S. 236. would be asiddha by the general rule VIII. 2. 1 S. 12. the specification of the four cases in which it is asiddha shows that it is a restrictive or niyama rule. That is, the elision of न् is considered asiddha only with regard to these four rules, and no other. It is not asiddha in राजीयते (राजन् + क्यच् + ते = राज + य + ते = राजीयते III. 1. 8. S 2657 VII.

4 33 S. 2658). There would not have been long ई had the नलोप been asiddha. So also राजायते there is lengthening (VII. 4. 25 S. 2298.) and राजाश्व there is ekâdeśa (VI. 1. 101 S. 85).

On the other hand, from the elision's not being regarded as having taken effect, there is neither prolongation of the vowel (VII. 3. 102 S. 202) nor the change of अ to ऐ (VII. 3. 103 S. 205). nor the substitution of ऐस् for भिस् (VII. 1. 9. S 203).

Thus Instr · dual and Pl : are राजभ्याम् and राजभिः respectively. The Dative forms are राज्ञे, राजभ्याम्, राजभ्यः , Abl · and Gen Sing · राज्ञः ; Gen : dual and Pl : राज्ञोः and राज्ञाम् respectively. Loc : Sg. राज्ञि or राजनि ॥

———.o:———

Now we take up the declension of प्रतिदिवन् ॥ This word is formed by the Uṇadi affix कनिन् (Uṇadi I. 156) added to the root प्रतिदिव् ' to shine.' It is declined as follows .—Nom· forms are प्रतिदिवा, प्रतिदिवानौ, प्रतिदिवानः ॥

In the Acc : Pl :. the base being bha, the अ of दिवन् is elided (VI. 4. 134. S, 234) and then the following rule comes into operation.

३५४ । हलि च । ८ । २ । ७७ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घं स्याद्धलि । न चाल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वम् । दीर्घविधौ तन्निषेधात् । बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा तु कन्यायेन न प्रवर्तते । प्रतिदीव्न । प्रतिदीव्नेत्यादि । यज्वा । यज्वानौ । यज्वान ॥

354. Of a root ending in र् or व्, the penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, before a consonantal beginning affix.

The lengthening takes place here, the elision of अ is not considered here as sthânivat because of the prohibition in I. 1. 58 S. 57 with regard to दीर्घविधिः and so व् becomes penultimate.

Nor is this elision by VI. 4. 134. S. 234 a bahiranga and therefore asiddha, for the purposes of this rule which is an antaranga, for the reasons already given above under VIII. 2. 8. S 352.

Thus Acc : Pl : is प्रतिदीव्नः ॥ Instr: Sg. प्रतिदीव्ना &c.

———.o.———

Now we take up the declension of यज्वन् ॥ Its Nom : forms are यज्वा, यज्वानौ, यज्वानः ॥

But in Bha cases there will not be the elision of अ of अन् because of the following prohibition.

३५५ । न संयोगाद्वमन्तात् । ६ । ४ । १३७ ॥

वकारमकारान्तसंयोगात्परस्यानोऽकारस्य लोपो न स्यात् । यज्वन. । यज्वना । यज्वभ्यामित्यादि । ब्रह्मण । ब्रह्मणा । ब्रह्मभ्यामित्यादि ॥

355. The अ in अन् is not elided when the Bha stem ends in वन् or मन् with a consonant preceding व or म ॥

Thus Acc: Pl: यज्वन ॥ Instr Sing and dual यज्वना, यज्वभ्याम् &c. Similar is the declension of ब्रह्मन् ॥ Nom. ब्रह्मा, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्माणः, Acc. ब्रह्माणम्, ब्रह्माणौ, ब्रह्मण, Ins. ब्रह्मणा, ब्रह्मभ्याम्, ब्रह्मभि ॥

o

Now, we take up the declension of वृत्रहन् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies :—

३५६ । इन्हन्पूषार्यम्णां शौ । ६ । ४ । १२ ॥

एषां शावेवोपधाया दीर्घो नान्यत्र । इति निषेधे प्राप्ते ॥

356. The penultimate vowel is lengthened only before the affix शि (Nominative and Accusative Pl.), when the stem ends in इन्, or हन्, or पूषन् or अर्यमन् and nowhere else.

To this prohibition is the exception contained in the following sûtra.

३५७ । सौ च । ६ । ४ । १३ ॥

इन्नादीनामुपधाया दीर्घः स्यादसंबुद्धौ सौ परे । वृत्रहा । हे वृत्रहन् । एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वम् । वृत्रहणौ । वृत्रहणः । वृत्रहणम् । वृत्रहणौ ॥

357. The penultimate vowels of a stem ending in इन्, हन्, पूषन् or अर्यमन् are lengthened before the affix सु of the Nominative Singular but not in Vocative Singular.

Thus वृत्रहा, ॥ The न् is elided by VIII. 2 7. S. 236. and the case-affix by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. In the Vocative singular we have हे वृत्रहन् ॥

The न is changed to ण् by VIII. 4 12 S. 307. Thus we get the following forms N. D वृत्रहणौ, N. Pl: वृत्रहणः, Acc: Sg. and Dual: वृत्रहणम् and वृत्रहणौ respectively.

In Acc: Pl: the अ of हन् is elided by VI. 4. 134 S. 234 and the ह is changed to guttural by the following Sûtra.

३५८ । हो हन्तेर्ञ्णिन्नेषु । ७ । ३ । ५४ ॥

ञिति णिति च प्रत्यये नकारे च परे हन्तेर्हकारस्य कुत्वं स्यात् ॥

358. A guttural is substituted for the ह in हन् before an affix having an indicatory ञ्, or ण् and before न् ॥

The next Sûtra हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्य is divided by the author into two parts. Viz, first, हन्ते and then अत्पूर्वस्य ॥

३५९ । हन्तेः । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य हन्तेर्नस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रहण्यात् ॥

359. The न, in the root हन्, is changed to ण, when the verb is preceded by a preposition competent to cause the change.

As प्रहण्यात् ॥ This requires the न् of वृत्रहन् to be changed to ण् । But to this the second half of the above Sûtra makes an exception.

३५९ क । अत्पूर्वस्य । ८ । ४ । २२ ॥

हन्तेरत्पूर्वस्यैव नस्य णत्वं नान्यस्य । प्रघ्नन्ति । योगविभागसामर्थ्यादन्तरस्य विधिर्वा भवति प्रतिषेधो वेति न्याय बाधित्वा एकाजुत्तरपदे इति णत्वमपि निवर्त्यते । नकारे परे कुत्वविधिसामर्थ्यादल्लोपो न स्थानिवत् । वृत्रघ्नः । वृत्रघ्ना इत्यादि । यत्तु वृत्रघ्न इत्यादौ वैकल्पिकं णत्वं माधवेनोक्तं तद्भाष्यवार्तिकविरुद्धम् । एवं शार्ङ्गिन् यशस्विन्नर्यमन्पूषन् । यशस्विन्निति विन्प्रत्यये इनोऽनर्थकत्वेऽपि इन्हन्नित्यत्र ग्रहणं भवत्येव । अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्तीति वचनात् । अर्यम्णि । अर्यमणि । पूष्णि पूषणि ॥

359 A. The न् of हन् is changed to ण् when it is preceded by short अ and in no other case, that is to say, when हन् retains the form हन् and not when the अ is elided and हन् assumes the form घ्न or when the अ is lengthened.

Thus प्रघ्नन्ति ॥ This interpretation is given because it is possible to divide this Sûtra into two by the maxim योगविभागादिष्टसिद्धिः *i. e* "from a rule which we have obtained by taking part of a rule as a separate rule, we are allowed to derive only such results as may be desirable."

Paribhâshâ —"A rule, may it enjoin or forbid anything, either enjoins or forbids only that which is nearest to it in some other rule."

This maxim being set aside by the fact of the योगविभाग, the Sûtra VIII. 4. 12. S 307 ordaining णत्व also ceases. The elision of अ is not sthânivat because otherwise the ह will never be followed by न and so there will be no scope for Sûtra VII. 3. 54 S. 358. Thus Acc. Pl. is वृत्रघ्नः. Instr. Sing : वृत्रघ्ना &c.

But the optional form वृत्रघ्ण with a cerebral ण instead of dental न, according to the opinion of Mâdhava is a mistake, because it is opposed to Kâtyâyana and Patanjali. The न is never changed to ण.

The nouns शार्ङ्गिन्, यशस्विन्, अर्यमन्, पूषन् are similarly declined.

यशस्विन् is formed with the affix विन् and not इन्. The इन् portion in यशस्विन् has no meaning, and so the rules VI. 4. 12. S. 356 and VI. 4. 13. S. 357 should not apply to it. However these rules are applied, in accordance with the following *Paribhâshâ*,

Paribhâshâ—"Whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I. 1 72, something that ends with these, there they represent these combination of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning".

Loc . Sing of अर्यमन् is अर्यम्णि or अर्यमणि ॥

Loc. Sing of पूषन् is पूष्णि or पूषणि ॥

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of मघवन् In its declension, the following rule applies.

३६० । मघवा बहुलम् । ६ । ४ । १२८ ॥

मघवन्शब्दस्य वा तृ इत्यन्तादेशः स्यात् । ऋ इत् ॥

360. तृ is diversely substituted for the final of मघवन् ॥

ऋ of तृ is इत्. And thus we get मघवत्.

Here applies the next Sûtra, showing the force of this indicatory ऋ,

३६१ । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । ७ । १ । ७० ॥

अधातोरुगितो नलोपिनोऽञ्चतेश्च नुमागमः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । उपधादीर्घः । मघवान् । इह दीर्घे कर्तव्ये संयोगान्तलोपस्यासिद्धत्वं न भवति बहुलग्रहणात् । तथा च श्वन्नुक्षन्निति निपातनान्मघशब्दान्मतुपा च भाषायामपि शब्दद्वयसिद्धिमाश्रित्यैतत् सूत्रं प्रत्याख्यातमाकरे । हविर्जक्षिति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसाविति भट्टिः । मघवन्तौ । मघवन्तः । हे मघवन् । मघवन्तम् । मघवन्तौ । मघवतः । मघवता । मघवद्भ्यामित्यादि । तृत्वाभावे मघवा । छन्दसीवनिपौ चेति वनिबन्तं मध्योदात्तं छन्दस्येव, अन्तोदात्तं तु लोकेऽपीति विशेषः । मघवानौ । मघवानः । शुटि राजवत् ॥

361. Whatever has an indicatory उ, ऋ and ऌ, (with the exception of a root), and the stem अच्, (अञ्चति) get the augment नुम् in the strong cases.

Thus Nom: Sing. is मघवान् The penultimate अ is lengthened by VI. 4. 14. S. 425. The affix सु is elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252. and the त is elided by VIII. 2. 23. S. 54

The form being मघवन्त्,* the elision of त् takes place by the Tripâdî rule संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23 S. 54. and therefore this elision is not perceived by the दीर्घ rule of the Sixth Book of Pânini (*i. e.* VI. 4. 14. S. 425). The अ of वन्त् therefore not being penultimate will not be lengthened, as it is not lengthened in Verbal Nouns like कुर्वन् &c, where also the elision of त् is held to be asiddha. Why do we lengthen it in the case of मघवन् ? Because of the word बहुल in the last Sûtra VI. 4. 128 S. 360.

As this word मघवान् requires the help of बहुल to give us the proper form, the author of Mahâbhâshya has effected the formation of मघवान् by the Unâdi I 159, and he has also assumed that the affix मतुप् will effect the same form when added to मघ in secular literature, and therefore he has in his commentary stated that the Sûtra मघवा बहुल is a redundancy. The author of Bhatti Kâvya also uses the form in secular literature as·—हविर्जक्षिति निःशङ्को मखेषु मघवानसौ॥ "That Maghavân eats fearlessly the sacrificial offerings in the sacrifices."

The Nom· Dual and Pl. will be मघवन्तौ, मघवन्तः॥

The Voc· Sing will be हे मघवन्॥

The Acc. forms are मघवन्तम्, मघवन्तौ, मघवतः॥

Instr. forms are मघवता, मघवद्भ्याम् &c.

When तृ is not substituted for the final न् of मघवन्, then the Nom: Sing is मघवा॥

Vârtika.—In the Chhandas, the affixes ई and वनिप् are added to nouns in the sense of मतुप् (See Sûtra V. 2. 122. S. 3498.) Therefore if the word मघवन् be formed with वनिप् added to मघ then the word मघवॅन् will have acute accent on the middle in the Chhandas alone, but in the secular literature it has acute accent on the final also. This is the difference, as मघवॅन्.

The Nom. Dual and Pl. are मघवानौ, मघवान॥

In the Sarvanâmasthâna affixes, मघवन्, without तृ is declined like राजन्. Thus N. D मघवानौ, N. Pl. मघवान; Acc. S. D are मघवानम् and मघवानौ.

In forming the Acc Pl the following rule applies:—

३६२। श्वयुवमघोनामतद्धिते। ६। ४। १३३॥

अन्नन्तानां भसञ्ज्ञकानामेषामतद्धिते परे सम्प्रसारणं स्यात्। सम्प्रसारणाच्च। आद्गुणः। मघोनः। अन्नन्तानां किम्। मघवतः। मघवता। स्त्रियां मघवती। अतद्धिते किम्। माघवनम्। मघोना। मघवभ्यामित्यादि। शुनः। शुना। श्वभ्यामित्यादि। युवन्शब्दे वस्योत्वे कृते॥

362. The व of श्वन्, युवन् and मघवन् when ending in अन् becomes vocalised, but not before a Taddhita affix.

Thus मघवन्+शस्=मघउअन्+शस्=मघउन्+शस् (उ and अ become उ by VI 1. 108 S 330)=मघोन्+शस् (अ and उ become ओ by VI. 1. 87. S. 69) =मघोनः॥

Why do we say 'when ending in अन्'? Observe Acc· Pl· मघवतः when the noun is मघवत् and not मघवन्॥ In this case the Instr. Sg. is मघवता॥

The feminine form of मघवत् is मघवती॥ Why do we say 'not before a Taddhita affix'? Observe माघवनम्॥

The Inst Sg and Dual of मघवन् are मघोना, मघवभ्या &c Similar is the declension of श्वन् ॥ Thus शुनः (Acc Pl), शुना (Insti . S.), श्वभ्याम् (Insti Dual) &c.

Now we take up the declencsion of युवन् ॥

युवन् + शस् = यु + उ + न् + शस् ॥ Here the य of यु would also require to be vocalised But this is prevented by the following Sûtra.

३६३ । न संप्रसारणे संप्रसारणम् । ६ । १ । ३७ ॥

सप्रसारणे परतः पूर्वस्य यणः सप्रसारण न स्यात् । इति यकारस्य नेत्वम् । अत एव ज्ञापकादन्त्यस्य यणः पूर्व सप्रसारणम् । यूनः । यूना । युवभ्यामित्यादि । अर्वा । हे अर्वन् ॥

363. When a semivowel has been once vocalised, there is no vocalisation of the other semivowel that may precede it in the same word.

So य् of युवन् is not vocalised. Therefore, by the inference to be drawn from this rule, the final semivowel is vocalised.

Thus Acc : Pl : is यूनः , Instr . Sg, and Dual are यूना, युवभ्या and so on.

Note :—Though the rule of vocalisation does not specify what particular semivowel is to be vocalised, yet according to the maxim that the operation is to be performed on the letter nearest to the operator, the second semivowel in the above cases is vocalised and the first is not, by force of this rule Had the first semi-vowel been vocalised, then there would be no scope for this sûtra, because then no semi-vowel will be found *preceding* a vocalised letter This sûtra is a jñapaka that the vocalisation commences with the second of the conjunct semi-vowels.

Though the anuvritti of सप्रसारण was understood here, the repetition of this word shows that the prohibition of double vocalisation in the same word applies even when the semivowels are not contiguous. Thus by VI 1. 133 there is vocalisation of the word युवन्, the व being changed to उ, the य is not changed as यूना ॥ It might be objected that when उ of यु, and उ the samprasârna of व coalesce into one by sandhi rules, then there being the substitution of one long ऊ for the two उ's and this is sthânivat to the original, the य and व् of युवन् should be considered in fact as contiguous and not separated by an intervening letter, and therefore, the explanation given above does not hold good ; we reply. The substitution of one long vowel for two vowels, is not considered sthânivat (See I. 1 58 S.51). Even though it be considered as sthânivat, it is still a separating letter

Now, we take up the declension of अर्वन् ॥ Its N. S. is अर्वा; Its Voc : S. is हे अर्वन्

In forming the N. D and other cases the following rule applies

३६४ । अर्वणस्त्रसावनञः । ६ । ४ । १२७ ॥

नञा रहितस्यार्वन्नन्तस्याङ्गस्य तृ इत्यन्तादेशः स्यान्न तु सौ । उगित्त्वान्नुम् । अर्वन्तौ । अर्वन्तः । अर्वन्तम् । अर्वन्तौ । अर्वत । अर्वता । अर्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । अनञः किम् । अनर्वा , यज्ववत् ॥

364. तृ (which is changed to न्तृ in the strong cases, and forms the feminine in ई unaccented) is substituted for the final of the stem अर्वन्, except in the Nominative singular or when the word is joined with the Negative particle.

The real substitute is त्, the ऋ is for the sake of making this affix an उगित्, so that in sarvanâmasthâna cases we have नुम् augment VII 1 70. S. 361. Thus अर्वन्तौ, अर्वन्तः, अर्वन्तम्, अर्वन्तौ, अर्वत, अर्वता, अर्वद्भ्याम्, &c.

Why do we say when not having the negative particle न? Observe अनर्वा (N. S). The rest of its declension is similar to that of यज्वन् ॥

In the declension of पथिन्, मथिन् &c. the following rules apply —

३६५ । पथिमथ्यृभुक्षामात् । ७ । १ । ८५ ॥

एषामाकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे। आ आदिति प्रश्लेषेण शुद्धाया एव व्यक्तेर्विधानान्नानुनासिकः ॥

365. आत् (आ) is substituted for the final of 'pathin' 'mathin' and 'ṛbhukshin', before the ending सु (of the Nom. Sg.)

Though the sthânin here is a nasal (i. e. न्), yet the substitute आ is not to be nasalised by the rule of nearness (I 1 50 39) but to be pronounced purely for the आत् of the sûtra is really आ + आत्, indicating that pure आ is to be taken and not the nasal आँ ॥

३६६ । इतोऽत्सर्वनामस्थाने । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

पथ्यादेरिकारस्याऽकारः स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे ॥

366. अ is substituted for the इ of 'pathin, mathin and ṛbhukshin,' in the strong cases.

Note —Though the anuvṛitti of आत् was here, the separate mention of अत् is for the sake of VI 4 9 S. 3541 by which in the case of ऋभुक्षिन् we have two forms, ऋभुक्षाणम् and ऋभुक्षणम् ॥

३६७ । थो न्थः । ७ । १ । ८७ ॥

पथिमथोस्थस्य न्थादेशः स्यात् सर्वनामस्थाने परे । पन्थाः । पन्थानौ । पन्थान । पन्थानम् । पन्थानौ ॥

367. न्थ् is substituted for the थ् of pathin and mathin, in the strong cases.

Thus पन्था, पन्थानौ, पन्थानः, मन्थाः, मन्थानौ मन्थानः ॥

३६८ । भस्य टेर्लोपः । ७ । १ । ८८ ॥

भसंज्ञकस्य पथ्यादेष्टेर्लोपः स्यात् । पथः । पथा । पथिभ्यामित्यादि । एवं मन्था । ऋभुक्षाः । स्त्रियां नान्तलक्षणे ङीपि भस्याट्टिलोपः । सुपथी । सुमथी नगरी । अनृभुक्षी सेना ॥ आत्वं नपुंसके न भवति । न लुमताङ्गस्येति प्रत्ययलक्षणनिषेधात् । सुपथि वनम् ॥ सम्बुद्धौ नपुंसकानां नलोपो वा वाच्यः * ॥ हे सुपथिन् । हे सुपथि । नलोपः सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्ध्रस्वस्य गुणो न । द्विवचने भस्याट्टिलोपः । सुपथी । शौ सर्वनामस्थानत्वात् सुपन्थानि । पुनरपि । सुपथी । सुपथी । सुपन्थानि । सुपथा । सुपथे । सुपथिभ्यामित्यादि ॥

368. The last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, is dropped in pathin, mathin, and ṛbhukshin, before an affix beginning with a vowel or य (before which the stem is called Bha I. 4. 18).

As पथः, पथा, पथे, मथः, मथा, मथे, ऋभुक्षः, ऋभुक्षा, ऋभुक्षे ॥

In the Feminine the affix ङीप् will be added by IV. 1. 5. as पथिन्ऀ + ङीप्, and the इन् is elided before the affix ङीप् by the present Sûtra. Thus सुपथी नगरी, and अनृभुक्षी सेना

In the Neuter, there is not lengthening of VII. 1. 85 S 365 because the affix is elided by using the word लुक् (VII. 1 43 S 319) and therefore the affix सु leaves no trace behind by I. 1. 63. S. 263 Thus सुपथि वनम् Thus सुपथिन् + सु = सुपथिन् + O = सुपथि (The final न् is elided by VIII 2 7. S. 236).

In the Vocative Sing of the Neuter Noun सुपथिन्, the elision of न् is optional, according to the following *Vârtika* :—

Vârtika :—In the Voc. Singular of the Neuter nouns, the elision of final न् is optional.

Thus हे सुपथिन् or हे सुपथि.

The short इ of सुपथि is not guṇated (as it is guṇated in हे हरे) because of the prohibition contained in VIII. 2. 2. S. 353 by which the elision of न् is asiddha in the case of case-endings

In the Nom : Dual, the base being bha, the टि portion of पथिन् is elided before the Dual affix शी. Thus सुपथी ॥

In the Nom : Pl. (शि) which is a Sarvanâmasthâna affix (I 1. 42. S 313) there is no elision and the rules VII. 1 86 and 87 S, 367 and 368, apply and so we get the form सुपन्थानि ॥

The Acc forms are the same as the Nominative ones, as सुपथि, सुपथी, सुपन्थानि ॥

The Instr · Sing and Dual are सुपथा, सुपथिभ्याम् ॥

The Dative Sing : is सुपथे &c.



Now, we take up the declension of पञ्चन्. It is a षट् word by the following definition.

३६९ । ष्णान्ता षट् । १ । १ । २४ ॥

षान्ता नान्ता च संख्या षट्संज्ञा स्यात् ॥ षड्भ्यो लुक् ॥ पञ्च २ । संख्या किम् । विप्रुषः । पामानः । शतानि सहस्राणीत्यत्र सन्निपातपरिभाषया नै लुक् ॥ सर्वनामस्थानसंनिपातिन कृतस्य नुमस्तद्विघातकत्वात् । पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्चेति नुट् ॥

369. The Sankhyâs having ष or न as their final are called shaṭ.

It is one of the peculiarities of षट् words that they lose their nominative and accusative plural terminations (VII. 1. 22. S. 261). Thus पञ्च पञ्च ॥ Why do we say संख्या ॥ Observe विप्रुषः and पामानः ॥

Note :—This sûtra defines the term षट् which is a subdivsion of the larger group sankhyâ. Those Sankhyâs which end in ष् or न् are called षट् ॥ The word sankhyâ is understood in this sûtra, because the word ष्णान्ता is in the feminine gender, showing that it qualifies sankhyâ which is also feminine.

The numerals that end in ष or न are six, namaly पंचन् 'five,' षष् 'six,' सप्तन्, 'seven,' अष्टन् 'eight,' नवन् 'nine,' दशन् 'ten.'

The word अन्त in the sûtra shows that the letters ष and न must be aupadeśika i. e, must belong to the words as originally enunciated and not added afterwards as affix &c Thus in शतानि 'hundreds,' सहस्राणि 'thousands,' अष्टानाम् 'of eights' the न is not radical, but an augment, and therefore they are not षट् and the nominative and accusative plural terminations are not elided ; as शतान् + इ = शतानि &c.

In forming Nom : Pl : of शत we have शत + शि Then we add नुम् by VII. 1. 72. S. 314. Thus we get शतन् + शि । Here the word is a sankhyâ and ends in न् ॥ Why should not this शि be elided by VII. 1. 22. S. 261. This is not elided by the maxim सन्निपात परिभाषा ॥ For the maxim, see VII. 1. 13. S. 204 Because it was the presence of शि that caused the insertion of न् and now this न् cannot cause the destruction of its originator. Thus we get शतानि ॥ सहस्राणि is also similarly formed.

The Instr, Dative and Acc · plurals are पञ्चभिः पञ्चभ्य, पञ्चभ्यः respectively.

The augment नुट् is added by VII. 55. S. 338 in forming the Gen. Pl Then the following sûtra comes into operation.

३७० । नोपधायाः । ६ । ४ । ७ ॥

नान्तस्योपधाया दीर्घः स्यान्नामि परे । नलोपः । पञ्चानाम् । पञ्चसु । परमपञ्च । परमपञ्चानाम् । गौणत्वे तु न लुग्नुटौ । प्रियपञ्चा । प्रियपञ्चानौ । प्रियपञ्चान । प्रियपञ्चानम् ॥ एवं सप्तन् नवन् दशन् ॥

370. In a stem ending in न्, the preceding vowel is lengthened before the affix नाम् ॥

Thus पञ्चन् + नाम् (VII. 1 55 S 338) = पञ्चान् + नाम् (VI. 4. 7. S. 370.) = पञ्चानाम् (न् being elided by VIII 2 7 S. 236).

The Loc. Pl. is पञ्चसु Similar is the declension of परमपञ्च. Thus N. Pl. परमपञ्च. Gen Pl. is परम पञ्चानाम्.

When पञ्च is a secondary member of a compound, there is neither लुक् of Sûtra VII. 1. 22. S 261 nor the नुट् augment of VII. 1. 55. S 338. Thus प्रियपञ्चन् is declined as Nom प्रियपञ्चा, प्रियपञ्चानौ, प्रियपञ्चान , Acc. प्रियपञ्चानम् ॥

Similar is the declension of सप्तन्, नवन् and दशन् In the declension of अष्टन् the following rules apply.

३७१ । अष्टन आ विभक्तौ । ७ । २ । ८४ ॥

अष्टन आत्वं स्याद्धलादौ विभक्तौ ॥

371. आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before a case-ending beginning with a consonant.

३७२ । अष्टाभ्य औश् । ७ । १ । २१ ॥

कृताकारादष्टनः परयोर्जस्शसोरौश् स्यात् । अष्टभ्य इति वक्तव्ये कृतात्वनिर्देशो जस्शसोर्विषये आत्वं ज्ञापयति । वैकल्पिकं चेदमष्टन आत्वम् । अष्टनो दीर्घादिति सूत्रे दीर्घग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात् । अष्टौ २ । परमाष्टौ । अष्टाभिः । अष्टाभ्यः २ । अष्टानाम् । अष्टासु । आत्वाभावे । अष्ट । अष्ट । इत्यादि पञ्चवत् । गौणत्वे त्वात्वाभावे राजवत् । शसि प्रियाष्ण । इह पूर्वस्मादपि विधावल्लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावान्न ष्टुत्वम् । कार्यकालपक्षे बहिरङ्गस्याल्लोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद्वा । प्रियाष्णा इत्यादि । जश्शसोरनुमीयमानमात्वं प्राधान्य एव न तु गौणतायाम् । तेन प्रियाष्णो हलादावेव वैकल्पिकमात्वम् । प्रियाष्टाभ्याम् । प्रियाष्टाभिः । प्रियाष्टाभ्यः २ । प्रियाष्टासु ।

प्रियाष्णा राजवत्सर्वं हाहावच्चापरे हलि ॥

भष्भावः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । भुत् । भुद् । बुधौ । बुधः । बुधा । भुद्भ्याम् । भुत्सु ॥

372. After the stem अष्टा (the form assumed by अष्टन् V11. 2. 84) औश् is substituted for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative Plural.

Why have we taken the form अष्टा and not अष्ट ? Observe अष्ट तिष्ठन्ति, अष्ट पश्य ॥ This peculiar construction of the present sûtra (अष्टाभ्य instead of अष्टभ्यः) indicates, that the आ substitution for the न् of अष्टन् takes place in Nom : and Acc. Plural , and that it is also optional, which we infer from

the jnâpaka of VI. 1 172, S. 3718 where the word दीर्घ indicates that there are two forms of अष्टन् ॥ This sûtra is, moreover, an exception by anticipation, to the sûtra VII. I. 22 S. 261. by which the plural Nom. and Acc endings are elided after the numerals called षष् ॥ The elision of case-endings taught by II. 4 71, S. 650, is not, however, barred by this rule ; the elision taught therein will take place, whether this rule applies or not Thus. अष्टपुत्रः, अष्टभार्यः ॥

Note —The use of दीर्घात् in sûtra VI 1 172 S 3718 indicates that the word अष्टन् has two forms, and the substitution of long आ taught in VII 2 84 S 371. thus becomes *optional*, because of this indication Otherwise the employment of the word दीर्घात् would be useless, for by VII 2.84 which is couched in general terms, अष्टन् would *always* end in a long vowel. There is another use of the word दीर्घात्, namely, it makes the word अष्टान् with long आ (VII 2 84) to get also the designation of षट् ॥ For if अष्टान् was not to be called a षट्, like अष्टन्, then there would be scope to the present sûtra in the case of अष्टान् while it would be debarred in the case of अष्टन् without long आ, by the subsequent rule VI 1 180 which applies to षट् word, and hence the employment of the word दीर्घात् would become useless.

The regular declension is as follows —

अष्टौ. अष्टौ, परमाष्टौ, अष्टाभिः, अष्टाभ्य , अष्टाभ्यः, अष्टानाम्, अष्टासु ॥

When there is not the lengthening of अ of अष्टन्, that is when the base is not अष्टान् then we have अष्ट, अष्ट, *i. e* अष्टन् is then declined like पञ्चन् ॥

When अष्टन् forms a secondary member in a compound, it is declined like राजन् ॥ Thus the Acc Pl is प्रियाष्ट्णः ॥ The न is not changed to ण because the elided अ is considered as sthânivat, because of I. 1. 57. S. 50 where the word पूर्वविधि is explained as पूर्वस्माद्विधि ॥ And as here, because of the prior (पूर्व) letter ष, the subsequent letter न requires to be changed to ण, the elided अ becomes sthânivat and prevents the change.

Moreover the form may be evolved by following the maxim of कार्यकालपक्ष then the elision of अ of अष्टन् being considered as a bahiranga for the purposes of the antaranga rule of ष्टुत्व (VII. 4. 41. S. 113) then also there will be no change.

Because the elision rule VI. 4. 134 applies to an operation brought about by an external cause like शस् while the change of न् to ण is internal, therefore the latter is antaranga to the former, and does not perceive it.

So also Ins. S. प्रियाष्ट्ना &c.

The lengthening of अ in to आ which we have inferred in the case of अष्टन् before जस् and शस् (see above) is to take place then only when अष्टन् retains its primary sense and not when it is a secondary member in a Bahuvrîhi compound. As in the compound प्रियाष्टन् meaning "he who loves eight persons," the word अष्टन् is secondary, the principal word being the lover : there-

fore we do not get at all the lengthening of अ in प्रियाहन् before जस् and शस् ॥ While there will be *optional* lengthening before affixes beginning with consonants. As प्रियाहाभ्याम् or प्रियाहभ्यां ॥

Verse :—This word प्रियाहन् resembles राजन् in all the cases, except the cases beginning with a consonant where it resembles हाहा. Before consonantal cases, the base is प्रियाहा ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in न्

—·o·—

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्.

Now we take up the declension of बुध्. It is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the root बुध्. The ब is changed to भ by VIII. 2. 37. S. 326 ; then ध is changed to द, optionally to त, by झलांजशोऽन्ते (VIII. 2. 39 S 84). Thus N. S. is भुत् or भुद् Nom. D. बुधौ. N. P. बुधः Ins. S. बुधा. Ins: D. भुद्भ्याम् Loc. Pl. भुत्सु.

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ध्.

—.o.—

Declension of Masculine nouns ending in ज् ॥

Now we take up the declension of युज् It is formed irregularly by adding the affix क्विन् to the root युज् by the following Sûtra.

३७३ । ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्रग्दिगुष्णिगञ्चुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च । ३ । २ । ५९ ॥

एभ्यः क्विन् स्यात् । अलाक्षणिकमपि किञ्चित्कार्यं निपातनाल्लभ्यते । निरुपपदाद्युजेः क्विन् । क्रनावितौ ॥

373. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent' स्रक् 'a garland' दिक् 'a direction' and उष्णिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्च् 'to approach', the affix क्विन् is employed.

The affix क्विन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and क्रुञ्च ॥ Being read along with the above-mentioned five irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of क्विन् to these verbs.

The affix क्विन् comes after युजिर् and क्रुञ्च् when these are uncombined.

Note·—Otherwise in combination the affix would be क्विप् (III. 2. 61 S. 2975). The difference between क्विप् and क्विन् is that the latter gives us the Nom : S युङ्, while the former will give us the N S युक् as in अश्वयुक् ॥

Of the affix क्विन् the क् and न् are indicatory (इत्), the affix is really व ॥ This is a कृत् affix or the affix from which a nominal stem is formed directly from the verb. कृत् is defined in the following sûtra.

३७४ । कृदतिङ् । ३ । १ । ९३ ॥

सन्निहिते धात्वधिकारे तिङ्भिन्नः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञः स्यात् ॥

374. In this portion of the Sûtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत् ॥

The Krit affix वि is elided by the following sûtra.

३७५ । वेरपृक्तस्य । ६ । १ । ६७ ॥

अपृक्तस्य वस्य लोपः स्यात् । कृत्तद्धितेति प्रातिपदिकत्वात्स्वाद्य ॥

375. There is elision of the affix वि when reduced to the single letter व् ॥

Note —The affix वि includes क्विप्, क्विन्, ण्वि &c. In all these, the real affix is व्, which being an aprikta (I 2 41 S 251), is elided. Thus ब्रह्महा, भ्रूणहा (III 2 87 S 2998) Here the affix क्विप् is elided So also घृतस्पृक्, तैलस्पृक् (III 2. 58 S 432). Here the affix क्विन् is elided. So also अर्धभाक्, पादभाक्, तुरीभाक् (III. 2. 62 S. 2976). Here the affix ण्वि is elided.

Why do we say "of an aprikta—an affix consisting of a single letter"? Observe दर्वि formed by the affix विन् (वि being the real affix); so also जागृवि. formed by क्विन्, see Unâdi Sûtras IV. 53 44. No root can become a noun unless some kṛit affix is added to it (see 1. 2. 45 and 46), hence the necessity of these imaginary affixes, in order to raise certain roots bodily, without any change, to the rank of nouns—from Dhâtu to a Prâtipadika the way lies only through an affix. And though these imaginary affixes are after all totally elided, yet by I. 1. 62, they leave their characterstic mark behind, namely, the derivative word becomes a nominal stem &c. Thus च्वि words are adverbs (Gati) and Indeclinables.

The word युज् being a कृदन्त word gets the designation of Prâtipadika by I. 2. 46 S. 179 and therefore we add to it the case affixes सु &c. Thus N. S. युज्+सु ॥ At this stage comes the following sûtra for application.

३७६ । युजेरसमासे । ७ । १ । ७१

युजेः सर्वनामस्थाने नुम् स्यादसमासे । सुलोपः । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः ॥

376. The nominal stem युज् gets before the strong cases the augment न्, when it does not stand in a compound.

Thus यु+न्+ज्+स्=यु+न्+ज्+O (the स् being elided by VI. 1. 68. S. 252.) = यु+न्+O (the ज् being elided by VIII. 2 23. S. 54).

Thus we get युन् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra.

३७७ । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः । ८ । २ । ६२ ॥

क्विन्प्रत्ययो यस्मात्तस्य कवर्गोऽन्तादेश स्यात्पदान्ते । नस्य कुत्वनानुनासिको ङकारः । युङ् । नश्चापदान्तस्येति नुमोऽनुस्वार परसवर्णः । तस्यासिद्धत्वाच्चोः कुरिति कुत्व न । युञ्जौ । युञ्ज. । युञ्जम् । युञ्जौ । युजः । युजा । युग्भ्यामित्यादि । असमासे किम् ॥

377. A stem formed with the affix क्विन् under III. 2. 58 &c, substitutes, at the end of a word, a guttural for the final consonant.

Note :—The word पदस्य is understood here The word क्विन्प्रत्यय is a Bahuvrîhi meaning ' that stem which has kvin as its affix ' For the final consonant of such a stem, a guttural is substituted. As घृतस्पृक् (III. 2. 58), हलस्पृक्, मन्त्रस्पृक् ॥

The न् being changed to guttural, we get ङ् Thus युन् becomes युङ् (Nominative Singular).

In forming N. Dual the न् is changed to anusvâra by VIII. 3 24. S. 123. and this anusvâra is changed to ञ being the nasal letter belonging to च varga. But the anusvâra as ordained by the subsequent Tripâdi rule VIII. 3 24. S. 123. is asiddha for the purposes of the application of VIII. 2. 30 S. 378 which required the anusvâra to be changed to guttural.

Thus युञ्जौ (N. D.). युञ्जः (N. Pl.) Acc : forms are युञ्जम, युञ्जौ, युजः ; Instr; forms are युजा, युग्भ्याम् &c.

Why do we say असमासे in the sûtra VII 1 71. S. 376 Because in compounds like सुयुज्, there is no नुम् augment In declining this word the following rule applies—

३७८ । चोः कुः । ८ । २ । ३० ॥

चवर्गस्य कवर्गः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । इति कुत्वम् । क्विन्प्रत्ययस्येति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । सुयुक् । सुयुग् । सुयुजौ । सुयुजः । युजेरिति धातुपाठपठितेकारविशिष्टस्यानुकरण न त्विका निर्देशः । तेनेह न । युज्यते समाधत्ते इति युक् । युज समाधौ दैवादिक आत्मनेपदी । सयोगान्तलोपः । खन् । खञ्जौ । खञ्ज । इत्यादि । व्रश्चेति षत्वम् । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । राट् । राड् । राजौ । राज । राट्सु । राट्त्सु । एव विभ्राट् । देवेट् । देवेजौ । देवेजः । विश्वसृट् । विश्वसृड् । विश्वसजौ । विश्वसृजः । इह सृजियज्योः कुत्वं नेति ह्लावे वक्ष्यते । परिमृट् । षत्वविधौ राजिसाहचर्यात् टुभ्राजृ दीप्ताविति फणादिरेव गृह्यते । यस्तु एजृभ्रेजृभ्राजृदीप्ताविति तस्य कुत्वमेव । विभ्राक् । विभ्राग । विभ्राग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ परौ व्रजे' षः पदान्ते ° ॥ परावुपपदे व्रजेः क्विप् स्याद्दीर्घश्च पदान्तविषये षत्व च । परित्यज्य सर्वं व्रजतीति परिव्राट् । परिव्राजौ । परिव्राजः ॥

378. A Guttural is substituted for a Palatal, before *jhal* letter or at the end of a word.

This requires the change of ज् to a guttural *i e* of क class. The कुत्व ordained by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377 is asiddha or not perceived by the present Sutra, which is antecedent to VIII. 2. 62 S 377 in the order of enunciation

by Pânini. In the case of विश्वसृज् and देवेज्, the ज् is not changed to a letter of the क class even when we take words to be formed by the affix क्विन् under Sûtra VIII 2. 62 S 377 The reason for this we shall explain under Sûtra अहन् VIII 2. 68 S 443 in declining the Neuter noun

Thus Nom· forms are युयुक् or युयुग्, युयुजौ, युयुजः ॥ In the Sûtra VII. I 71, S. 376, the root is exhibited as युजि showing that that root of the Dhâtûpâtha should be taken which ends in इ, *viz* the root युजिर् योगे, the 7th root of the रुधादि class Therefore it does not apply to the root युज् समाधौ the 10th root of the दिवादि class and is Âtmanepadi In the latter case, the form will be युक्

Now we take up the declension of खञ्ज्. It is derived from खजि 'to move' and 'to feel done up' by adding the affix क्विप् ॥

The इ of खजि is elided because it is इत्, leaving behind खज to which the augment नुम् is added by VII. 1 58. S. 2262. Thus we get ख+न्+ज्. Then ज् is elided by VIII 2. 23 S 54. Thus we get खन् In the N. S the affix सु is elided by VI 1. 68. S 252. Thus the N. S. remains as खन्. The N. Dual and Pl. are खञ्जौ and खञ्जः &c.

Now we take up the declension of राज्. By VIII 2. 36. S. 294. the ज् of राज् is changed to ष्. Then the ष् is changed to ड् by VIII. 2 39. S 84 and VIII. 4 56. S. 206. Then ड् is changed to ट् Thus we get N S. राट् or राड्. The N. D. and Pl. are राजौ, राजः ॥ Loc. Pl. is राट्त्सु or राट्सु Similarly is declined विभ्राज्. So also देवेज् Its Nom forms are देवेट्, देवेजौ, देवेजः ॥ The Nom. forms of विश्वसृज् are विश्वसृट् or विश्वसृड्, विश्वसृजौ, विश्वसृजः ॥

With regard to सृज् and यज् there is not gutturalisation as will be further explained under Sûtra VIII. 2. 68 S 443. The N. S of परिमृज् is परिमृट् ॥

The word विभ्राज् given above is formed from that root भ्राज् which belongs to फणादि subdivision of भ्वादि gana, *i e.* the root टुभ्राजृ 'to shine' भ्वादि 875. and not the root भ्राज् number 20 of the भ्वादि where it is exhibited भ्राजि दीप्तौ. This we do, because the root भ्राज् is read along with root राज् in the फणादि subdivision, and as the VIII. 2. 36 S. 294 mentions राज् and भ्राज् together, the भ्राज् here should be taken as the भ्राज् of the फणादि class, where also both are enunciated together and not the other भ्राज् which is shown along with एजृ, भ्रेजृ and भ्राजृ, (Dhâtupâtha भ्वादि 193, 194 and 195). In the case of this भ्राज् there will be कुत्व and not षत्व. Thus N. S. is विभ्राक् or विभ्राग्. Instr. D. विभ्राग्भ्यां &c.

Vârtika. When व्रज् is preceded by upapada परि there comes the affix क्विप् and the अ is lengthened and ज् is changed to ष् when it is final in a Pada. Thus N. S. of परिव्राज् is परिव्राट् which means one who has gone out leaving every thing. The N. Dual and Pl are परिव्राजौ and परिव्राजः respectively.

Now, we take up the declension of विश्वराज्. In its declension, the following rule applies :—

३७९ । विश्वस्य वसुराटोः । ६ । ३ । १२८ ॥

विश्वशब्दस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वसौ राट्शब्दे च परे । विश्वं वसु यस्य स विश्वावसुः । राडिति पदान्तोपलक्षणार्थम् । चत्वमविवक्षितम् । विश्वाराट् । विश्वाराड् । विश्वराजौ । विश्वराज । विश्वाराड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

379. The final vowel of विश्व is lengthened before वसु and राट् (the form assumed by राज्)

Thus विश्वावसुः, *i. e.* one whose wealth is the whole universe. The rule applies to the राट् form of राज् in the Nominative singular, and not when it retains its own form : as विश्वराजौ, विश्वराजः ॥

The राट् is taken in the Sûtra only as an illustration of its Padânta form. It does not mean that the form विश्वाराड् is not valid Thus N. S. has both forms, *i. e*, विश्वाराट् and विश्वाराड्.

———:o:———

Now, we take up the declension of भ्रस्ज. In its declension the following rule applies.

३८० । स्कोः संयोगाद्योरन्ते च । ८ । २ । २९ ॥

पदान्ते झलि च परे यः संयोगस्तदाद्योः सकारककारयोर्लोपः स्यात् । भृट् । भृड् । सस्य श्चुत्वेन शः । तस्य जश्त्वेन ज । भृज्जौ । भृज्ज । ऋत्विगित्यादिना ऋतावुपपदे यजेः क्विन् । क्विन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्वम् । ऋत्विक् । ऋत्विग् । ऋत्विजौ । ऋत्विज । रात्सस्येति नियमान्न संयोगान्तलोपः । ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग् । ऊर्जौ । ऊर्जः । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वं च ॥

380. The स् or क्, when initial in a conjunct consonant, is dropped before a jhal affix and at the end of a word.

Thus to the root भ्रस्ज् we add the affix क्विप् and the र is vocalised into ऋ by VI. 1. 16. S. 2412. and then the स् being elided by the present Sûtra, ज् is changed into ष् by VIII. 2. 36 S. 294. which is again changed into ड् or ड as in the case of राट् already shown above under VIII 2. 30. S. 378. Thus N. S. is भृट् or भृड्.

In forming N. Dual, the स is changed to श् by VIII. 4. 40. S. 111. This श् is again changed to ज by VIII. 4. 53. S. 52. Thus N. D. is भृज्जौ. N. Pl. is भृज्जः.

Now we take up the declension of ऋत्विज्. This word is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन् to the root यज् with the upapada (subsidiary term) ऋतु in combination (See III. 2. 59. S. 373). The क्विन् formed word is finally changed to guttural by VIII. 2. 62. S. 377. Thus the N. S is ऋत्विक् or ऋत्विग्. N D and Plural ऋत्विजौ and ऋत्विजः ॥

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज्. By Sûtra VIII 2. 24. S. 280 no consonant after र् is elided except स्. Therefore ज् is not elided, though it is the final of a conjunct consonant

Though the final स् would have been elided even after र् by VIII 2. 23, the special mention of स् after र् shows, that this is a niyama rule. So that any other letter than स् following after र् will not be dropped. Thus ऊर्क् from ऊर्ज्+क्विप् (III 2 177S 3157), here ज् is not elided, though final in a pada, but is changed to a guttural by VIII 2 30 S 378 and to क by VIII. 4 56. S. 206 Thus N. S is ऊर्क् or ऊर्ग् N D and Pl are ऊर्जौ and ऊर्जः ॥

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ज्.

———·o ———

There are no Masculine nouns ending in ञ्, ट् or ड्.

We take up now the declension of त्यद् The द् of त्यद् is replaced by अ by VII 2 102 S 265 and then there is the substitution of the form of the subsequent by VI. 1 97 S 191 Thus we get the base त्य before the case affixes.

In forming the Nom Sing the following rule applies —

३८१ । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोः । ७ । २ । १०६ ॥

त्यदादीनां तकारदकारयोरनन्त्ययोः स स्यात्सौ परे । स्यः । त्यौ । त्ये । त्यम् । त्यौ । त्यान् । सः । तौ । ते । परमसः । परमतौ । परमते । द्विपर्यन्तानामित्येव । नेह । त्वम् । नच तकारोच्चारणसामर्थ्यान्नेति वाच्यम्, अतित्वमिति गौणे चरितार्थत्वात् ॥ सञ्ज्ञायां गौणत्वे चात्वसत्वे न । त्यद् । त्यदौ । त्यदः । अतित्यद् । अतित्यदौ । अतित्यदः । य । यौ । ये । एषः । एतौ । एते । अन्वादेशे तु, एनम् । एनौ । एनान् । एनेन । एनयो २ ॥

381. For the non-final त् and द् of त्यद् &c. there is substituted स in the Nominative Singular

As त्यद्+सु=त्य+अ+सु (VII. 2 102)=स्य+अ+सु (VII. 2. 106)=स्यः (VI. 1 97) Similarly स from तद्, एष from एतद् as एतद्+सु=एत+अ+स् (VII. 2 102)=एस+अ+स् (VII 2 106)=एषः (VI.1 97) So असौ from अदस् by the sûtra. VII. 2. 107 Why do we say 'non-final'? Observe हे से, सा ॥ Had not this word been used, the case-affix would not be elided in the vocative, as then there would have been no short vowel, as required by VI. 1. 69 S 193.

This rule only applies to त्यदादि words, which as we have already shown, begin with त्यद् and end with द्वि in the list of sarvanâmas. Therefore this will not apply to त्वम् which is not included in the त्यदादि class

Nor should it be stated that "this rule could not have applied to the त् of त्व, for if it did so, what was the necessity of teaching त्व substitution in the place of युष्मद् by VII. 2 94 S 384 That sûtra could have been made as त्वाहौ सौ instead of त्वाहौसौ for it would have been better to say at once let त्वम् be

the N. S. of युष्मद्, instead of first making it त्वम् and then changing the form into त्व" ॥ To this argument we reply, that the rule of त्व substitution will find its unrestricted scope in words like अतित्वम्, where त्वम् is a secondary member only. In the case of त्वम् the present rule would have applied When these words i. e त्यद् &c. are used as proper nouns or sanjnâs (संज्ञा) or when used as secondary members of a compound, the rules of अत्व VII 2 102 S. 265 and सत्व VII 2. 106 S. 381. will not apply because they are sarvanâmas, for see explanation under sûtra I. 1. 29. S. 222. Thus त्यद्, त्यदौ, त्यदः ; अतित्यद्, अतित्यदौ अतित्यद &c.

The pronoun यद् is declined as य, यौ, ये ॥ एतद् is declined as एष, एतौ, एते ॥

In re-employment or अन्वादेश for which, see II. 4. 34. S. 351 we have Acc. forms एनम्, एनौ, एनान्, Instr Sg एनेन; Genitive and Loc Dual एनयोः ॥

———·o———

Now we take up the declension of युष्मद् and अस्मद् In its declension, the following rules apply :—

३८२ । ङे प्रथमयोरम् । ७ । १ । २८ ॥

युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य ङे इत्येतस्य प्रथमाद्वितीययोश्चामादेशः स्यात् ॥

382. अम् is substituted for the Dative case-affix ए and for the endings of the Nominative and Accusative in all numbers, after the stems युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note —The ङे the ending of the Dative is exibited anomalously in the sûtra without any case ending (compare VII 1 13, ङे) प्रथमयो means 'of the first and second cases' Thus युष्मद् + ङे = तुभ्यद् + ङे (VII 2 95) = तुभ्य + ङे (VII 2 90) = तुभ्य + अम् VII 1. 28) = तुभ्यम् (VII. 1. 107 or 97); similarly मह्यम् ॥

Then the rule after the following applies, to understand which the following rule is necessary.

३८३ । मपर्यन्तस्य । ७ । २ । ९१ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

383. The substitutions taught hereafter upto VII. 2. 98 take effect with regard to the portions of युष्मद् and अस्मद् upto म, i. e. the substitutes replace युष्म and अस्म ॥

This is an Adhikâra Sûtra and exerts governing influence on all the seven subsequent sûtras in the order of Ashtâdhyâyî.

३८४ । त्वाहौ सौ । ७ । २ । ९४ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्व अह इत्येतावादेशौ स्तः सौ परे ॥

384. In the Nominative Singular त्व is substituted for युष्म and अह for अस्म् ॥

३८५ । शेषे लोपः । ७ । २ । ९० ॥

आत्वयत्वनिमित्तेतरविभक्तौ परतो युष्मदस्मदोरन्त्यस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥ अतो गुणे ॥ अमि पूर्वः ॥ त्वम् । अहम् । ननु त्व स्त्री अह स्त्री इत्यत्र त्व अम् अह अम् इति स्थिते अमि पूर्वरूपं परमपि बाधित्वाऽन्तरङ्गत्वाट्टाप् प्राप्नोति । सत्यम् । अलिङ्गे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तेन स्त्रीत्वाभावान्न टाप् । यद्वा । शेष इति सप्तमी स्थानिनोऽधिकरणत्वविवक्षया ॥ तेन मपर्यन्ताच्छेषस्य अद् इत्यस्य लोपः । स च परोऽप्यन्तरङ्गे अतो गुणे कृते प्रवर्तते । अदन्तत्वाभावान्न टाप् । परमत्वम् । परमाहम् । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् ॥

385. In the remaining cases where (आ or य is not substituted by VII. 2. 88. and 89. S. 387, 392.) there is elision of the final of yushmad and asmad.

Thus युष्मद् + सु = युष्मद् + अम् (VII. I. 28 S. 342) = त्वद् (VII. 2. 94 S. 384) + अम् = त्व + अम् (द् is elided by the present sûtra) = त्वम् (by VI. 1. 97. S. 191 and VI 1. 107. S. 194). Similarly, the N. S. of अस्मद् is अहम् ॥

Why is not टाप् added in the feminine in 'त्वम् स्त्री' 'अहम् स्त्री' for त्व + अम् and अह + अम् the pûrvarûpa rule ordained by VI. 1. 97. S, 191 and VI. 1. 107. S. 194 though subsequent, is after all bahiranga, and would be set aside by the antaranga rule ordaining टाप् to be added to त्व and अह ?

True But युष्मद् and अस्मद् have no genders and therefore they have no feminine forms and consequently would not give occasion to the addition of the affix टाप्.

Or, in order to avoid all this difficulty about टाप् some would elide the अद् (or टि portion) of युष्मद् and अस्मद् under this sûtra. They argue that by the previous sûtra VII. 2 91. S 383 the portions 'yushm' and 'asm', namely the portions upto म of युष्मद् and अस्मद् are replaced by substitutes. The portion that *remains* (शेष) is अद्, and it is this अद् which is to be elided.

According to their view, the word शेष does not refer to the vibhakti or case affix, but the force of Locative in शेषे is that of a genitive, meaning "of the शेष (remaining)" and to point out the particular *sthâni* which is to be replaced Therefore in युष्मद् and अस्मद्, the युष्म् and अस्म् portions have been already operated upon by other rules, the शेष that remains is अद् portion. In this view, the Sûtra should be translated as "in the remaining cases (*i e.* where आ is not substituted as by VII 2 88. S. 387, nor य as by VII. 2. 89 S. 392. there is elision of the remaining (अद्) portion (I. 1. 64. S. 79) of these two (युष्मद् and अस्मद्)"

In the feminine, there is one more point to be considered even in the light of the second explanation. In युष्मत् + अम् = त्व + अत् + अम् if we follow the ordinary rule of विप्रतिषेध then अत् should be elided first by शेषे लोप then should apply the rule of अतो गुणे if at all Then the form will be त्व + अम् ॥ Here त्व ends with अ, and so would require टाप् in the feminine, and the same difficulty

388. In the Nom. Pl. यूय is substituted for युष्म, and वय for अस्म ॥

Thus यूयम्, वयम्, परमयूयम्, परमवयम्, अतियूयम्, अतिवयम् ॥

Now some one may object that जस् (Nom. Pl) should be changed into शी (VII 1 17. S. 214), after द् in युष्मद् has been elided by शेषे लोपः in the first sense, for then the base is युष्म which ends in अ which is the efficient cause for the application of जसः शी rule. To this we reply, that the following maxim prevents this incongruity.—

Maxim·—If one sûtra of the Angâdhikâra (VI 4. 1. to VII 4 end) has once been applied, another sûtra of the same Adhikâra is not subsequently applicable.

Therefore जस् is not replaced by शी Or we may say that in the sûtra ङे प्रथमयोरम् (VII. 1 28 S 382) one more म् is understood, *i. e.* the sûtra is ङे प्रथमयोरम्म्, which म् indicates that अम् will not be changed into any other form, but will remain always as अम् ending in म्.

३८९ । त्वमावेकवचने । ७ । २ । ९७ ॥

एकस्योक्तौ युष्मदस्मदोर्मपर्यन्तस्य त्वमौ स्तो विभक्तौ ॥

389. त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म when the bases themselves denote a singular expression.

३९० । द्वितीयायां च । ७ । २ । ८७ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरामकारः स्यात् । त्वाम् । माम् । युवाम् । आवाम् ॥

390. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before the endings of the Accusative.

As त्वाम्, माम्, युवाम्, आवाम् ॥

३९१ । शसो न । ७ । १ । २९ ॥

नेत्यविभक्तिकम् । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां परस्य शसो नकारः स्यात् । अमोऽपवादः । आदे परस्य । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । युष्मान् । अस्मान् ॥

391. न् is substituted for the अ of अस् the affix of the Accusative Plural after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

न् has been exhibited in the sûtra without any case affix. Thus युष्मद् + अस = युष्म + न्स् = युष्मा + न् (the स् is elided by संयोगान्तस्य लोपः VIII. 2. 23. S. 54. and अ is lengthened by VII. 2. 87 S. 390.) The substitute न् replaces the initial अ of अस् on the maxim आदे परस्य I. 1. 54 S. 44. because the operation is ordained *after* युष्मद्. Thus युष्मान् and अस्मान् ॥ This debars अम् (VII. 1. 28. S. 382.)

३९२ । योऽचि । ७ । २ । ८९ ॥

अनयोर्यकारादेशः स्यादनादेशेऽजादौ परतः । त्वया । मया ॥

392. य is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, which is not a substitute, and which begins with a vowel.

Thus त्वया, मया, त्वयि, मयि युवयो, आवयो ॥

३९३ । युष्मदस्मदोरनादेशे । ७ । २ । ८६ ॥

अनयोराकार स्यादनादेशे हलादौ विभक्तौ । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् । युष्माभि । अस्माभि ॥

393. आ is substituted for the final of युष्मद् and अस्मद् before a case-ending, beginning with a consonant, when it is not a substitute.

The substitute case-endings are given in VII. 1. 27—33 S 399 &c. Thus युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्, युष्माभि, अस्माभिः ॥

३९४ । तुभ्यमह्यौ ङयि । ७ । २ । ९५ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तुभ्यमह्यौ स्तो ङयि । अमादेश । शेषे लोपः । तुभ्यम् । मह्यम् । परमतुभ्यम् । परममह्यम् । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

394. In the Dative Singular तुभ्य is substituted for युष्म and मह्य for अस्म ॥

The affix अम् is substituted for ङे by VII. 1. 28 S. 382 the त् is elided by VII 2. 90 S, 385.

Thus तुभ्यम्, मह्यम्, परमतुभ्यम्, परममह्यम्, अतितुभ्यम्, अतिमह्यम्, युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम् ॥

३९५ । भ्यसोभ्यम् । ७ । १ । ३० ॥

भ्यसो भ्यम् अभ्यम् वा आदेशः स्यात् । आद्य· शेषे लोपस्यान्त्यलोपस्य एव । तथाङ्गवृत्तपरिभाषया एत्व न । अभ्यम् तु पक्षद्वयेऽपि साधु । युष्मभ्यम् । अस्मभ्यम् ॥

395. भ्यम् or अभ्यम् is substituted for the. Dative भ्यस् after 'yushmad' and 'asmad.'

As युष्मभ्यम् and अस्मभ्यम् ॥ As the sûtra is constructed (भ्यसो भ्यम्) it is not easy to say whether the substitute is भ्यम् or अभ्यम् ॥ If it is भ्यम्, then we have two cases, (1) eliding the final द् of yushmad and asmad, by VII. 2. 90. S. 385 and adding भ्यम् (2) eliding अद् of yushmad and asmad by VII. 2. 90, and adding भ्यम् ॥ It has been already shown in S. 385 that VII. 2. 90, is capable of two explanations, one by which yushmad and asmad lose their द् only, and by another अद् ॥ Similarly with अभ्यम् we have also two cases, Thus we have four cases.

as (1) yushma + bhyam, (2) yushm + bhyam, (3) yushma + abhyam, (4) yushm + abhyam In the case of the first (yushma + bhyam) we can get the proper form, though it may be objected that yushma + bhyam should be equal to युष्मेभ्यम् by VII 3 103 S 205 This ए substitution will not take place, however, by force of the maxim अङ्गवृत्ते पुनर्वृत्तावविधि निर्दिष्टितस्य "when an operation which is taught in the angâdhikâra has taken place, and another operation of the angâdhikâra is subsequently applicable, this latter operation is not allowed to take place."

The second case is an impossibility, namely, yushm + bhyam can give us no form. The third case yushma + abhyam will give us the proper form युष्मभ्यम् (अ + अ = अ by VI 1 97 S 191). Moreover the accent also will be on the middle युष्मभ्यम् by VI. 1. 161, the udâtta अ of yushma being elided by the anudâtta अ of अभ्यम्, the acute will be on the anudâtta अ ॥ It should not be objected that in VI 1 161, the word अन्त of VI. 1 159 S 3680 is understood, and the accent will be on the final We shall show in that sûtra, that the udâtta will fall on the आदि (*beginning*) of the anudâtta term which causes the elision. The fourth alternative yushm + abhyam is free from all objections.

३९६ । एकवचनस्य च । ७ । १ । ३२ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्येकवचनस्य अत्स्यात् । त्वत् । मत् । ङसेश्चेति सुवचम् । युवाभ्याम् । आवाभ्याम् ॥

396. This substitution of अत् is made in the singular number also of the Ablative, after yushmad and asmad

As त्वद् and मद् ॥ For the substitution of त्व and म see VII. 2 97; S. 389. and त्व and म + अत् = त्वत् and मत् by VI 1. 97 S 191.

It would have been better to have enunciated the Sutra as 'ङसेश्च'

Abl Dual युवाभ्याम्, आवाभ्याम्.

३९७ । पञ्चम्या अत् । ७ । २ । ३१ ॥

आभ्यां पञ्चम्या भ्यसोऽत्स्यात् । युष्मत् । अस्मत् ॥

397. अत् is substituted for the Ablative भ्यस्, after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

As युष्मत्, अस्मत् ॥ The द् is elided by VII 2. 90 S 385 before the case ending भ्यस and युष्म + अत् = युष्मत् by VI. 1. 97 S. 191.

३९८ । तवममौ ङसि । ७ । २ । ९६ ॥

अनयोर्मपर्यन्तस्य तवममौ स्तो ङसि ॥

398. In the Genitive Singular तव is substituted for युष्म and मम for अस्म ॥

३९९ । युष्मदस्मद्भ्यां ङसोऽश् । ७ । १ । २७ ॥

स्पष्टम् । तव । मम । युवयोः । आवयोः ॥

399. अश् (I. 1. 55), is substituted for the Genitive ending अस् after युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Thus तव and मम , युवयो', आवयो ॥

The indicatory श of अश् shows that by I 1 55, S 45 the *whole* of the affix अस् is to be replaced: otherwise it would have replaced only the first letter of the affix, and the affix not being a substitute-affix, rule VII 2 89 S 392 would not be applicable to it. The तव is substituted for युष्मद्, and मम for अस्मद् by VII 2 96 S. 398 and तव + अ (अश्), and मम् + अ = तव and मम् by VI 1. 97 S 191

४०० । साम आकम् । ७ । १ । ३३॥

आभ्यां परस्य साम आकं स्यात् । भाविनः सुटो निवृत्यर्थं ससुट्कनिर्देश । युष्माकम् । अस्माकम् । त्वयि । मयि । युवयोः । आवयोः । युष्मासु । अस्मासु ॥

समस्यमाने द्व्येकत्ववाचिनी युष्मदस्मदी । समासार्थोऽन्यसङ्ख्यश्चेत्स्तो युवावौ त्वमावपि ॥ १
सुजस्ङेङस्सु परत आदेशा· स्युः सदैव ते । त्वाहौ यूयवयौ तुभ्यमह्यौ तवममावपि ॥ २ ॥
एते परत्वाद्बाधन्ते युवावौ विषये स्वके । त्वमावपि प्रबाधन्ते पूर्वविप्रतिषेधत· ॥ ३ ॥
द्व्येकसङ्ख्य· समासार्थो बह्वर्थे युष्मदस्मदी ॥ तयोरद्व्येकतार्थत्वान्न युवावौ त्वमौ च न ॥ ४ ॥

त्वां मां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे । अतित्वम् । अत्यहम् । अतित्वाम् । अतिमाम् । अतियूयम् । अतिवयम् । अतित्वाम्२ । अतिमाम्२ । अतित्वान् । अतिमान् । अतित्वया । अतिमया । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वाभिः । अतिमाभि । अतितुभ्यम् । अतिमह्यम् । अतित्वाभ्याम् । अतिमाभ्याम् । अतित्वभ्यम् । अतिमभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतित्वत् २ । अतिमत् २ । भ्यामि प्राग्वत् । अतितव । अतिमम । अतित्वयो । अतिमयो । अतित्वाकम् । अतिमाकम । अतित्वयि । अतिमयि । अतित्वयोः । अतिमयोः । अतित्वासु । अतिमासु ।

युवाम्, आवां वा अतिक्रान्त इति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औअमऔट्सु । अतियुवाम् । ३ अत्यावाम् ३ । अतियुवान् । अत्यावान् । अतियुवया । अत्यावया । अतियुवाभ्याम् ३ । अत्यावाभ्याम ३ । अतियुवाभिः । अत्यावाभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुवभ्यम् । अत्यावभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतियुवत् २ । अत्यावत् २ । ओसि । अतियुवयो २ । अत्यावयो· २ । अतियुवाकम् । अत्यावाकम् । अतियुवयि । अत्यावयि । अति-युवासु । अत्यावासु ।

युष्मानस्मान्वेति विग्रहे सुजस्ङेङस्सु प्राग्वत् । औअमऔट्सु । अतियुष्माम् ३ । अत्यस्माम् ३ । अतियुष्मान् । अत्यस्मान् । अतियुष्मया । अत्यस्मया । अतियुष्माभ्याम् ३ । अत्यस्माभ्याम् ३ । अतियुष्माभि· । अत्यस्माभिः । भ्यासि । अतियुष्मभ्यम् । अत्यस्मभ्यम् । ङसिभ्यसो । अतियुष्मत् । अत्यस्मत् । ओसि । अतियुष्मयोः २ । अत्यस्मयो· २ । अतियुष्माकम् । अत्यस्माकम् । अतियुष्मयि । अत्यस्मयि । अतियु-ष्मासु । अत्यस्मासु ॥

400 आकम is substituted for the Genitive plural affix साम (VII -1. 52 S. 217), after yushmad, and asmad.

साम् is the affix आम् of the Genitive plural with the augment स ॥ Thus युष्माकम् and अस्माकम् ॥ Why is it read साम and not आम, when there is no स

at the time when the substitution is ordained? It is read as साम् in order to indicate that आकम् will not get the augment सु, for otherwise 'yushma' and 'asma' having lost their 'd' by VII. 2. 90, S. 385 end in अ, and so by VII. 1. 52, S. 217 would cause the genitive affix to get the augment सु; the present Sûtra removes that also. The substitute is exhibited with a long आ, in order to make अ + आ = आ in युष्म + आकम, had it been short अ, then there would have been no lengthening, but अ + अ = अ by VI. 1. 97 S. 191 If you say 'the very fact that अकम् was taught and not कम्, would prevent para-rûpa and cause lengthening', we reply, that the अ of अकम् would find its scope in preventing ए substitution. For without अ, we should have युष्म + कम् = युष्मेकम् (VII. 3 103S 205).

Why has Pânini used the form साम: and not आम, ? The objector may say there was no necessity of using साम for the following reason .—युष्मद् + आम as the base युष्मद् ends in a consonant, the sûtra आमि सर्वनाम्नः सुट् (VII. 1 52 S. 217) cannot apply here, as its efficient cause (i. e an anga ending in a vowel) is absent. We reply to this, that after the elision of द् by शेषे लोपः, (VII. 2 90. S 385) the सुट् will come, because then the base ends in a vowel. To remove that स, Pânini has stated साम: आकम ॥

But when the sûtra शेषे लोपः is taken in the second sense, there is no necessity of inserting स in the Present sûtra, as in that case, the base will end in a consonant whereby the sûtra सर्वनाम्नः सुट् is prevented.

——— o ———

Verses:—When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denoting a unity or a duality in themselves are members of a compound, which may denote any number, then also त्व and युव will be substituted for युष्मद् and म and आव for अस्मद् ॥ (1)

But when they are followed by सु (Nom. S.) जस् (Nom Pl), ङे (Dat. S), ङस् (Gen. S.), then युष्मद् will be replaced by त्व, यूय, तुभ्य and तव and अस्मद् by अह, वय, मह्य and मम ॥ (2)

Now these supersede युव, and आव by being taught subsequently to the rule teaching युव and आव substitutions. While त्व and म are superseded by the above, by the rule of पूर्व विप्रतिषेध ॥ (3)

When the compound denotes a singular or a dual number, and the component members युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote a plural number, then युव, आव, त्व and म will not be substituted for them, as the efficient cause (one-ness or duality) is wanting here (4)

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I. युष्मद् AND अस्मद् SINGULAR.

Now we take अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥ When these compounds are analysed, they stand thus त्वां मां क्रान्त = अतित्वम्, मां अतिक्रान्तः = अत्यहम् ॥

Here the component parts युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote singular number, and the whole compound means a third person The compound is thus formed अति + युष्मद् = अतियुष्मद् and so also अति अस्मद् ॥ These are dvitiyâ Tatpurusha compounds and consequently they get Prâtipadika samjñâ and सु in the Nom S Thus अतियुष्मद् + सु ॥ Here the component number युष्मद् denotes a singular, and the compound itself is followed by सु, and so the rule contained in the second verse applies and we have अतित्वम् and अत्यहम् ॥

Now we take up अतियुष्मद् + औ (Nom Dual) = अतियुष्मद् + अम् (ङ प्रथमयो रम् VII 1 28 S 382) Here the rule contained in the first verse applies, so we get अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वाम् So also अतिमाम् ॥

Then अतियुष्मद् + जस ॥ Here the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूय + अम् = अतियूयम् ॥ So also अतिवयम् ॥

Then in Acc Sing and Dual we have अतित्वाम् and अतिमाम् by the first verse In Acc Pl we have अतित्वान् and अतिमान् by the same

The Ins forms are derived by applying the first verse as अतित्वया, अतित्वाभ्याम्, अतित्वाभि &c In the Dative Sing the second verse will ppl , and thus we get अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् ॥ In the remaining numbers of the Dative, the first rule will apply

In the Ablative, the first verse will apply as अतित्वत् (S), अतित्वत् (D) अतित्वाभ्याम् (Pl)

In the Gen S the second verse will apply, and so we get अतितव and अतिमम ॥ In the remaining numbers the first verse will apply

In the Locative Sing, Dual and Plural the first verse will apply

II युष्मद् AND अस्मद् IN THE DUAL

When the compounds अतियुष्मद् and अत्यस्मद् are analysed as अतिक्रान्त युवा and अतिक्रान्त आवाम्, then —

अतियुष्मद् + सु = अतित्व + अम् = अतित्वम् and so also अत्यहम् ॥ Here the second verse will apply In the Nom Dual the first verse will apply, and we get अतियुवाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the Nom Pl the second verse will apply, and we have अतियूय and अतिवयम् ॥

In all numbers of the Acc the first verse will apply as अतियुवाम्, and अतियुवाम्, and अत्यावाम् and अत्यावाम् ॥ In the plural we have अतियुवान् and अत्यावान् ॥

In the Ins numbers the first verse will apply and we have अतियुवया अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवाभि , and अत्यावया, अत्यावाभ्याम् and अत्यावाभि ॥

In the Dative Sing the second verse will apply and we have अतितुभ्यम् and अतिमह्यम् The dual and plural are formed by the first verse as अतियुवाभ्याम् and अतियुवभ्यम and अत्यावाभ्याम and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Ablative, the first verse applies as अतियुवत्, अतियुवत्, and अतियुवभ्यम् and अत्यावत् अत्यावत् and अत्यावभ्यम् ॥

In the Gen S the second verse will apply and in the Dual and Plural the first and we have, अतितव, अतियुवयो अतियुवाकम् ॥ So also अतिमम, अत्यावयो and अत्यावाकम् ॥

In the Loc Sing Dual and Pl the first verse will apply and so we get —अतियुवयि, अतियुवयो, अतियुवासु ॥ So also अत्यावयि, अत्यावयो and अत्यावासु ॥

III युष्मद् and अस्मद् in the Plural

When युष्मद् and अस्मद् denote plural as अतिक्रान्त युष्मान् or अस्मान् ॥ Here the fourth verse will apply, and अतियुष्मद् and अति अस्मद् will be declined as follow —

	Nom	Acc	Ins	Dat	Abl	Gen	Loc
Singular	अतित्वम्	अतियुष्माम्	अतियुष्मया	अतितुभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत्	अतितव	अतियुष्मयि
	अत्यहम्	अत्यस्माम	अत्यस्मया	अतिमह्य*	अत्यस्मत्	अतिमम	अत्यस्मयि
Dual	अतियुष्माम्	"	अतियुष्माभ्याम्	"	"	अतियुष्मयो	"
	अत्यस्माम्	"	अत्यस्माभ्याम्	"	"	अत्यस्मयो	"
Plural	अतियूयम्	अतियुष्मान्	अतियुष्माभि	अतियुष्मभ्यम्	अतियुष्मत्	अतियुष्माकम्	अतियुष्मासु
	अतिवयम्	अत्यस्मान्	अत्यस्माभि	अत्यस्मभ्यम	अत्यस्मत्	अत्यस्माकम्	अत्यस्मासु

४०१ । पदस्य । ८ । १ । १६ ॥

401 Upto VIII 3 54, inclusive, should be always supplied in every subsequent sûtra, the phrase "of a word," or "to the whole of a word"

Note —This is an adhikâra sûtra, and extends up to VIII ३. 55, in order of enunciation of Panini's Ashtadhyayi

४०२ । पदात् । ८ । १ । १७ ॥

402 Upto VIII. 1 68, inclusive should always be supplied the phrase ' after a pada "

४०३ । अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ । ८ । १ । १८ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

403 Upto VIII 1 74, inclusive is to be supplied the phrase "The whole is unaccented, if it does not stand at the beginning of the foot of a verse"

४०४ । युष्मदस्मदो षष्ठीचतुर्थीद्वितीयास्थयोर्वांनावौ । ८ । १ । २० ॥

पदात्परयोरपादादौ स्थितयोरनयो षष्ठ्यादिविशिष्टयोर्वांनावित्यादेशौ स्त । तौ चानुदात्तौ ॥

404 For the Genitive, Dative and Accusative Dual of yushmad and asmad, are substituted वाम् and नौ respectively, when a word precedes it and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta

All the three sûtras पदस्य, पदात् and अनुदात्तं सर्वमपादादौ are applicable here

Note —These two वाम् and नौ come in the Dual only, because other substitutes have been taught for the Singular and Plural in the two subsequent sutras

४०५ । बहुवचनस्य वस्नसौ । ८ । १ । २१ ॥

उक्तविधयो षष्ठ्यादिबहुवचनान्तयोर्वस्नसौ स्त । वांनावोरपवाद ॥

405 For (the Genitive, Dative, and Accusative) plural of yushmad and asmad are substituted वस् and नस् respectively, (when a word precedes, and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse, and these substitutes are anudâtta)

This Sûtra debars the the substitutes वाम् and नौ taught in the previous Sutra

४०६ । तेमयावेकवचनस्य । ८ । १ । २२ ॥

उक्तविधयोरनयो षष्ठीचतुर्थ्येकवचनान्तयोस्ते मे एतौ स्त ॥

406 For the Genitive and Dative Singular (of yushmad and asmad are substituted) ते and मे respectively, (when a word precedes and if it does not stand at the beginning of a foot of a verse and these are anudâtta)

४०७ । त्वामौ द्वितीयाया । ८ । १ । २३ ॥

द्वितीयैकवचनान्तयोस्त्वा मा एतौ स्त ।

श्रीशस्त्वाऽवतु मापीह दत्तात्ते मेऽपि शर्म स । स्वामी ते मेऽपि स हरि पातु वामपि नौ विभु ॥१॥

सुख वा नौ ददात्वीश पतिर्वामपि नौ हरि । सोऽव्याद्वो न शिव वो नो दद्यात्सेव्योऽत्र व स न ॥ २ ॥

पदात्परयो किम् । वाक्यादौ मा भूत् । त्वा पातु । मा पातु । अपादादौ किम् । वेदैरशेषै संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्ण सदावतु ।

स्थग्रहणाच्छ्रूयमाणविभक्तिकयोरेव । नेह । इति युष्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति । इत्यस्मत्पुत्रो ब्रवीति ॥

समानवाक्ये निघातयुष्मदस्मदादेशा वक्तव्या * ॥ एकतिङ् वाक्यम् । तेनेह न । ओदन पच तव भविष्यति । इह तु स्यादेव । शालीना ते ओदन दास्यामीति ॥

एते वांनावादय आदेशा अनन्वादेशे वा वक्तव्या * ॥ अन्वादेशे तु नित्य स्यु । धाता ते भक्तोऽस्ति । धाता तव भक्तोऽस्तीति वा । तस्मै ते नम इत्येव ॥

407 For the Accusative Singular of yushmad and asmad are substituted त्वा and मा respectively, under the same circumstances

Verses—"May the Lord of *Srî* preserve thee (twâ) and me (mâ) also here—may He give to thee (te), and to me (me) also, felicity!

That Hari is thy (te) Lord and mine (me) also

May the Omnipresent preserve you two (vâm) and also us two (nau)

May God give felicity to you two (vâm) and to us two (nau)

Hari is the Lord of you two (vâm) and also of us two (nau)

May He preserve you (vah) and us (nah), may He give prosperity to you (vah) and to us (nah)

He is the object of worship here of you (vah) and of us (nah)"

Why do we say "पदात्" *i e* after a Pada? So that the substitutions may not take place when pronouns are in the beginning of a sentence As त्वं पातु and not त्वा पातु Similarly मा पातु also

Why do we say "अपादादौ" *i e* when not at the beginning of a hemistich? Observe वेदैरशेषैः संवेद्योऽस्मान्कृष्णः सर्वदावतु ॥ Here we have अस्मान् and not नः ॥

The word स्थ in the sûtra indicates that the case affixes must be express and not understood, for the purposes of this substitution Therefore, not here इति युष्मत्पुत्रः though here yushmat is preceded by a word in a sentence, and is in the Genitive case, yet ते substitution (VIII 1 21) does not take place, because the case-affix is elided

Vârt—The rules relating to nighâta (by which all syllables of a word become unaccented, such as VIII 1 19 and VIII 1 28 &c) and to the substitutes of yushmad and asmad apply then only, when the preceding word which would cause the nighâta or the substitution, is part of the same sentence with the latter word The word वाक्य or "sentence" means that which contains one finite verb Therefore not here,—ओदनं पच, तव भविष्यति। ओदनं पच, मम भविष्यति ॥ "Cook the food, it will be for thee Cook the food it will be for me" That is, the rice cooked by thee, will do both for thyself and myself Here the ते and मे substitutions have not taken place (VIII 1 22) for yushmad and asmad But the rule will apply here —शालीनां ते ओदनं दास्यामि ॥ In the last example, the verb and the substitutes of yusmad and asmad are not in syntactical construction with the words that immediately precede them, and yet the substitution takes place, in spite of the general maxim समर्थः पदविधिः (II 1 1), for rules relating to completed words apply to such words only which are in construction

For शालीना is not in construction with ते, but with ओदन i e शालीना ओदन ते दास्यामि ॥ Yet it causes ते substitution of yushmad Though the preceding words are not *samartha* with regard to the words that follow them, they cause the changes, because the words are in the *same* sentence

Vârt —It should be stated, that the substitutes वा, नौ &c are *all* optional, when not employed in anvâdesa, whether the nominative is preceded by another noun or not, but when there is anvâdesa, then the substitution is *compulsory* and not optional Thus धाता ते, भक्तोऽस्ति or धातातव भक्तोऽस्ति ॥ But in anvâdesa, we have only one form, as तस्मै ते नम ॥ Which means " Brahmâ is Thy (ते or तव) worshipper " But in the sequel, " to Thee (ते) that art such, our reverence is due," the form ते alone is admissible

४०८ । न चवाहाऽहैवयुक्ते । ८ । १ । २४ ॥

चादिपञ्चकयोगे नैते आदेशा स्यु । हरिस्त्वा मां च रक्षतु । कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेदित्यादि । युक्तग्रहणात्साक्षाद्योगेऽयं निषेध । परंपरासंबन्धे तु आदेश स्यादेव । हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥

408 The above substitutions do not take place, when there is in connection with the pronouns, any of these five, viz —च, ' and ' वा, ' or ' ह, ' oh ! अह ' wonderful ', or एव ' only '

Thus हरिस्त्वा च मां च रक्षतु ॥ कथं त्वां मां वा न रक्षेत् &c.

The word युक्त is employed in the sûtra to indicate direct conjunction Therefore, where the conjunction is not direct, but intermediate, the employment would be of the shorter forms Thus हरो हरिश्च मे स्वामी ॥ Here the word च connects हर and हरि and not the pronoun in the above word Therefore the prohibition does not apply

४०९ । पश्यार्थैश्चानालोचने । ८ । १ । २५ ॥

अचाक्षुषज्ञानार्थधातुभिर्योगे एते आदेशा न स्यु । चेतसा त्वां समीक्षते । परम्परासम्बन्धेऽप्ययं निषेध । भक्तस्तव रूपं ध्यायति । आलोचने तु भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

409 The above substitutions do not take place also in connection with verbs having the sense of " seeing " when physical seeing is not denoted, but " knowing " is meant

Note —The word पश्यार्था is equivalent to दर्शनार्था, and दर्शन means ' knowledge ', i e verbs denoting ' to know ', आलोचन means perception obtained through sight i e physical ' seeing ' opposed to metaphorical " seeing "= " knowing " The substitutions of वा and नौ &c for युष्मद् and अस्मद् do not take place when these pronouns are employed in connection with verbs denoting ' seeing ' (metaphorically) but not ' looking ' (physically)

Thus चेतसा त्वासमीक्षते, भक्तस्तवरूप ध्यायति ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'to look'? Observe भक्तस्त्वा पश्यति चक्षुषा ॥

Ishti — With regard to verbs of "Seeing" the rule should apply even where the connection is not direct as भक्तस्तव रूप ध्यायति ॥

४१० । सपूर्वाया प्रथमाया विभाषा । ८ । १ । २६ ॥

विद्यमानपूर्वात्प्रथमान्तात्परयोरनयोरन्वादेशेऽप्येते आदेशा वा स्तु । भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वा त्रायते स माम् । त्वा मेति वा ॥

410 When the pronoun follows after a Nominative which itself is preceded by another word, then the above substitutions may take place optionally even in anvâdeśa

Thus भक्तस्त्वमप्यहं तेन हरिस्त्वा त्रायते समाम् ॥ Here the alternative forms त्वा and मा are admissible

———o———

We have already said that युष्मद् and अस्मद् substitutions do not take place when they are in the beginning of a pâda To this, however, there is an exception, when the first word is a Vocative, technically called आमन्त्रित which is defined in the next sûtra, then also though युष्मद् and अस्मद् may not really be in the beginning of a pâda, yet the substitutions will not take place by the sûtra after next

४११ । सामन्त्रितम् । २ । ३ । ४८ ॥

सबोधने या प्रथमा तदन्तमामन्त्रितसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

411 The word ending with the first case-affix, in the sense of addressing, is called Amantrita or Vocative

४१२ । आमन्त्रितं पूर्वमविद्यमानवत् । ८ । १ । ७२ ॥

स्पष्टम् । अग्ने तव । देवास्मान्पाहि । अग्ने नय । अग्न इन्द्र वरुण । इह युष्मदस्मदोरादेशास्तिङन्तनिघात आमन्त्रितनिघातश्च न । सर्वदा रक्ष देव न इत्यत्र तु देवेत्यस्याविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि नत प्राचीन रक्षेत्येतदाश्रित्यादेशा । एवम् इम मे गङ्गे यमुने इति मन्त्रे यमुन इत्यादिभ्य प्राचीनामन्त्रिताविद्यमानवद्भावेऽपि मेशब्दमेवाश्रित्य सर्वेषा निघात ॥

412 A preceding Vocative is considered as non-existent, (for the purposes of the accent of the following word, and the enclitic forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्) ॥

Thus अग्ने' तव ॥ देव' अस्मान्पाहि ॥ अग्ने' नय ॥ अग्न' इन्द्र' वरुण' ॥ Here तव and अस्मान् cannot get the shorter form, though they are not at the beginning of a hemistich, because they are preceded by the आमन्त्रित words अग्ने and देव ॥

Similarly in अग्ने नय the verb नय does not become accentless as it would otherwise have become by VIII 1 28 S 3935

In अग्ने ! इन्द्र ! वरुण ! the rule VIII 1 19 S 3654 does not apply

Note —Such a Vocative is treated as if not at all existing, it is simply ignored The operation which its presence otherwise would have caused does not take place, and that operation takes place which would have taken place had it not existed What are the particular purposes served by considering it as non-existent ? They are (1) the absence of the accent less ness of the subsequent Vocative which the first, taken as a पद, would have caused under VIII 1 19 S 3654 As देवदत्त ! यज्ञदत्त ! Here the first Vocative देवदत्त does not cause the second Vocative to lose its accent, but it remains first acute by VI 1 198 S 3653 (2) The accent less ness of the verb required by VIII 1 28 S 3935 is prevented as, देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (3) The substitution of the shorter forms of युष्मद् and अस्मद्, required by VIII 1 20 23 S 404 &c is prevented, as देवदत्त तव (not ते) ग्राम स्वम्, देवदत्त मम (not मे) ग्राम स्वम् ॥ (4) The application of VIII 1 37 S 3944 takes place, in spite of the intervention of the Vocative between the Particle and the verb, such intervention is not considered as taking away anything from the immediateness (अनन्तरम्) of the Particle from the verb as, यावद् देवदत्त पचसि ॥ (5) For the purposes of VIII 1 47, S 3954 though a Vocative may precede जातु, the latter is still considered as अविद्यमानपूर्व and VIII 1 47 applies, as देवदत्त जातु पचसि ॥ (6) So also in the case of VIII 1 49, S 3956 as आहो देवदत्त पचसि, उताहो देवदत्त पचसि, no option is allowed here by VIII 1 50 S 3957

In ' सर्वदा रक्ष देव न ' although the word देव is non existent, yet taking रक्ष as a preceding word न is used

In इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि the first Vocative गङ्गे is considered as non-existent with regard to यमुन, and, therefore, यमुने is considered as following immediately after the pada मे and thus यमुने becomes anudâtta, not because of गङ्गे, but because of मे In other words, the intervention of the Vocatives does not stop the action of मे ॥ This nighâta or accentlessness is heard in Pada-Pâtha only, i e when the words are read separately, and not in Sanhitâ-reading In Sanhitâ there will be eka sruti of I 2 39 S 3668

४१३ । नामन्त्रिते समानाधिकरणे सामान्यवचनम् । ८ । १ । ७३ ॥

विशेष्ये समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते परे नाविद्यमानवत्स्यात् । हरे दयालो न पाहि । अग्ने तेजस्विन् ॥

413 A preceding Vocative, when it conveys a general idea, is not to be considered as if non-existent, for the purposes of the subsequent Vocative, which stands in apposition with the former

Thus हरे दयालो न पाहि " O Hari ! O Merciful ! protect us ' अग्ने तेजस्विन् " O Agni ! O powerful ! " Here तेजस्विन् is all anudatta by VIII 1 19 S 3654, because it is preceded by a word, though that word is Vocative

Note —Why do we say समान्यवचनम् 'which is a generic word ' ? The rule will not apply when the Vocatives are synonyms Thus अग्न्ये देवि सरस्वति इडे

कौम्ये विहव्ये एतानि ते अघ्न्य नामानि ॥ All these Vocatives are synonyms of Saraswati, and hence all retain their accent of the Vocative (VI 1 198) According to Pada manjari the reading given in Taittariya Br is —इडे रन्तेऽदिते सरस्वति प्रिय प्रेयसि महि विश्रुते, एतानि ते अघ्निये नामानि ॥ सामान्यवचनम् means 'a generic term' When the first is a generic term, and the second is a specific term, (विशेष वचन) qualifying the first, and both are in the singular number, there the present rule will apply

This sûtra prevents the operation of the last sutra in the particular case when the two Vocatives are in apposition, and the second qualifies the first Thus अग्ने गृहपते, माणवक जटिलकाध्यापक ॥ The first vocative being considered as existing, the second vocative loses its accent

Why do we say 'the *vocative* subsequent'? Observe देवदत्त पचसि here the *verb* does not lose its accent Why do we say 'standing in apposition' or सामानाधिकरणे? Observe देवदत्त पण्डित यज्ञदत्त, here the word पण्डित qualifies यज्ञदत्त, and is not in apposition with देवदत्त, and hence it retains its accent

Then applies Sûtra VIII 1 74 S 3655 which for the sake of convenience we repeat here

४१३ (क) । विभाषित विशेषवचने । ८ । १ । ७४ ॥

अत्र भाष्यम् । बहुवचनमिति वक्तव्यमिति । बहुवचनान्त विशेष्य समानाधिकरणे आमन्त्रिते विशेषणे परे अविद्यमानवद्वा । यूय प्रभव । देवा शरण्या । युष्मान् भजे वो भज इति वा । इहान्वादेशेऽपि वैकल्पिका आदेशा । सुपात् । सुपाद् । सुपादौ । सुपाद । सुपादम् । सुपादौ ॥

413 A When the preceding Vocative is *in the plural number*, it is optionally considered as non-existent, if the subsequent Vocative, in apposition with it, is a specific term

Here the author of the Mahâbhâshya states —"The word *bahu vachanam* should be added to the sûtra to complete the sense" That is the sûtra should run as विभाषित विशेषवचने बहुवचनम् ॥ We have therefore translated the sûtra with this emendation of Patanjali

Thus यूय प्रभव, देवा शरण्या । युष्मान् भजे or वो भजे ॥ Here even in anvâdeśa there is optional substitution of व for युष्मान् ॥

———o———

Now, we take up the declension of सुपाद् In the strong, *i e* in the first five cases it is declined as —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	सुपात् or सुपाद्,	सुपादौ	सुपाद
Ac	सुपादम्	सुपादौ	

In the formation of the Acc Pl and the rest, the ollowing rule applies,

४१४ । पाद पत् । ६ । ४ । १३० ॥

पाच्छब्दान्तं यदङ्गं भं तदवयवस्य पाच्छब्दस्य पदादेशः स्यात् । सुपदः । सुपदा । सुपाद्भ्यामित्यादि । अग्निं मन्थतीत्यग्निमत् । अग्निमद् । अग्निमथौ । अग्निमथः । अग्निमद्भ्यामित्यादि । ऋत्विगित्यादिसूत्रेणाञ्चेः सुप्युपपदे क्विन् ।

414 For पाद् is substituted पद् when the former is Bha

Note —The substitute replaces the whole form पाद् and not only the final, on the maxim निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति "substitutes take the place of that which is actually enunciated in a rule" ॥

Thus the Acc Pl is सुपदः ॥ Instr Sing and Dual are सुपदा, सुपद्भ्याम् &c

———o———

Now we take up the declension of अग्निमथ् meaning 'kindling fire' It is declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	अग्निमत् or अग्निमद्	अग्निमथौ	अग्निमथः

Instr Dual is अग्निमद्भ्याम् &c

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in थ्

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in च्

Now we take up the declension of प्राञ्च्

According to Sûtra III 2 59 S 373, the affix क्विन् is employed after the verb अञ्च् to make it a Prâtipadika, before the case terminations

Thus having got the noun प्राञ्च्, in its declension, the following rules apply

४१५ । अनिदितां हल उपधायाः क्ङिति । ६ । ४ । २४ ॥

हलन्तानामनिदितामङ्गानामुपधाया नस्य लोपः स्यात्किति ङिति च । उगिदचामिति नुम् । संयोगान्तस्य लोपः । नुमो नकारस्य क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुरिति कुत्वेन ङकारः । प्राङ् । अनुस्वारपरसवर्णौ । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चम् । प्राञ्चौ ॥

415 In a root-stem ending in a consonant preceded by न्,—this न not being added to the root owing to its having an indicatory इ (VII 1 58)—the न् is elided when an affix having an indicatory क् or ङ् follows

By Sutra VII 1 70 S 361, the, stem अच् gets the augment नुम् in the strong cases

Then by VIII 2 23 S 54, the last consonant is dropped By VIII 2 62 S 377 which says that 'a stem formed with the affix क्विन् substitutes at the end of a word, a guttural for the final Consonant' we get the N S as प्राङ् thus —प्राच् + सु = प्राच् (VI 4 24 S 415) + सु = प्रा + न् (VII 1 70 S 361) + च् + सु = प्रान् च् + O (सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252) – प्रान् च् = प्रान् (च being elided by VIII 2 23 S 54) = प्राङ् (न् turned to ङ् by VIII 2 62 S 377)

The N Dual &c are formed by changing the न् into anuswâra, and then the anuswâra into ञ् by VIII 4 58 S 124

Thus प्राञ्चौ, प्राञ्च , Acc प्राञ्चम् प्राञ्चौ

In forming the Acc Pl &c the following rules apply

४१६ । अचः । ६ । ४ । १३८ ॥

लुप्तनकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य लोपः स्यात् ॥

416 the अ of अच् (when अञ्च् loses its nasal,) is elided at the end of a Bha stem

The lengthening of the first member takes place by VI 3 138 S 417

४१७ । चौ । ६ । ३ । १३८ ॥

लुप्ताकारनकारेऽञ्चतौ परे पूर्वस्याणो दीर्घः स्यात् । प्राचः । प्राचा । प्राग्भ्यामित्यादि । प्रत्यङ् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । प्रत्यञ्चः । प्रत्यञ्चम् । प्रत्यञ्चौ । अच इति लोपस्य विषयेऽन्तरङ्गोऽपि यण् न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । प्रतीचः । प्रतीचा । अणुमञ्चतीति विग्रहे । अणु अञ्च् इति स्थिते ॥

417 The final vowel of the preceding member is lengthened before अञ्च्, when it assumes the form च, having lost its nasal and the vowel अ ॥

Thus Acc Pl is प्राचः , Instr Sing or Dual are प्राचा प्राग्भ्याम् &c

Now we take up the declension of प्रत्यञ्च् ॥ In strong cases, it is declined as प्रत्यङ्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, प्रत्यञ्चः ॥ प्रत्यञ्चम्, प्रत्यञ्चौ, In weak cases, अ is elided by VI 4 138 S 416 and though this lopa is a bahiranga process, while the यण् or semivowel Sandhi is an antaranga process, yet this lopa is not considered asiddha for the purposes of this sandhi This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा-&c See under Sûtra I 3 11 S 46 Thus Acc Pl is प्रतीचः , Instr Sing is प्रतीचा ॥ &c प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रति + अच् + अस् ॥ Here two sûtras simultaneously appear for application, viz इकोयणचि and अचः ॥ Now इकोयणचि is antaranga, because the efficient cause अ of अच is *inside* that of शस्, and the efficient cause शस् by which अ of अच् would be elided is outside, therefore यण् âdeśa should take place first, thus प्रति + अच् + शस् = प्रत्य् + अच् + शस् ॥ After this अ should be elided as प्रत्य् + च् + शस् ॥ This however gives us no form, and so relying on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा

&c the अन्तरङ्ग यण substitution is set aside Now, we take up the declension of अञ्च as compounded with the pronoun अदस् meaning अमुम् अञ्चति ॥ Thus we have अदस + अञ्च् + क्विन् ॥ Here applies the following sutra

४१८ । विष्वग्देवयोश्च टेरद्र्यञ्चतौ वप्रत्यये । ६ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयो सर्वनाम्नश्च टेरद्र्यादेश स्याद्वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । अदद्रि अञ्च् इति स्थिते यण ॥

418 In the room of the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of a Pronoun and of the words विष्वक् and देव, is substituted अद्रि, when अञ्च has no visible affix following it

Thus अदस + अञ्च् = अदद्रि + अञ्च = अदद्र्य + अच At this stage, applies the following sutra

४१९ अदसोऽसेर्दादु दो म । ८ । २ । ८० ॥

अदसोऽसान्तस्य दात्परस्य उदूतौ स्तो दस्य च म । उ इति ह्रस्वदीर्घयो समाहारद्वन्द्व । आन्तरतम्याद्ध्रस्वव्यञ्जनयार्ह्रस्वो दीर्घस्य दीर्घ । अमुमुयङ् । अमुमुयञ्चौ । अमुमुयञ्च । अमुमुयञ्चम् । अमुमुयञ्चा । अमुमुईच । अमुमुईचा । अमुमुयग्भ्यामित्यादि । मुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वान्न यण् । अन्यथा येऽन्त्य सन्दाम्येति परिभाषामाश्रित्य परस्यैव मुत्वं वदता मते अदमुयङ् । असे सकारस्य स्थाने यस्य स असिरिति व्याख्यानात् । त्यदाद्यत्वविषय एव मुत्वं नान्यत्रेति पक्षे अदद्र्यङ् । उक्तं च ॥

अदसोऽद्रे पृथङ् मुत्वं केचिदिच्छन्ति लत्ववत् ॥ केचिदन्त्यसदेशस्य नेत्येकेऽसेर्हि दृश्यत इति ॥

• विष्वग्देवयो किम् । अश्वाची । अञ्चतौ किम् । विष्वग्युक् । वप्रत्यये किम् । विष्वगञ्चनम् । वप्रत्ययग्रहणं ज्ञापयति अन्यत्र धातुग्रहणे तदादिविधिरिति । तेनाऽयस्कार । अत कृकमीति स । उदङ् । उदञ्चौ । उदञ्च । शसादावचि ॥

419 When the pronoun अदस् does not end in स् then there is substituted उ or ऊ for the vowel after द्, and म for द् ॥

The short उ in the sûtra is a samâhâra dvanda compound including both the short उ and long ऊ By the rule of antaratama I 1 50 S 39, the short vowel and the consonant following it will be replaced by the short उ, and the long vowel with the consonant following it will be replaced by the long ऊ Thus अदद्र्य + अच् = अमुमुय् + अच i e the first द् and अ are changed to म् and उ and the second द् and र् are also changed to म and उ, so the declension is

	Nom	Acc	Ins
Sing	अमुमुयङ्	अमुमुयञ्चम्	अमुमुईचा
Dual	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयञ्चौ	अमुमुयग्भ्याम् &c
Pl	अमुमुयञ्च	अमुमुईच	&c

The मु being considered as asiddha, there is no sandhi in अमुमुईच or

in अदुमुइचा, for the Sandhi rule इको यणचि is contained in the Sixth Book of Panini, while this मु substitute is ordained in the Tripadi portion of Ashtadhyâyî Hence the Sûtra VIII 2 1 S 12 applies

Some, by applying the following maxim, get the form अदमुयङ्॥

Paribhâshâ —"When a modification is ordained with regard to some thing which is not final, the operation takes place on that only which is in proximity to the final" The second class apply this maxim and make मु change only for द्र which stands in proximity to the final

There is a third form, अद्द्र्यङ् which is obtained by explaining the असे in the Sûtra as अ सेर्यस्य सोयमसि, यत्र सकारस्य अकार क्रियते॥ 'The word असि in the sûtra is a Bahuvrihi, and means that in which अ is substituted for स" ॥ The sûtra is thus confined to the form अद् derived by changing the स् into अ by VII 2 102 and not to any other अद्॥

Thus there are three views with regard to the application of the present sûtra —

(1) the द् of अद्, and द्र of अद्रि are both changed to मु by the present sutra, (2), the first द is not changed, but only द्र, (3) none is changed Thus we have (1) अमुमुयङ् (VII 1 70, VI 1 68, VIII 2 23 and 62), अमुमुयञ्चौ अमुमुयञ्च ॥ (2) Secondly, अदमुयङ्, अदमुयञ्चौ, अदमुयञ्च ॥ (3) Lastly अदद्र्यङ्, अदद्र्यञ्चौ, अदद्र्यञ्च ॥ The above verse summarises this

Verse —Some ordain that मु should come separately for both adas and adri, as there is double ल (in चलीक्लृप्यते see sutra VIII 2 18 and VII 4 90 S 2644) others would have मु only for the last portion which stands in proximity to the final, (i e for द्र), while a third class would have no where, because they explain असे of the sûtra by confining it to VII 2 102"

Note —Thus विष्वगञ्चति=विष्वद्र्यङ्, This form is thus evolved अञ्च+क्विन्=अच्+O=अच्+नुम् (VII 1 70) Then there is elision of the final conjunct consonant न्च्, then the final dental is changed to guttural because of the क्विन् affix (VIII 2 62), e i न् is changed to ङ and we have अङ् which with विष्वद्रि gives the above form देवद्र्यङ्, तद्र्यङ्, यद्र्यङ्॥ अद्रि and सध्रि (VI 3 95) have acute on the final irregularly (nipâtana) in order to prevent the krit accent and when इ is changed into य the following vowel becomes svarita (VII 2 4)

Note —Why do we say of विष्वक् and देव? Observe अश्वाची=अश्वमञ्चति, the feminine ङीप् being added by IV 1 6 *Vart* The अ of अञ्च is elided by VI 4 138 and the final of अश्व is lengthened by VI 3 138 Why 'when अञ्च follows'? Observe विश्वग्युक्॥ Why do we say 'when the affix व follows'? Observe विष्वगञ्चन॥ The व is totally elided by VI 1 67 Another reading of the sûtra is अप्रत्यय (अञ्चतावप्रत्यये)॥ It would give the same result, the meaning then being when no affix follows The word वप्रत्यये or अप्रत्यये indicates by implication that in

other places where simply a verb is mentioned, it means a word form beginning with that verb which ends with some affix. For had अप्रत्यय not been used, then the rule would have applied not only when anch followed, but when anchana ending in ल्युट् also followed. The maxim धातुग्रहण तदादि विधिरिष्यते is illustrated in अयस्कृत and अयस्कार, for VIII 3 46 teaches that visarga is changed into स् when कृ follows. There the कृ denotes not only the root कृ but a word derived from कृ therefore which begins with कृ such as कार and कृत ॥ Therefore the rule applies to forms like अयस्कृ which is followed merely by the verb कृ, as well as to forms like अयस्कृत ॥

Now we take up the declension of उदच् It is declined in the Nominative as उदङ् (S), उदञ्चौ (Dual) उदञ्च (Pl)

Before the weak cases the following rule applies —

४२० । उद ईत् । ६ । ४ । १३९ ॥

उच्छब्दात्परस्य लुप्तनकारस्याञ्चतेर्भस्याकारस्य ईत्स्यात् । उदीच । उदीचा । उदग्भ्यामित्यादि ।

420 Long ई is substituted for the अ of that (अञ्च) where the nasal is elided after the word उत्, when the stem is Bha

As उदीच, उदीचा, उदग्भ्याम् ॥

Now we take up the declension of सम्यच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies —

४२१ । समः समि । ६ । ३ । ९३ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्तेऽञ्चतौ परे । सम्यङ् । सम्यञ्चौ । सम्यञ्च । समीच । समीचा ॥

421 समि is substituted for सम, before this अञ्च when no visible affix follows

Thus सम्यक्, सम्यङ्, सम्यञ्चौ, सम्यञ्च ॥

Ac Pl समीच, Instr Sing समीचा ॥

Now we take up the declension of सह + अच् ॥ In its declension the following rule applies —

४२२ । सहस्य सध्रि । ६ । ३ । ९५ ॥

वप्रत्ययान्ते अञ्चतौ परे । सध्र्यङ् ॥

422 सध्रि is the substitute of सह, before अञ्च् followed by no visible affix

Thus सध्र्यङ्, सध्र्यञ्चौ, सध्र्यञ्च, and सध्रीच, सध्रीचा ॥ See VI 3 138 for long vowel

Now, we take up the declension of तिर्यच् ॥ In its declension, the following rule applies —

४२३ । तिरसस्तिर्यलोपे । ६ । ३ । ९४ ॥

अलुप्ताकारेऽञ्चतौ वप्रत्ययन्ति परे तिरसस्तिर्यादेशः स्यात् । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्चौ । तिर्यञ्च । तिर्यञ्चम् । तिरश्चः । तिरश्च । तिरश्चा । तिर्यग्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

423 तिरि is substituted for तिरस before this अञ्च् when no visible affix follows, provided that the अ of अञ्च् is not elided

Thus तिर्यङ्, तिर्यञ्चौ, तिर्यञ्च ॥ Why do we say 'when there is no elision'? Observe तिरश्चा, तिरश्चे ॥ Here अ is elided by VI 4 138 The word अलोप in the sûtra is ambiguous It may mean either (1) "where अ is elided" or (2) "Where there is no elision" The latter meaning should be taken however

Now, we take up the declension of प्र+अच् when अच् means 'to honor' There are two roots (अञ्चु) both belong, to the Bhvadi class, one meaning 'to honor' and the other 'to move' The declension of 'अञ्चु meaning 'to move' has already been exhibited above But when it means 'to honor' its declension is governed by the following rule —

४२४ । नाञ्चेः पूजायाम् । ६ । ४ । ३० ॥

पूजार्थस्याञ्चेरुपधाया नस्य लोपो न स्यात् । अलुप्तनकारत्वान्न नुम् । प्राङ् । प्राञ्चौ । प्राञ्चः । नलोपाभावादकारलोपो न । प्राञ्चः । प्राञ्चा । प्राङ्भ्याम् । प्राङ्क्षु । प्राङ्षु । एवं पूजार्थे प्रत्यङ्डादयः । क्रुञ्च कौटिल्याल्पीभावयोः । अस्य ऋत्विगादिना नलोपाभावोऽपि निपात्यते । क्रुङ् । क्रुञ्चौ । क्रुञ्चः । क्रुङ्भ्यामित्यादि ॥ चोः कुः ॥ पयोमुक् । पयोमुग् । पयोमुचौ । पयोमुचः । उगिदचां सर्वनामस्थानेऽधातोः । स्कोरिति सलोपः । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । सुवृट् । सुवृड् । सुवृश्चौ । सुवृश्चः । सुवृट्सु । सुवृट्त्सु ॥ वर्तमाने पृषन्महद्बृहज्जगच्छतृवच्च * ॥ एते निपात्यन्ते शतृवच्चैषां कार्यं स्यात् । उगित्त्वान्नुम् । सान्तमहत इति दीर्घः । महान्ति पूज्यते इति महान् । महान्तौ । महान्तः । हे महन् । महतः । महता । महद्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

424 The nasal of अञ्च is not elided when the meaning is 'to honor'

And as the nasal is not elided by VI 4 24 S 415 there is no नुम् augment Thus

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	प्राङ्	प्राञ्चौ	प्राञ्चः

As न् is not elided, so there is no elision of अ also by VI 4 138 S 416 Thus the weak forms are Ac Pl प्राञ्चः ॥ Inst Sing and dual are प्राञ्चा, प्राङ्भ्याम् ॥ Loc Plural is प्राङ्क्षु or प्राङ्षु ॥

Similar is the declension of प्रत्यच् when 'अच्' means 'to honor' Thus Acc Plu is प्रत्यञ्चः and not प्रतीचः ॥ Similarly the Acc Plural of अदद्र्यञ्च् is अदमुयञ्चः and not अमुमुईचः ॥

Similarly the Acc plural of उदच् is उदञ्चः and not उदीचः ॥

———o———

Now we take up the declension of क्रुञ्च्. This word, as already mentioned in sutra III 2 59 S 373 is irregularly formed by adding the affix क्विन् to the root क्रुञ्च् meaning "to curve or make crooked" or "to be or become small" Thus it is declined —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	क्रुङ्	क्रुञ्चौ	क्रुञ्चः

Instr Dual is क्रुङ्भ्याम् &c

—————o—————

Now, we take up the declension of पयोमुच्. In Nom Sing the च् is changed to the guttural, by Sûtra VIII 2 30 S 378 It is declined as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	पयोमुक् or पयोमुग्	पयोमुचौ	पयोमुचः &c

—————o—————

Now, we take up the declension of सुवृश्च्. It is thus formed —सु + व्रश्च् + क्विप् in the sense of सुष्ठु वृश्चति meaning 'that which cuts well' The र् being vocalised by VI 1 16 S 2412, it becomes सु + वृश्च् + O By VIII 2 36 S 294 the श्च is changed to ष्. By VIII 2 29 S 380, the initial श् is elided * Thus we get सु + वृष्. The ष् is changed to ड् and finally to ट् by VIII 2 39 S 84 and VIII 4 56 S 206 Thus its declension is as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	सुवट् or सुवृड्	सुवृश्चौ	सुवृश्चः

The Loc Pl is सुवृट्त्सु or सुवृट्सु

* *Note* —This would be true in the view that the original root was व्रस्च् with a dental स् which becomes श् by श्चुनाश्चु VIII 4 40 S 111 This श् substitution is asiddha for VIII 2, 29

—————o—————

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in त्

Now, we take up the declension of महत्. This word is formed by the Uṇâdi affix अति (Unâdi sûtra II 84) which means that the words पृषत्, बृहत्, महत् and जगत् are irregularly formed with the affix अति with the force of the present tense and are operated upon as if they were followed by शतृ affix Since महत् is to be treated as if it was formed by the शतृ affix, therefore, the rule VII 1 70 S 361 would cause the insertion of नुम् and the sutra VI 4 10, S 317 would cause the lengthening of अ Thus,

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	महान्	महान्तौ	महान्त
Voc	हे महन्	"	"
Acc	महान्तम्	"	महत
Instr	महता	महद्भ्याम्	महद्भि
	&c	&c	

———o———

Now we take up the declension of धीमत् It is formed with the affix मतुप्

In its declension, the following rule applies —

४२५ । अत्वसन्तस्य चाधातो । ६ । ४ । १४ ॥

अत्वन्तस्योपधाया दीर्घ स्याद्धातुभिन्नासन्तस्य चासम्बुद्धौ सौ परे । परं नित्यं च नुमं बाधित्वा वचनसामर्थ्यादादौ दीर्घ ततो नुम् । धीमान् । धीमन्तौ । धीमन्त । हे धीमन् । शसादौ महद्वत् । धातोरप्यत्वन्तस्य दीर्घ । गामन्तमिच्छति गोमानिवाचरतीति वा क्यजन्तादाचारक्विबन्ताद्वा कर्तरि क्विप् । उगिदचामिति सूत्रेऽञ्चुग्रहणं नियमार्थम् । धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तर्ह्यञ्चतेरेवेति । तेन स्रत् ध्वत् इत्यादौ न । अधातोरिति तु अधातुभूतपूर्वस्यापि नुमर्थम् । गोमान् । गोमन्तौ । गोमन्त । इत्यादि । भातेर्डवतु । भवान् । भवन्तौ । भवन्त । शत्रन्तस्य त्वत्वन्तत्वाभावान्न दीर्घ । भवतीति भवन् ॥

425 In the Nominative Singular (with the exception of the Vocative Singular) the penultimate vowel is lengthened in a stem ending in अतु, and अस् when the consonant (अस्) does not belong to a root

The नुम् (न्) is added to the above by VII 1 70, after the elongation has taken place, for if added *before* elongation, the vowel no longer being *penultimate*, will not be lengthened at all This is because of the force of this sutra, which though precedent in the order of enunciation in Pânini's Ashtâdhyâyi, and therefore ought to have been superseded by the subsequent and *nitya* sutra (VII 1 70 S 361) ordaining नुम्, yet is not so Thus its declension is

	Singular	dual	Plural
Nominative	धीमान्	धीमन्तौ	धीमन्त
Vocative	हे धीमन्		

Before the weak case terminations, it is declined like महत्

Note —अस् —as सुपया, सुयशा, सुस्रोता ॥ Why do we say 'not belonging to a dhâtu'? Observe पिण्डग्र where स् belongs to the root ग्रस् (पिण्ड ग्रसते), so also चर्मव चर्म वस्ते) ॥ The अस् having no significance as an affix &c is also included here on the strength of the maxim "whenever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are taught in Grammar denote by I, 1 72, something that ends with these, there

they represent these combination of letters, both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of a meaning" (अनिनस्मन् ग्रहाणि अर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति) ॥ The word अन्त in the sutra indicates whatever *ends* in अतु whether when first enunciated (उपदेश), such as डवतु, क्तवतु &c or which assumes the form अतु in grammatical inflection, such as मतुप्, which in upadesa ends in अतुप्, but becomes अतु in प्रयोग or application In Vocative singular we have हे गोमन्, हे सुपथ this rule not applying there

Even in the case of *Denominative* roots, the lengthening will take place The prohibition of अधातोः in this sûtra applies to *original* roots and not to derivative roots from nouns Thus गोमन्तमिच्छति = गोमत्यति "He wishes to have cows" The affix क्यच् is added to गोमत् in forming the derivative root by III 1 8 or III 1 10 with the force of "wishing" or "behaving" The root is गोमत्य It is a derivative root, and so it does not fall within the prohibition of this sûtra Now गोमत्य + क्विप् = गोमत् (अ is dropped by VI 4 48, and य् by VI 4 50) "One wishing to have cows" Here गोमत् ends with अत् (which was part of the original affix मतुप् added to गो) and here we will have lengthening as well as नुम् ॥

The नुम् will be added for the following reason —

In the sûtra उगिदचां VII 1 70 S 361 the root अञ्चु is taken for the sake of *niyama* or restriction, that is, the operations dependent upon ugit, when applied to roots, will apply to the root añchu only, and not to any other root having an ugit Thus in स्रत् and ध्वत् there is no ugit operation Therefore, we could have easily inferred that no other root except अञ्चु would take नुम् under that sûtra The specific mention of अधातोः in that sûtra would have become redundant But the fact, that Pânini has mentioned अधातोः in that sûtra, indicates that by धातोः is meant the *original* root and not a derivative root

Thus we have गोमान् "One who wishes to be possessed of cows"

Now we take up the declension of भवत् not derived from भू, but from भा meaning 'to shine' (see Unâdi sûtra I 63) with the affix डवतु ॥ Thus भा + डवतु = भवत् (the भा is elided by VI 4. 143 and I 4 18 because the affix has an indicatory ड) It is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	भवान्	भवन्तौ	भवन्त &c

But when it is derived from the root भू with the affix शतृ, as it does not then end with the affix अतु, the penultimate is not lengthened Thus in this case the Nominative Singular is भवन्

Now, we take up the declension of ददत् formed from the root दा with the affix शतृ ॥ The root is reduplicated The reduplication is technically

called अभ्यस्त as defined below, and because it is अभ्यस्त, it does not get the augment नुम्, for the sutra after next prohibits it

४२६ । उभे अभ्यस्तम् । ६ । १ । ५ ॥

षाष्ठद्वित्वप्रकरणे ये द्वे विहिते ते उभे समुदिते अभ्यस्तसञ्ज्ञे स्त ॥

426 Where reduplication is treated in the Sixth Book of Pâṇini's Ashtâdhyâyî, the two which are directed, both are collectively called Abhyasta

४२७ । नाभ्यस्ताच्छतुः । ७ । १ । ७८ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परस्य शतुर्नुम् न स्यात् । ददत् । ददद् । ददतौ । ददत ॥

427 The Participial-affix शतृ (अत् अन्त्), does not take the augment नुम् after a reduplicate stem

Thus ददत्, ददतौ, ददत ॥

Note —This is an exception to VII 1 70, and applies of course to sarvanâmasthâna or strong cases The नुम् is to be read into this sûtra from VII 1 70, for the negation of this sûtra cannot apply to ई taught in the preceding sûtra, for ई is never ordained after śatri therefore, though several other operations intervene, yet नुम् is to be read here

Now, we take up the declension of जक्षत्, formed with the affix शतृ added to the root जक्ष Its declension is governed by the following Sûtra —

४२८ । जक्षित्यादयः षट् । ६ । १ । ६ ॥

षड् धातवोऽन्ये जक्षितिश्च सप्तम एतेऽभ्यस्तसञ्ज्ञाः स्युः । जक्षत् । जक्षद् । जक्षतौ । जक्षतः । एवं जाग्रत् । दरिद्रत् । शासत् । चकासत् । दीधीवेव्योर्ङित्त्वेऽपि छान्दसत्वादृत्यत्वबलेन परस्मैपदम् । दीध्यत् । वेव्यत् । गुप् । गुब् । गुपौ । गुपः । गुब्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

428 So also the six roots, with jakshi itself as the seventh, are called abhyasta

Note —The word abhyasta is understood here The verb jakshi and the six verbs that follow it in the Dhâtupâṭha, in all seven verbs, get this designation, These are जक्ष, जागृ, दरिद्रा, चकास्, शास्, दीधी and वेवी ॥ (Pâṇini has overlooked वेवी and mentions only the first six) By getting the designation of Abhyasta, the participles derived from these verbs are declined like ददत् ॥

Thus जक्षत् or जक्षद् (N S) जक्षतौ (N Dual), जक्षतः (N Plural). Similar is the declension of जाग्रत्, दरिद्रत्, शासत्, चकासत् ॥ दीधी and वेवी though exhibited in the Dhâtupâṭha as दीधीङ् and वेवीङ् with an indicatory ङ् and therefore, they ought to be आत्मनेपदी by I 3 12 S 2158, yet they are परस्मैपदी because of the Vaidic irregularities These form their Nominative Singulars as दीध्यत् and वेव्यत्

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending त्

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष् Now we take up the declension of गुप् which is formed from the चुरादि root गुप् with the affix क्विप् The आय् of the चुरादि class is optionaly elided by III 1 31 S 2305 It is declined as

Nom गुप् or गुब्, गुपौ, गुप , Instr Dual गुब्भ्याम् &c

Here ends the declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष्

———o———

Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in श

Now, we take up the declension of तादृश् formed according to the following Sûtra —

४२९ । त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च । ३ । २ । ६० ॥

त्यदादिषूपपदेष्वज्ञानार्थाद् दृशेर्धातोः कञ् स्याच्चात् क्विन् ॥

429 The affix कञ् as well as क्विन् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c which precede it, and when it does not signify perception

Note —The force of 'च' is that the क्विन् also comes under similar circumstances त्यद् &c are pronouns, for a list of which see I 1 27, Thus त्यादृश् ॥

४३० । आ सर्वनाम्नः । ६ । ३ । ९१ ॥

सर्वनाम्न आकारोऽन्तादेशः स्याद्दृग्दृशवतुषु । कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्व्रश्चेति षः । तस्य जश्त्वेन डः । तस्य कुत्वेन गः । तस्य चर्त्वेन पक्षे कः । तादृक् । तादृग् । तादृशौ । तादृशः । षत्वापवादत्वात्कुत्वेन खकार इति कैयटः । हरदत्तादिमते तु षत्वाभावपक्षे ख एव श्रूयते न तु गः । जश्त्वं प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । दिगादिभ्यो यदिति निर्देशान्नासिद्धत्वमिति वा बोध्यम् । व्रश्चेति षत्वम् । जश्त्वचर्त्वे । विट् । विड् । विशौ । विशः । विशाम् ॥

430 आ is substituted for the final of the Pronouns (1 1 27) before these words दृक्, दृश् and the affix अवतु ॥

Thus तद्+दृश्+क्विन्=ता (by the present sûtra)+दृश्+क्विन्=ता+दृक् (the श् is changed to क् by VIII 2 62 S 377) This क् is not perceived (असिद्ध) for the purposes of ष् change by VIII 2 36 S 294 Thus we have तादृष्=तादृड् (VII 2 39 S 84)=तादृग (VIII 2 62 S 377)=तादृक्(optionally by VIII 4. 56 S 206)

Thus Nom forms are तादृक् or तादृग्, तादृशौ, तादृश —According to the opinion of Kaiyat and Haradatta &c the form would be तादृख् but never तादृग्, in the alternative when it is not तादृक् Because they apply the कुत्व rule as an *apavâda* to षत्व rule and by कुत्व they get ख in the place of श (See Padamanjari p 953) and ख् will never become ग् by VIII 2 39 S 84, because ख obtained by क्विन् प्रत्ययस्य कु VIII 2 62 is asiddha or not perceived by the जश्त्व rule

VIII 2 39 S 84. Or we may say that ख is not asiddha for Pânini himself has changed ख into ग in the word दिग् (See IV 4. 54 S 1429)

Now, we take up the declension of विश् This is formed by the affix क्विप् added to the root विश् 'to enter' The श is changed to ष by VIII 2 36 S 294. which is changed to ड् by VIII 2 39 S 84. and optionally to ट् by VIII 4 56 S 206

Thus it is declined a‹

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	विट् or विड्	विशौ	विशः
Acc	विशम्	&c	&c

——— o ———

Now, we take up the declension of नश् In its declension, the following rule applies

४३१ । नशेर्वा । ८ । २ । ६३ ॥

नशेः कवर्गोऽन्तादेशो वा स्यात्पदान्ते । नक् । नग् । नट् । नड् । नशौ । नशः । नग्भ्याम् । नड्भ्यामित्यादि ॥

431 The final of नश् at the end of a word is optionally changed to a guttural

Note —Here the root नश् has taken क्विप् in denoting 'condition or state', by considering it as belonging to सम्पदादि class

Thus there are four forms in the Nominative Singu… namely —नक् or नग् or नट् or नड् ॥

Nominative Dual and Plural are नशौ, नशः

Instr Dual is नग्भ्याम् and नड्भ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of घृतस्पृश् Its declension is governed by the following rule —

४३२ । स्पृशोऽनुदके क्विन् । ३ । २ । ५८ ॥

अनुदके सुप्युपपदे स्पृशेः क्विन् स्यात् । घृतस्पृक् । घृतस्पृग् । घृतस्पृशौ । घृतस्पृशः । क्विन् प्रत्ययो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीह्याश्रयणात् क्विप्यपि कुत्वम् । स्पृक् । षडगका प्राग्वत् । ञिधृषा प्रागल्भ्ये । अस्मादृत्विगादिना क्विन् । द्वित्वमन्तोदात्तत्वं च निपात्यते । कुत्वात्पूर्वं जश्त्वेन डः गः । धृष्णोतीति दधृक् दधृग् । दधृषौ दधृषः । दधृग्भ्यामित्यादि । रत्नानि मुष्णातीति रत्नमुट् । रत्नमुड् । रत्नमुषौ । रत्नमुषः । षड्भ्यो लुक् । षट् । षड् । षड्भिः । षड्भ्यः २ । षट्चतुर्भ्यश्चेति नुट् । अनामिति पर्युदासान्न झल्त्वनिषेधः । यरोऽनुनासिक इति विकल्पं बाधित्वा प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वचनान्नित्यमनुनासिकः । षण्णाम् । षट्त्सु । षट्सु । तदन्तविधिः । परमषट् । परमषण्णाम् । गौणत्वे तु प्रियषषः । प्रियषषाम् । रुत्वं प्रति षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्ससजुषो रुरिति रुत्वम् ॥

432 The affix क्विन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'

Thus घृत स्पृशति=घृतस्पृश्, Nominative Singular घृतस्पृक् he who touches clarified butter' स्पृश् + क्विन् + सु = स्पृश् + क्वि + ० (VI 1 68) = स्पृक् + O (VI 1 67, and VIII 2 62)

Nominative Dual and Plural are घृतस्पृशौ, घृतस्पृशः respectively

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In the sûtra क्विन्प्रत्ययस्य कुः, VIII 2 62, S 377 if we take the compound क्विन्प्रत्यय as a Bahuvrihi, meaning a root to which the affix क्विन् can be added, then the gutturalization will take place, even when the affix क्विप् is added Thus the root स्पृश् takes the affix क्विन् when in compound with another word But when it is used alone it takes the affix क्विप् This क्विप् will also produce the guttural change, because स्पृश् is a root which is *liable* to take the affix क्विन् Thus स्पृक् &c Here the श् is changed to ष् then to ड्, then to ग् and then optionaly to क् as shown above

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in श्

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Declension of Masculine Nouns ending in ष्

Now, we take up the declension of दधृष् It is formed from the root ञिधृष् 'to be impudent' Thus धृष् + क्विन् = दधृक् ॥ Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent (III 2 59 S 373) The ष of दधृष् must be changed to ड् before gutturalisation Then this ड् should be gutturalised to ग् and then ग् is optionally changed to क् Thus दधृक् or दधृग्, दधृषौ, दधृषः ॥ &c

Now, we take up the declension of रत्नमुष् meaning 'one who steals gems' It is regularly declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	रत्नमुट् or रत्नमुड्	रत्नमुषौ	रत्नमुषः

Now, we take up the declension of षष् It is always plural By Sûtra VII 1 22 S 261, the Nom and Acc Pl terminations are elided after it Thus Nom Acc Pl are षट् or षड् ॥ Instr Pl षड्भिः ॥ Dat and Abl Pl षड्भ्यः ॥ In forming the Genitive Pl the augment नुट् is added by VII 1 55 S 338 to the case termination आम् Thus षष् + नाम् = षड् + नाम् By the exception made in the Sûtra VIII 4 42 S 114 the न् of नाम् is changed to ण् Thus षड् + नाम् = षड् + णाम् ॥ The optional substitution of a nasal in the place of ड् required by VIII 4 45 S 116 is superseded

by the Vârtika under the same sûtra, which requires the nasal substitution compulsorily in the Secular literature Thus षड्+णाम्=षण्णाम् The Loc. Pl is षट्त्सु or षट्सु

The declension of षष् is the same when it is the final member of a compound Thus परमषट् (N Pl) परमषण्णाम् (G Pl) But when it is the secondary member of a compound, the Nom and G Pl are प्रियषष and प्रियषषाम् respectively

Here ends the declension of Nouns ending in ष्

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Declension of Masculines ending in स्

We take up the declension of पिपठिस् (meaning 'wishing to read') It is derived from the root पिपठिस् with the affix क्विप् The अ of स is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 The स् was changed to ष् by VIII 3 39 S 153 But this is not perceived by the Sûtra requiring the substitution of स् into र् for it is precedent in the order of enumeration in Panini's Ashtâdhyâyi (VIII 2 66 S 162) Thus पिपठिष्+सु=पिपठिष्+O (by VI 1 68 S 252) Now पिपठिष् gets the name of a pada though the affix सु is elided after it (I 1 62 S 262) Therefore the ष which is really स् becomes र् Thus पिपठिष् becomes पिपठिर् At this stage applies the following Sûtra

४३३ । र्वोरुपधाया दीर्घ इक । ८ । २ । ७६ ॥

रेफवान्तस्य धातोरुपधाया इको दीर्घ स्यात्पदान्ते । पिपठी । पिपठिषौ । पिपठिष । पिपठीर्भ्याम् । वा शरीति वा विसर्जनीय ॥

433 A penultimate इ or उ is lengthened, when the final र or व of a root can stand at the end of a Pada

Thus पिपठिर् becomes पिपठी

The Nominative Dual and Plural are पिपठिषौ and पिपठिष

The Inst Dual is पिपठीर्भ्याम्

In forming the Locative Plural the sûtra VIII 3 36 S 151 as well as the following comes into operation

४३४ । नुम्विसर्जनीयशर्व्यवायेऽपि । ८ । ३ । ५८ ॥

एते प्रत्येक व्यवधानेऽपि इण्कुभ्या परस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यादेश स्यात् । ष्टुत्वेन पूर्वस्य षत्वम् । पिपठीष्षु पिपठी षु । प्रत्येकमिति व्याख्यानादनेकव्यवधाने षत्व न । निंस्व । निंस्से । नुम्ग्रहणा नुम्स्थानिकानुस्वारोपलक्षणार्थं व्याख्यानात् । तेनेह न । सुहिन्सु । पुंसु । अत एव न शर्ग्रहणेन गतार्थता । रात्सस्येति सलोपे विसर्ग । चिकी । चिकीर्षौ । चिकीर्ष । रो सुपीति नियमान्न विसर्ग । चिकीर्षु । दमेर्डोस् । डित्त्वसामर्थ्याट्टिलोप । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्रुत्व विसर्गौ । दो । दोषौ । दोष । पद्दन्न इति वा दोषन् । दोष्ण । दोष्णा । दोष । दोषा । विश प्रवेशने । सन्नन्तात् क्विप् । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात्संयोगान्तलोप । अश्नोति प । अभ्यस्य षत्वे । विविट् । विविड् । विविक्षौ । विविक्ष । स्कोरिति कलोप । तट् । तड् । तक्षौ । तक्ष । गोरट् । गोरड् । गोरक्षौ ।

गोरक्ष । तक्षिरक्षिभ्यां ण्यन्ताभ्यां क्विपि तु स्कोरिति न प्रवर्तते । णिलोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पूर्वत्रासिद्धीये न स्थानिवदिति तु इह नास्ति । तस्य दोषः संयोगादिलोपलत्वणत्वेष्विति निषेधात् । तस्मात्संयोगान्तलोप एव । तक् । तग् । गोरक् । गोरग् । स्कोरिति कलोप प्रति कुत्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् संयोगान्तलोप । पिपक् । पिपग् । एवं विवक् । दिधक् । पिस गतौ । सुष्ठु पसतीति सुपी । सुपिसौ । सुपिस । सुपिसा । सुपीर्भ्याम् । सुपीःषु । सुपीष्षु । एवं सुतूः । तुस खण्डने । विद्वान् । विद्वांसौ । विद्वांस । हे विद्वन् । विद्वांसम् । विद्वांसौ ॥

434 The substitution of ष् for स् takes place then also, when any one of these singly, namely, the augment न् (नुम्), the visarjanîya or a sibilant occurs between the said इण् and कु letters or the स्

Thus पिपठिस् + सुप् = पिपठीस् (the इ of ठि is lengthened by the last sûtra, because the base before this affix gets the designation of pada by I 4 17 S 230) + सु = पिपठीष् (the स् being changed to ष् by the present sûtra) + सु = पिपठीष्षु or पिपठीः षु ॥

The षत्व takes place, when नुम् &c intervene *singly* and not when they intervene collectively Therefore not here निंस्से, 'thou kissest', निंस्स्व 'kiss thou' from the root निंस 'to kiss' Here there is the intervention of *two*, namely, नुम् and स (III 4 91)

From the explanation in Mahâbhâshya in explaining हयवरट् we learn that the नुम् of this sûtra must be the anusvâra which replaces नुम् and not any other anusvâra Therefore not in सुहिंसु or पुंसु Here there is no ष change Though anusvâra was included in the pratyâhara शर् by the Vârtika शर्षु अइमावषत्वे " the visarjanîyâ, anusvâra jihvâmulîya and upadhmânîya should be included in the शर् pratyâhâra for the sake of अम् vidhi and स्वष vidhi", yet the separate mention o नुम् in this sûtra indicates that that anusvâra is to be taken which results from नुम्

Now, we take up the declension of चिकीर्स् This is formed from the Desiderative root चिकीर्स meaning 'wishing to make' with the affix क्विप् This is thus formed —कृ + सन् ॥ Here the augment इट् is not added because of the sûtra VII 2 10 S 2246 or VII 2 12 S 2610, the affix सन् is कित् by I 2 9 S 2612 and therefore there is no guna by I 1 5 S 2217 Then there is lengthening of the vowel by VI 4 16 S 2614 Then the कॄ is changed to इर् by VII 1 100 S 299 Then the root is reduplicated by VI 1 9 S 2395

Thus we get किर् किर् ॥ The first र is elided by VII 4 60 S 2179 and first क changed to च् by VII 4.62 S 2245 Thus we have चिकिर ॥ Now, चिकिर् + स = चिकिर्स ॥ Then the अ of स is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 Thus चिकीर्स् To this is added the N S case termination सु ॥ चिकिस् + सु ॥ The affix सु is elided by VI 1 68 S 252

Then we have चिकिर्स् ॥ Now the final स् is elided by VIII 2 24 S 280 Thus we have चिकिर् ॥ The इ of कि is lengthened by VIII 2 76 S 433. Thus we have चिकी ॥

The lengthening in चिकीर्षौ &c is by अज्झन् VI 4 16 S 2614 by which the इ is lengthened before सन् affix We did not apply this sûtra, in Nominative S because सन् was already dropped

Thus the Nominative forms are चिकीः, चिकीर्षौ, चिकीर्षः ॥ The lengthening takes place by VIII 2 76,77 S 433 and 354

The Loc Plural is चिकीर्षु ॥ Here ष् is not changed to visarga, because it is not the स् of सु but it is a portion of the word itself (see sûtra VIII 3 16 S 339)

Now, we take up the declension of दोस् This is formed by the Unadi affix डोस् added to the root दम् (Uṇadi II 69) The अम् of दम् is elided because the affix after it has an indicatory ड see VI 4 143 S 316, though the base is not भ Thus दोस् ॥ Then स् is changed to ष् But this change is asiddha for the purposes of रु and visarga change Thus N S is दोः । N Dual and Plural are दोषौ, दोषः respectively In the weak cases it has two forms, thus, दोष्णः or दोषः (Ac Plural), दोष्णा or दोषा (Inst singular), for in these cases दोष् is replaced by दोषन् by VI 1 63 S 228

Note —the अम् portion of दम् is elided by VI 4 143 S 316 and though the base before it is not भ strictly speaking Sûtra VI 4 143 could not apply here, for that sûtra is confined to भ bases only But as the ड of the affix डोस् must produce some effect, it produces the elision of टि portion of दम् by the analogy of VI 4 143

Now, we take up the declension of विविश् It is formed from the root विश् with the Desiderative affix सन् ॥ Thus विश्+सन् ॥ The augment इट् is not added because of the prohibition contained in VII 2 10 S 2246 The सन् affix is कित् by I 2 12 S 2368 and therefore there is no guna Thus विश्+सन्=विश् विश्+सन्=विविश्+स ॥ To this we add the affix क्विप् by which the अ o स is elided by VI 4 48 अतोलोप and we get the form विविश्स् ॥ Then by VIII 2 23 S 54 स् is elided and we get विविश् ॥ This श् is changed to ष् by VIII 2 36 S 294 which again is changed to ड and then optionally to ट् । In other cases ष is changed to क् by VIII 2 41 S 295 , and स changed to ष VIII 3 57 S 211 Thus N forms are विविट् or विविड्, विविक्षौ, विविक्षः ॥

Now to we take up the declension of तक्ष् formed from the root तक्ष् or तक्षू '*to fashion*, The क् is elided by VIII 2 29 S, 380 Thus the N S is तट् or तड् formed under the same rules as विविट् or विविड्

Nominative Dual and Plural are तक्षौ तक्षः

Similar is the declension of गोरक्ष् meaning 'one who protects cows' Its N. forms are गोरट् or गोरड्, गोरक्षौ गोरक्षः ॥

But if these words be derived from the Causative roots (ण्यन्त) तक्षि and रक्षि with the affix क्विप्, then VIII 2 29 S 380 will not apply and so there will be no elision of क् This is because the णि which was elided by णेरनिटि (VI 4 51 S 2313) will be स्थानिवत् ॥ But will not the following *Vârtika* पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयेन स्थानिवत्, prevent the स्थानिवद्भाव ? "There is no stânivadbhâba in the last three chapters of Ashtâdhyâyi"

To this we reply 'No' Because of the following exception *Vârtika* The above Vârtika is inapplicable in the following three cases (a) the rule ordaining the elision of the first or initial letter of a conjunct consonant VIII 2 29 S 380 (b) the rule relating to क change (c) the rule relating to ष् change S 235

Therefore, we shall have संयोगान्तलोप i e the elision of the final स् and not of the *initial* क् Thus the N S will be तक् or तग्, गोरक् or गोरग्

Now we take up the declension of पिपक्ष् meaning 'desirous of cooking' It is formed from the root पच् with the Desiderative affix सन् Thus we get पच+पच्+स=पपच्स=पपक्ष् ॥ The अ of the initial प is changed to इ by VII 4 79 S 2317 Thus we have पिपक्ष् ॥

Its N S is पिपक् or पिपग् ॥ The क् of पिपक्ष is not elided, but the final स् is elided, for the reasons already given above

Similar is the declension of विवक्ष् meaning 'desirous of speech' from the root वच् 'to speak' and of दिधक्ष, meaning '*desirous of burning*', from the root दह् to *burn* The Nominative Singular being विवक् and दिधक् respectively

Now, we take up the declension, of सुपिस् It is derived from the root पिस्, 'to walk', hence सुपिस् means 'one who walks well' It is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural.
Nominative	सुपी	सुपिसौ	सुपिस
Instr	सुपिसा	सुपीर्भ्याम्	
Loc			सुपीष्षु or सुपीषु ॥

Similar is the declension of सुतुस् 'well cutting' Its Nominative Sing is सुतू ॥

Now, we take up the declension of विद्वस् meaning 'a learned man' In the strong case terminations, it is declined as —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	विद्वान्	विद्वांसौ	विद्वांस
Voc	हे विद्वन्		
Acc	विद्वांसम्	विद्वांसौ	

In the weak case terminations, the declension of this word is governed by the following rule —

४३५ । वसो॰ सम्प्रसारणम् । ६ । ४ । १३१ ॥

वस्वन्तस्य भस्य सम्प्रसारणं स्यात् । पूर्वरूपस्य षत्वम् । विदुषः । विदुषा । वसुस्रंस्विति दत्वम् । विद्वद्भ्यामित्यादि । सेदिवान् । सेदिवांसौ । सेदिवांसः । सेदिवांसम् । अन्तरङ्गोऽपीडागमः सम्प्रसारणविषये न प्रवर्तते । अकृतव्यूहा इति परिभाषया । सेदुषः । सेदुषा । सेदिवद्भ्यामित्यादि । सान्तमहत इत्यत्र सान्तसंयोगोऽपि प्रातिपदिकस्यैव गृह्यते नतु धातोः महच्छब्दसाहचर्यात् । सुष्ठु हिनस्तीति सुहिन् । सुहिंसौ । सुहिंसः । सुहिन्भ्याम् । सुहिन्सु । ध्वत् । ध्वद् । ध्वसौ । ध्वसः । ध्वद्भ्याम् । एवं स्रत् ॥

435 The semi-vowel of the affix वस् (वस्) is vocalised to उ in a Bha stem

Thus विद्वस् + शस् = विद् उ अस् + शस् ॥ उ and अ become उ by the पूर्वरूप rule (VI 1 108 S 330) = विदुस् + अस् ॥ Then स् of विदुस् is changed to ष् ॥ Thus विदुष् + अस् = विदुषस् = विदुषः (Ac Pl) The Ins Sing विदुषा is also similarly formed.

Before भ्याम्, the स् of विद्वस् is changed to द् by VIII 2. 72 S 334 Thus विद्वद्भ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of सेदिवस् ॥ It is formed by adding the affix क्वसु to the root सद् by III 2 108 S 3097 The root is reduplicated by VI 1 8 S 2177 Thus —सद् + सद् + क्वसु = स + सद् + क्वसु ॥ The first द् being elided by हलादि शेष ॥ VII 4 60 S 2179 Then the first स is elided and the अ of the second स is changed into ए by अत एकहल्मध्ये VI 4. 120 S 2260 Thus we get सेद् + क्वसु = सेद् + वस् ॥ To this we apply the augment इट् by VII 2 67 S 3096 Thus सेद् + इट् + वस् = सेदिवस् ॥ In strong cases there will be नुम् augment by VII 1 70 S 361 and lengthening by VI 4 10 S 317 Thus —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	सेदिवान्	सेदिवांसौ	सेदिवांसः
Acc	सेदिवांसम्	"	

In the weak-case terminations or Bha bases, there is not the इट् augment of VII 2 67, S 3096, though it was antaranga, because it would be useless to add इट् when we are going to vocalise the व् into उ for then the efficient cause व of वस् would be absent This proceeds on the maxim अकृतव्यूहा &c See under Sûtra I 3 11 S 46 Because इ is added to वस् only when it has the form of वस् But when व is going to be changed to उ and the affix ultimately becomes उस् then there would be no वस for the application of the sûtra VII 2 67 So we have the Acc Pl सेदुषः ॥ The Instr Sing is सेदुषा ॥ The Instr Dual is सेदिवद्भ्याम् &c

In the sûtra VI 4 10 S 317, the words ending in conjunct cosonant न्स् must be prâtipadikas, that is, the crude nouns and not a verbal base ending in न्स् ॥ This we infer because of the prâtipadika महत् being in

the company of सान्त, which means that words *sui generis* with महत् should be taken

Therefore the word सुहिन्स् where the न्स् is a portion of the verb हिनस्ति and where, the noun सुहिन्स् means 'one who strikes well', the rule above given will not apply Thus सुहिन्स् is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	सुहिन्	सुहिंसौ	सुहिंस

In the Instru Dual where सुहिन्स् gets the designation of pada, the स् is elided and we get सुहिन्भ्याम् ॥

The Loc Plural is सुहिन्सु 'or' सुहिन्सु ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ध्वस् formed from the root ध्वन्स् with the affix क्विप् The न् of the root ध्वन्स् is elided by VI 4 24 S 415 Thus it is declined as

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nominative	ध्वत् or ध्वद्	ध्वसौ	ध्वस ॥
Instr		ध्वद्भ्याम् ॥	

Similar is the declension of स्रस् from the root स्रन्स्.

Now we take up the declension of पुंस् In its declension, the following rule applies —

४३६ । पुंसोऽसुङ् । ७ । १ । ८६ ॥

सर्वनामस्थाने विवक्षितेऽसुङ् स्यात् । उकार उच्चारणार्थ । बहुपुंसी इत्यत्र उगितश्चेति ङीबर्थं कृतेन पुमो डुमसुन्निति प्रत्ययस्योगित्त्वेनैव नुम्सिद्धे । पुमान् । हे पुमन् । पुमांसौ । पुमांस । पुंस । पुंभ्याम् । पुंभि । पुंसु । ऋदुशनस्पुरुदंसोऽनेहसां चेत्यनङ् । उशना । उशनसौ । उशनस । अस्य सम्बुद्धौ वाऽनङ् नलोपश्च वा वाच्य * ॥ हे उशनन् । हे उशन । हे उशन । उशनोभ्यामित्यादि । अनेहा । अनेहसौ । अनेहसः । हे अनेह । अनेहोभ्यामित्यादि । वेधा । वेधसौ । वेधस । हे वेधः । वेधोभ्यामित्यादि । अधातोरित्युक्तेर्न दीर्घ । सुष्ठु वस्ते सुवः । सुवसौ । सुवस । पिण्डं ग्रसते पिण्डग्रः । पिण्डग्लः । ग्लसु ग्लसु अदने ॥

436 अङ् (असु) is substituted for the final of पुंस when the sarvanâmasthâna affixes are to be added

The उ in असुङ् is for the sake of pronunciation and not to indicate that नुम् should be added under VII 1 70 S 361 because the नुम् will be added in strong cases by the very fact that the word पुंस is formed from पा (to protect) + डुम्सुन् (Un-IV 178) and as the affix डुम्सुन् is an उगित् affix, it will produce its effect under VII 1 70 by causing नुम् *pari passu* as it does in causing ङीप् to be added to in the feminine, in forming बहुपुंसी, by the sûtra उगितश्च (IV 1 6 S 455) Thus it is declined as follows —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom.	पुमान्	पुमांसौ	पुमांसः
Voc	हे पुमन्		
Acc			पुंसः
Inst	पुंसा	पुंभ्याम्	पुंभिः
Loc			पुंसु

Kâsikâ —The word पुंस् is derived from पा (to protect) + डुम्सुन् (Uṇ IV 178), the म् being changed to anusvâra So when स् of पुंस् is replaced by असुङ् we get the form पुमस्, the उ of असुङ् indicates that न् should be added in the strong cases after अ (VII 1 70), so we have पुमान्, पुमांसा, पुमांसः ॥

This substitution must take place in its incipient stage before the affixes are added, (उपदेशिवद्भाव) otherwise the accent will be wrong The compounds have acute on the final, (VI 1 223), therefore, परमपुंस् has acute on पु, and in the Nominative Singular परमपुमान् the acute will remain on पु, but it is intended that it should be on मा, thus परमपुमाॅन् ॥ The simple word पुमान्, of course, has accent on पु

Now, we take up the declension of उशनस् ॥ By VII 1 94 S 276, अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Nom Sing Thus Nom forms are उशना, उशनसौ, उशनसः ॥ In forming the Voc Sing the following Vârtika will apply —

Vârt —अनङ् is substituted for the final of उशनस् in the Voc S also, as हे उशनन्, the final न् not being elided (See VIII 2 8) Otherwise we have हे उशन ! Thus it has three forms in the Vocative Singular as हे उशनस्, हे उशनन्, and हे उशन !

The Instr Dual is उशनोभ्याम् &c

Now, we take up the declension of अनेहस् meaning ' time

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	अनेहा	अनेहसौ	अनेहसः
Voc	हे अनेहः		
Instr		अनेहोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of वेधस् meaning ' the Creator '

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	वेधा	वेधसौ	वेधसः
Voc	हे वेधः		
Instr		वेधोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of सुवस् meaning ' one who wears well ' Here वस् belongs to a root and so in the Nom S its vowel is not lengthened because of the prohibition of अधातोः in VI 4 14 S 425

Hence its Nom forms are सुव सुवसौ, सुवस ॥

Now we take up the declension of पिण्डग्रस् and पिण्डग्लस् ॥ The verbs ग्रस् and ग्लस् mean 'to swallow' the Nominative singular forms of these are पिण्डग्र and पिण्डग्ल meaning 'a lump eater'

Now, we take up the declension of अदस् In its declension the following rules apply —

४३७ । अदस औ सुलोपश्च । ७ । २ । १०७ ॥

अदस औकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात्सौ परे सुलोपश्च । तदोः सः सावनन्त्ययोरिति दस्य सः । असौ ॥ औत्वप्रतिषेधः साकच्कस्य वा वक्तव्यः सादुत्वं च * ॥ प्रतिषेधसन्नियोगशिष्टमुत्वं तदभावे न प्रवर्तते । असकौ । असुकः । त्यदाद्यत्वं पररूपत्वम् । वृद्धिः । अदसोऽसेरिति मत्वोत्वे । अमू । जसः शी । आद्गुणः ॥

437 For the स् of अदस् there is substituted औ, whereby the Nominative affix सु is elided

As अदस्+सु=अद+औ+O (VII 2 107)=अस+औ (VII 2 106 S. 381)=असौ ॥

Vart—When the augment अकच् is added, the औ substitution is optional, and in that alternative उ is added after स्, as असुक or असकौ ॥

The form असुक is thus evolved —अदकस्+सु, now औ substitution of the present sutra is prohibited , therefore, the अ substitution of VII 2 102 takes place, and the द is changed to स् by VII 2 106, and the अ of अकच् after स् is changed to उ

In forming अमू we observe the following process —

अदस्+औ=अद+औ (VII 2 102 S 265 and VI 1 97 S 191)= अदौ ॥ Here द is replaced by म and औ by ऊ; one might object that by the maxim (19) भाव्यमानेन सवर्णानां ग्रहणं न i e "A letter which is taught in a rule does not denote the letters homogeneous with it" औ ought to have been changed to short उ, but we answer that the maxim (20) भाव्यमानोऽप्युकारः सवर्णान्गृह्णाति i e. The letter उ denotes, even when it is taught in a rule, also the letters homogeneous with it,' makes an exception in the case of उ only

The rule पूर्वत्रासिद्ध (VIII 2 1 S. 12) should be applied before the operations required by vibhakti take place, and then the उ and म of VIII 2 80 should be substituted because with regard to त्यदादीनाम (VII 2 102 S 265) which is a rule of the 7th Adhyâya, the sûtra अदसो से (VIII 2 80 S. 419) which is a rule of Tripâdi becomes asiddha Therefore if the vibhakti operation ordained by VII 2 102 S 265 were not to take place first, then the base would remain अदस् ending with स्, and the rule VIII 2 80 S 419 requiring उ for अ, and म् for द would find no scope at all.

But if in the sûtra पूर्वत्रासिद्धम्, the operations of Tripâdi themselves were intended to become asiddha, then we could never get the forms अमू अमुम् &c For if we apply VIII 2 80 S 419 before the अ of स् of अदस् obtained by VII 2 102 S 265 plus the अ of the द of अदस् become अ by VI 1 97 S 191, in other words, if we apply VIII 2 80 S 419 to the following nascent state of अद+अ, then we shall have this incongruity अम् उ+अ Here म् is asiddha for the purposes of VI 1 97 S 191, and अ of अम् plus उ would become व, which is not desired

In forming the N Dual, the rule VII 2 102 S 265 will cause the replacement of स् of अदस् by अ and this अ will coalesce with the final अ of द and become अ by VI 1 97 and thus the base will be अद Thus अद+औ= अदौ The द will be replaced by म and औ by long ऊ and we get अमू (VI 1 102 S 164)

The N Pl is अमी It is thus evolved —

अदस्+जी (VII 1 17 S 214)=अद+ई=अदे (VI 1 87 S 69) Then applies the following Sûtra —

४३८। एत ईद्बहुवचने। ८।२।८१॥

अदसो दात्परस्यैत ईत्स्याद्दस्य च मो बह्वर्थोक्तौ। अमी। पूर्वत्रासिद्धमिति विभक्तिकार्यं प्राक् पश्चादुत्वमत्वे। अमुम्। अमू। अमून्। मुत्वे कृते घिसंज्ञायां नाभाव॥

438 For the ए coming after the द of अदस् there is substituted ई, and द is changed to म, when plurality is to be expressed.

Thus Nom Pl is अमी

In forming the Acc Sing, we have अदस्+अम्. Now the sutra त्यदादीनाम (VII 2 102 S 265) has superior force to sûtra अदसोऽसे (VIII 2 80 S 419) and it applies first. Thus we get अद+अम्=अदम् because vibhakti operations are applied first. Then applies the sûtra अदसोऽसे (VIII 2 80) and we get अमुम्

When अदम् is changed to अमु it gets the designation of घि (I 4 7 S 232) So in the Inst Sing the substitute ना offers itself from VII 3 120 S 244

Thus अमु+ना Here however the question might occur that the formation of मु being enunciated in VIII 2 80 S 419 in the Tripâdi, whether VII 3 120 S 244 does not regard the मु as asiddha

Hence the following Sûtra —

४३६। न मु ने। ८। २। ३॥

नाभावे कर्तव्ये कृते च मुभावो नासिद्धः स्यात्। अमुना। अमूभ्याम् ३। अमीभिः। अमुष्मै। अमीभ्यः २। अमुष्मात्। अमुष्य। अमुयोः। अमीषाम्। अमुष्मिन्। अमुयोः। अमीषु॥

439 The sûtra VIII 2 80, teaching the substitution of मु for the दस् of the Pronoun अदस्, is however not treated as asiddha in relation to the case-ending ना

Note —The existence of मु is not considered uneffected when there is to be added ना॥ On the contrary it is considered as siddha or existing Thus मु being considered as siddha, अमु gets the designation of घि by I 4 7 and as such, its Instrumental Singular is by VII 3 120 अमुना॥ Had the मु been considered as noneffected, then the stem would not have been called *ghi*, and there would have been no ना added But when ना *had been* added, then the मु being asiddha, अमु is considered to be as अद ending in अ, and this अ would require lengthening by सुपि च VII 3 102 but it is not done on the maxim सन्निपातलक्षणो विधिरनिमित्तं तद्विघातस्य "that which is taught in a rule the application of which is occasioned by the combination of two things does not become the cause of the destruction of that combination" There being no long आ the उ of अमु remains short Or this sutra may be considered to be the condensation of two sûtras (I) मु is siddha when ना is to be added, (2) मु is siddha when any operations, otherwise to be caused when ना is added, are to take place Or the sense of the sutra is ने परतो यत् प्राप्नोति तस्मिन् कर्तव्ये मुभावो नासिद्धः "the मु is not non-effected in relation to any operation that would otherwise be occasioned when ना followed" From this, it would follow by implication that मु must be considered valid for the purposes of नाभाव itself So मु being always siddha, ना is added and there is no lengthening

Thus the declension of अदस् in the Instr and the succeeding cases is as follows —

	Sing	Dual	Plural
Instr	अमुना	अमूभ्याम्	अमीभिः
Dat	अमुष्मै	"	अमीभ्यः
Abl	अमुष्मात्	"	"
Gen	अमुष्य	अमुयोः	अमीषाम्
Loc	अमुष्मिन्	"	अमीषु

Here end the declensions of Masculines ending in consonants

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अथ हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XII

DECLENSION OF FEMININES

Now we take up the declension of Feminines ending in ह् such as उपानह् ॥ The following rule applies to it

४४० । नहो ध । ८ । २ । ३४ ॥

नहो हस्य ध स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च । उपानत् । उपानद् । उपानहौ । उपानह । उपानद्भ्याम् । उपानत्सु । उत्पूर्वात् ष्णिह प्रीतावित्यस्माद्दृत्विगादिना क्विन् । निपातनात्तलोपषत्वे । क्विन्नन्तत्वात्कुत्वेन हस्य घ । अहत्वषत्वे । उष्णिक् । उष्णिग् । उष्णिहौ । उष्णिह । उष्णिग्भ्याम । उष्णिक्षु । द्यौ । दिवौ । दिव । द्युषु । गी । गिरौ । गिर । एव पू । चतुरश्चतस्रादेशः । चतस्र २ । चतसृणाम् । किम कादेशे टाप् का । के । का । सर्वावत् ॥

440 The ह of नह is changed to ध befoie a *jhal* letter or at the end of a word

Note —As नद्धा, नद्धुम्, नद्धव्यम्, उपानत्, परीणत् ॥ The त् of the affixes तृ &c, is changed to ध by VIII, 2 40, and for the preceding ध is substituted द by VIII 4 53 उपानत् is formed by VIII 2 39, read with VIII 4 56 परीणत् is formed by क्विप् as it belongs to सम्पदादि class, the lengthening is by VI 3 116, and ण-change by VIII 4 14 It would have shortened the processes of transformation, had only द been ordained in the sutra, instead of ध , but the ordaining of ध is for the purposes of VIII 2 40, by which there should be ध , for the participial त &c, in नद्धम्, and that there should not be the change of this Nishtha त into न by VIII 2 42 Thus नध् + त = नध् + ध (VIII 2 40) = नद्धम् (VIII 4 53) But had the substitute been द्, we should have नद् + त = नन्न by VIII 2 42

Thus उपानह् becomes उपानत् or उपानद् ॥

The Nom S affix सु is elided by VI 1 67 and VI 1 68, and ध् is changed to त् or द् by VIII 2 39 The Nom D is उपानहौ and the Plural उपानह ॥ The Instrumental Dual उपानद्भ्याम् and the Loc Plural उपानत्सु

Now we take up the declension of the word उष्णिह् This word is formed with the upasarga उत् and the affix क्विन् by III 2 59 added to the root स्निह ' to love ' The word उष्णिह् is the name of a Vaidic metre The त् of उत् is elided by निपातन the स् and न् are changed to ष् and ण (VIII 3 59 and VIII 4 40) The ह is changed to घ because it is a word formed with the affix क्विन् by sûtra VIII 2 62 The घ् becomes ग् then क् by VIII 2 39 Thus we have Nom S उष्णिक् or उष्णिग् Nom D उष्णिहौ, Nom Pl उष्णिह Ins D उष्णिग्भ्याम् Loc Pl उष्णिक्षु

Now we take up the declension of words ending in व् such as दिव् Here the same rules will apply as in the case of the Masculine word दिव् See Sûtra VII 1 84 S 336 &c Nom S द्यौ Nom D दिवौ Nom Pl दिव , Loc Plu द्युषु

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in र् such as गिर् It is declined as the masculine word Thus Nom S गी , D गिरौ, Pl गिर Similar is the declension of पुर The word चतुर् is changed to चतसृ It is always declined in the Plural Thus Nom and Acc Pl चतस्र , Gen Pl चतसृणाम् ॥

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Now we take up the declension of words ending in म् such as किम् क is substituted for किम् by VII 2 103 Then we add the feminine affix टाप् Thus Nom S is का Nom D के Nom Pl का The declension of the rest is like the feminine form of सर्व (सर्वा)

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Now, we take up the declension of इदम् Its declension is governed by the following rule —

४४१ । य सौ । ७ । २ । ११० ॥

इदमो दस्य य स्यात्सौ ॥ इदमो म ॥ इयम् । त्यदाद्यत्व टाप् । दश्चेति म । इमे । इमा । इमाम् । इमे । इमा । अनया ॥ हलि लोप ॥ आभ्याम् ३ । आभि । अस्यै । अस्या । अनयो २ । आसाम् । अस्याम् आसु । अन्वादेशे तु । एनाम् । एने । एना । एनया । एनयो २ । ऋत्विगादिना सृजे क्विन् अमागमश्च निपातित । स्रक् स्रग् । स्रजौ । स्रज । स्रग्भ्याम् । स्रक्षु । त्यदाद्यत्व टाप् । स्या । त्य । त्या । एव तद् यद् एतद् । वाक् । वाग् । वाचौ । वाच । वाग्भ्याम् । वाक्षु । अप्शब्दो नित्य बहुवचनान्त । अप्तृन्निति दीर्घ । आप । अप ॥

441 य् is substituted for the द् of इदम् in the Nominative Singular in the feminine

The final म् of इदम् remains unchanged by VII 2 108 S 343 Thus Nominative S इयम् ॥ Then the feminine affix टाप् is added by the sûtra VII 2 102 S 265 द् is changed to म् by VII 2 109 S 345 The Nominative Dual is इमे Nominative Plural इमा ॥ Accusative S is इमाम् ॥ Inst S is अनया ॥ इद् is changed to अन् by VII 2 112 By the rule VII 2 113 S 347 there is elision of इद् so that we have in the Inst Dat and Abl Dual आभ्याम् , Inst Plural is आभि We have Dat S अस्यै by VII 3 114 , Gen S अस्या and Dual अनयो by VII 3 105 and Plural आसाम् by VII 1 52 and VII 2 113 , Loc S अस्याम् D अनयो , and Plural आसु ॥ But in re-employment (अन्वादेश) we have एनाम् in the Acc S एने in the Dual and एना in Plural In Inst S एनया and एनया in the Dual of both Genitive and Locative

Now we take up the delension of words ending in ज् such as स्रज्.

The word स्रज is formed by the sûtra III 2 59 with the augment अम् irregularly Thus we have स्रक् or स्रग् in the Nominative S, स्रजौ in the Dual and स्रज in the Plural, स्रग्भ्याम् in the Inst Dual, स्रक्षु in the Loc Plural.

Now we take up the declension of words ending in द् such as त्यद् By the rule VII 2 102 and with the feminine affix टाप् we have स्या in the Nominative S त्ये in the Nom D and त्या in the Nominative Plural तद्, यद् and एतद् are similarly declined

Now we take up the declension of words ending in च् e g वाच् We have वाक् or वाग् in the Nominative S वाचौ in D and वाच in the Nominative Plural In the Instru D we have वाग्भ्याम् and in the Loc Plural वाक्षु ॥

Now we take up the declension of words ending in प् such as अप् अप् is always used in the Plural By VI 4 11 S 277 the vowel अ is lengthened Thus we have in the Nominative Plural आप, in the Acc Plural अप ॥

In forming the Inst Plural the following rule applies —

४४२ । अपो भि । ७ । ४ । ४८ ॥

अपस्तकार स्याद्भादौ प्रत्यये परे । आद्भि । अद्भ्य २ । अपाम । अप्सु । दिक् । दिग । दिशौ । दिश । दिग्भ्याम् । दिक्षु । त्यदादिष्विति दृशे क्विन्विधानादन्यत्रापि कुत्वम् । दृक् । दृग् । दृशौ । दृश । त्विट् । त्विड् । त्विषौ । त्विष । त्विड्भ्याम् । त्विट्त्सु । त्विट्सु । सह जुषते इति सजू । सजुषौ । सजुष । सजूर्भ्याम् । सजूष्षु । सजू षु । षत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्रुत्वम् । आशी । आशिषौ । आशिष । आशीर्भ्याम् । असौ । त्यदाद्यत्व । टाप् । औङ शी । उत्वमत्वं । अमू । अमू । अमूम् । अमू अमू । अमूम् । अमू । अमुया । अमूभ्याम् । अमूभि । अमुष्यै । अमूभ्याम् २ । अमूभ्य । अमुष्या २ । अमुयो । अमुयो । अमूषाम् । अमुष्याम् । अमूषु ॥

442 त् is substituted for the final of the stem अप् before a case-ending beginning with भ् ॥

Thus we have अद्भि and in the Dat and Abl Plural अद्भ्य, in the Gen and Loc Plural अपाम् and अप्सु respectively

Now we come to the declension of words ending in श् such as दिश् ॥ Thus in the Nominative S we have दिक् or दिग् by III 2 59 S 373 and VIII 2 62 S 377, in the Nominative Dual दिशौ and Plural दिश, in the Inst Dual दिग्भ्याम् and Loc Plural दिक्षु ॥

Now we take up the declension of the word दृश् ॥ By the rule III 2 60, S 429 दृश् takes the affix क्विन् when in combination with the pronoun त्यद् &c But we infer from this that the root दृश् will take the affix क्विन् even when it is not in combination also Thus in the Nominative S we have दृक् or दृग Nominative D दृशौ, Plural दृश ॥

So also त्विष् Its Nominative S is त्विट् or त्विड् by VIII 2 39 S 84 in the Nominative D त्विषौ ॥ Nominative Plural त्विष ॥ Inst D त्विड्भ्याम् and the Loc Plural त्विट्सु or त्विट्त्सु with the optional augment धु by VIII 3 29 S 131

The word सजुष्, "a friend" By the rule VIII 3 36 S 151, रु is substituted for its final and by VIII 2 23 S 54 there is the elision of सु, then by applying the rules VIII 2 76 S 433 and VIII 3 15 S 76 we have सजूः in the Nominative S The Nominative D सजुषौ and Plural सजुष, similarly in the Inst D सजूर्भ्याम् and Loc Plural सजूष्षु or सजूः षु, the change of स to ष् caused by VIII 4 41 S 113 being not perceived by VIII 2 66 S 162 causing र ॥

In the same way the word आशिस् for आशिष् is declined Thus we have the Nominative S, D and Plural आशीः आशिषौ and आशिष respectively, In Inst D we have आशीर्भ्याम and Plural आशीर्भि ॥

Now we take up the declension of the pronoun अदस् ॥

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	असौ (VII 2 102 S 265)	अमू (VIII 2 80 S 419)	अमू
Acc	अमूम्	अमू	अमू
Inst	अमुया	अमूभ्याम्	अमूभिः
Dat	अमुष्यै (VII 3 114 S 291)	"	अमूभ्य
Abl	अमुष्या	"	"
Gen,	"	अमुयो	अमूषाम् (VII 1 52)
Loc	अमुष्याम्	"	अमूषु

Here end the declensions of Feminines ending in Consonants

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अथ हलन्तनपुंसकलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIII

DECLENSION OF NEUTERS ENDING IN CONSONANTS

स्वमोर्लुक् । दत्वम् । स्वनडुत् । स्वनडुद् । स्वनडुही । चतुरनडुहोरित्याम् । स्वनड्वाहि । पुनस्तद्वत् । शेषं पुंवत् ॥ दिव उत् ॥ अहर्विमलद्यु । अन्तरवर्तिनो विभक्तिमाश्रित्य पूर्वपदस्येवोत्तरखण्डस्यापि पदसंज्ञायां प्राप्तायाम् ॥ उत्तरपदत्वे चापदादिविधौ प्रतिषेधः * । इति प्रत्ययलक्षणं न । विमलदिवी । विमलदिवि । अपदादिविधौ किम् । दधिसेचौ । इह षत्वनिषेधे कर्तव्ये पदत्वमस्त्येव । कुत्वे तु न । वाः । वारी । अझलन्तत्वान्न नुम् । वारि । चत्वारि । न लुमतेति कादेशो न । किम् । के । कानि । इदम् । इमे । इमानि ॥ अन्वादेशे नपुंसके एनद्वक्तव्यः * ॥ एनत् । एने । एनानि । एनेन । एनयो २ । ब्रह्म । ब्रह्मणी । ब्रह्माणि । हे ब्रह्मन् । हे ब्रह्म । रोऽसुपि ॥ अहर्भाति । विभाषा ङिश्योः । अह्नी । अहनी । अहानि

We take up the declension of the word स्वनडुह् By the rule VII 1 23 S 319 we have the elision of the case endings सु and अम् In the case of स्वनडुह्, by the application of the rule VIII 2 72 S 334 द् is substituted for ह् Thus we get स्वनडुत् or स्वनडुद् in the Nominative Sing स्वनडुही in the Nominative Dual by the rule VII 1 19 S 310 In the Nominative Plural, by the rule VII 1 98, S 331 we have the augment आम् ॥ Thus we get स्वनड्वाहि The Accusative forms will be the same as the Nominative The rest is declined like the Masculine

Now we take up the declension of the words ending in व् such as विमलदिव् ॥ By the rule VI 1 131, S 337, उ is substituted for the final thus we get विमलद्यु in the Nominative Singular which means " a clear day "

In forming the Dual, there arises this consideration —the word विमलदिव is a compound of two words विमल and दिव् ॥ When the compounds are formed, the case-affixes are elided, as राज्ञ पुरुष =राजपुरुष But though the case-affix is elided, the first member retains the designation of Pada, and so the न् of राजन् is elided and the form is râja-purusha and not râjan-purusha. Similarly in वागीश the क् is changed to ग् ॥ Now if this elided case affix (antar vartinî vibhakti) is efficient in the case of the first member of a compound, analogically should not the *Second* member of the compound get the designation of *Pada*, for the affix is elided after the second member *also*, just as the *first* member gets? This doubt is removed by the following vârtika

Vârtika —The rule of " Pratyaya-lope pratyaya lakshanam " does not hold good in the case of the second member of a compound, for the purposes of applying any rule other than that relating to the initial letter of a

Pada" Therefore, there is no pratyaya lakshana and so the word दिव् in विमलदिव् does not get the designation of *pada* and so it gets the designation Bha, and consequently we can apply to it the sûtra VII 1 19 S 310, which applies to *Bha* bases only विमल दिव् being a *Bha* base and not a *Pada*, the औ is changed to शी, and we get the Nominative Dual विमलद्दिवी and not विमलदिवौ ॥ The Nominative Plural is विमलदिवि

Why do we say in the above vârtika अपदादिविधौ "when any rule not relating to the beginning of a Pada is to be applied"? Observe दधिसेचौ = दध्न सेचौ a Genitive Tatpurusha, compounded from दध्न + सेचौ = दधि सेच् Here the second term सच् does get the designation of Pada for the purposes of the application of the rule which prevents the *initial* स् being changed to ष् ॥ Had it not been a Pada then स would have been changed to ष after इ by VIII 3 58 S 434 But though सच् is treated as a पद for the purposes of the appplication of the preventive rule relating to the *initial* letter, yet it is not to be treated as पद for the purposes of the application of the rule to the *final* letter च् which would become guttural क् if it were a Pada

Note —सेच् is derived from the root सिच् 'to sprinkle,' with the affix विच् (III 2 75 S 2980) The above is the illustration of Genitive Tatpurusha compound

Obj —But if we form the upapada compound with the root सिच् and the upapada दधि in the Accusative, as दधिम् सिंचत, then since the compounding is ordained to take place *before* the addition of vibhaktis, the word सेच् has no pada designation, and so स does not *begin* a pada, and it should be changed to ष् Thus in upapada-samâsa, the ष change is inevitable

Ans —To this Kaiyata replies "अनाभिधानात् सोपपदाद् विड्भाव, दधिसेचौ इति प्रयोगाभावात्" ॥ Or we may say that the word अपदादि means पदादादि the beginning of a subsequent (whether pada or not) preceded by a pada

Now, we take up the declension of वार् Its N S and Dual are वा and वारी respectively In forming the N Pl there will be no नुम् ordained by VII 1 72 S 314 because the base does not end in झल् letters Therefore the N Pl is वारि

The Nominative and Acc Pl. of चतुर् is चत्वारि ॥ The rest is like the masculine

Now we take up the declension of किम Thus किम् + सु = किम् + O by VII 1 23 S 319 Now the affix is elided by using the word लुक् and so it leaves no trace behind, by I 1 63 S 263, and therefore किम् is not changed to क as would otherwise be required by Sûtra VII 2, 103 S 342 Thus it is declined as —

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nom	किम्	के	कानि

Now we take up the declension of इदम् Its Nom forms are इदम्, इमे, इमानि ॥

Vârtika —In the Neuter, where there is Anvâdeśa or re employment it should be stated that एनत् replaces इदम्

Thus एनत्, एने, एनानि, Ins S एनेन Gen D एनयो &c

Now, we take up the declension of ब्रह्मन् It is declined as

	Sing	Dual	Pl
Nomi	ब्रह्म	ब्रह्मणी	ब्रह्माणि
Voc	हे ब्रह्मन् or हे ब्रह्म		

Now we take up the declension of अहन् By VIII 2 69 S 172 रु is substituted for the final न् of अहन् and thus अहर्भाति in the Nominative Sg Had there been रु, then the र् would have been changed to उ by हशिच VI 1 114 S 166 The form would have been अहोभाति in the Nom Sing In the N D by VI 4 136 S 237, the अ of अन् portion of अहन् is optionally elided and thus we get अह्नी or अहनी N Pl is अहानि ॥

Before भ्याम् &c, where अहन् gets the designation of pada, the following rule applies

४४३ । अहन् । ८ । २ । ६८ ॥

अहन्नित्यस्य रु स्यात्पदान्ते । अहोभ्याम् । अहोभि । इह अह अहोभ्यामित्यादौ रुत्वरुत्वयोरसिद्धत्वान्नलोपे प्राप्त अहन्नित्यावस्य नलोपाभाव निपात्य द्वितायेन रुर्विधय । तदन्तस्यापि रुत्वररवे । दीर्घाण्यहानि यस्मिन् स दीर्घाहा निदाघ । इह हल्ङ्यादिलोपे प्रत्ययलक्षणेनाऽसुपीति निषेधाद्रत्वाभावे रु । तस्यासिद्धत्वान्नान्तलक्षण उपधादीर्घ । सबुद्धौ तु हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ । दीर्घाहानौ । दीर्घाहान । दीर्घाह्ना । दीर्घाहाभ्याम् ।

दण्डि । दण्डिनी । दण्डीनि । स्रग्वि । स्रग्विणी । स्रग्वीणि । वाग्मि । वाग्मिनी । वाग्मीनि बहुवृत्रहाणि । बहुपूषाणि । बह्वर्यमाणि ।

असृज पदान्त कुत्वम् । सृजे क्विनो विधानात् । विश्व सृडादौ तु न । सृजिदृशोरिति सूत्रे रज्जुसड्भ्यामिति भाष्यप्रयोगात् । यद्वा व्रश्चादिसूत्र सृजियज्यो पदान्ते षत्व कुत्वापवाद । स्रगृत्विक्शब्दयोस्तु निपातनादेव कुत्वम् । असक्शब्दस्तु अस्यतेरौणादिके ऋज्प्रत्यये बोध्य । असृक् । असृग । असृजी । असृञ्जि । पद्दन्न इति वा असन् । असानि । असृजा । अस्ना । असृग्भ्याम । असभ्यामित्यादि ।

ऊर्क् । ऊर्ग । ऊर्जि । ऊर्न्जि । नरजाना सयोग ॥ बहूर्जि नुम्प्रतिषेध । * ॥ अन्त्यात्पूर्वो वा नुम् * ॥ बहूर्जि बहूर्न्जि वा कुलानि ।

त्यत् । त्यद् । त्ये । त्यानि । तत् । तद् । ते । तानि । यत् । यद् । ये । यानि । एतत् । एतद् । एते । एतानि । अन्वादेशे तु । एनत् ।

बेभिदतेः क्विप । बेभित् । बेभिद् । बेभिदी । शाल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाज्झलन्तत्वान्न नुम् । अजन्त लक्षणन्तु नुम् न । स्वविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावात् । बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि । चेच्छिदि ॥

गवाक्शब्दस्य रूपाणि क्लीबेऽर्चागतिभेदत । असन्ध्यवङ्पूर्वरूपैर्नवाधिकशत मतम् ॥ १ ॥

स्वमसुप्सु नव षड् भादौ षट्के स्युस्त्रीणि जश्शसो । चत्वारि शेष दशके रूपाणीति विभावय ॥ २ ॥

तथाहि । गामञ्चतीति विग्रहे ऋत्विगादिना क्विन् । गतौ नलोप । अवङ् स्फोटायनस्येत्यवङ् । गवाक् । गवाग् । सर्वत्र विभाषेति प्रकृतिभावे । गोअक् । गोअग् । पूर्वरूपे । गोक् । गोग् । पूजाया नस्य कुत्वेन ङ । गवाङ् । गोअङ् । गोङ् । अम्यपि एतान्येव नव । औङ ,शी । भस्याचः इत्यल्लोप । गोची । पूजाया तु गवाञ्ची । गोअञ्ची । गोञ्ची जश्शसा शि । शे सर्वनामस्थानत्वान्नुम् । गवाञ्चि । गोअञ्चि । गोञ्चि । गतिपूजनयोस्त्रीण्येव । गोचा । गवाञ्चा । गोअञ्चा । गोञ्चा । गवाग्भ्याम । गोअग्भ्याम् । गोग्भ्याम् । गवाङ्भ्याम् । गोअङ्भ्याम् गोङ्भ्याम् । इत्यादि ॥ सुपि तु ङान्ताना पक्षे ङ्णो कुगिति कुक् । गवाङ्क्षु । गोअङ्क्षु । गोङ्क्षु । गवाङ्षु । गोअङ्षु । गोङ्षु । गवाक्षु । गोअक्षु । गोक्षु । न चेह चयो द्वितीया । इति पक्षे ककारस्य खकारेण षण्णामाधिक्य शङ्क्यम् । चर्त्वस्यासिद्धत्वात् । कुक्पक्षे तु तस्यासिद्धत्वाज्जश्त्वाभावे पक्षे द्वितीयादेशात्त्रीणि रूपाणि वर्धन्त एव ॥

ऊह्यमेषा द्विर्वचनानुनासिकविकल्पनात् । रूपाण्यश्वाश्चिभूतानि । ५२७ भवन्तीति मनीषिभि ॥१॥

तिर्यक् । तिरश्ची । तिर्यञ्चि । पूजाया तु । तिर्यङ् । तिर्यञ्ची तिर्यञ्चि । यकृत । यकृती । यकृन्ति । पद्दन्निति वा यकन् । यकानि । यक्ना । यकृता । शकृत् । शकृती । शकृन्ति । शकानि । शक्ना । शकृता । ददत् । ददती ॥

443 रु is also substituted for the न् of अहन् at the end of a Pada

Thus अहोभ्याम, अहोभि ॥ The sûtra exhibits the form अहन् without the elision of न् in order to indicate that there is not elision of न् ॥ As दीर्घाहो, निदाघ हे दीर्घाहोऽत्रेति ॥ See Vârtika under VIII 2 7 The न् of अहन् is not changed to र in the sutra by VIII 2 69, because it is intended to show the word form अहन् ॥ The Nominal stem is Pada in the above examples by I 4 1,

Vârt —Before the words रूप, रात्रि and रथन्तर, the न् of अहन् is changed to र् ॥ As अहोरूपम्, अहोरात्र, अहोरथन्तर साम ॥ This is an exception to VIII 2, 69 Others say, that this र् change takes place *universally* before all words beginning with र , as अहोरम्यम्, अहो रत्नानि ॥

The र् and रु changes in अहर् (N S) and अहोभ्याम् (Ins D) ordained by VIII 2 69 S 172 and VIII 2 68 S 443 are asiddha *i e* not perceived by the preceding Sûtra VIII 2 7 S 236 which requires the elision of न् Therefore, arises the following difficulty that the र् (which is really न्) would be elided But this difficulty is removed by holding that the word अहन् in VIII 2, 68 S 443 is in N S without the elision of न् , and it is to be repeated as अहन् अहन् । The one indicates the exact form, showing that the न् is not elided , and by the second word, the रु is ordained for this final न् ॥

The words ending in अहन् will also change the final न् into रु and र् by VIII 2 68 and 69 S 443 and 172 Thus we have the Bahuvrihi compound दीर्घाहन् meaning 'the season in which the days are long' as दीर्घाहा निदाघ ॥ This word is a Masculine and it is necessary to enter into a digression to show its

various declensions The word दीर्घाह्ना is thus evolved —दीर्घाहन् + सु = दीर्घाहन् + O (there is lopa elison of सु by VI 1 68 S 252) Therefore this lopa will produce the effect of a pratyaya by I 1 62 S 262 and would cause the रु substitution for न् to the exclusion of र, because the र would not come, as in the sutra VIII 2 69 S 172 असुपि is used But this रु being asiddha i e not perceived by VI 4 8 S 250, there is lengthening of the penultimate अ ॥ Thus we have दीर्घाहार in the N S

In the Voc we have हे दीर्घाहो निदाघ ॥

Note —The word दीर्घाहन् is a Bahuvrihi (II 2 24), the Vocative affix is elided (VI 1 68), and the न् changed to र् by VIII 2 68, and it is changed to उ (VI 1 114) In हे अहन् ! the न् is not elided by the option of the following Vartika under VIII 2 8 वा नपुंसकानाम् which means that in the Neuters न् is optionally not elided

It is thus declined —

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom & Acc	दीर्घाहा	दीर्घाहानौ	दीर्घाहान
Instr	दीर्घाह्ना	दीर्घाहोभ्याम् &c	

Now, we take up the declension of दाण्डन् &c Nominative and Accusative of

	Singular	Dual	Plural
दण्डिन्	दण्डि	दण्डिनी	दण्डीनि
स्रग्विन्	स्रग्वि	स्रग्विणी	स्रग्वीणि
वाग्मिन्	वाग्मि	वाग्मिनी	वाग्मीनि
बहुवृत्रहन्	बहुवृत्रह	बहुवृत्रघ्नी or बहुवृत्रहणी	बहुवृत्रहाणि
बहुपूषन्	बहुपूष	बहुपूष्णी or बहुपूषणी	बहुपूषाणि
बह्वर्यमन्	बह्वर्यम	बह्वर्यम्णी or बह्वर्यमणी	बह्वर्यमाणि

Now we take up the declension of असृज which is a negative compound of अ + सृज The ज will be changed to guttural, when final in a pada, because the affix क्विन् has been ordained after the root सृज (क्विन् प्रत्ययस्यकु , but not so in other compounds than negative, as विश्वसृज &c The N S of विश्वसृज is विश्वसृट्, because Patanjali in his Mahâbhâshya, in commenting on sûtra VI I 58 S 2405 employs the form रज्जुसृड्भ्याम् or because the षत्व taught in VIII 2 36 S 294 for the final ज of सृज् and यज् would debar the gutturalisation While the gutturalisation in स्रक् and ऋत्विक् is an irregularity, because these words are so read in the sûtra III 2 59 S 373 Or to remove all these objections we say that असृज् is not a negative compound of अ + सृज but is a Unadi formed word derived from the root अस् " to throw " with the affix ऋज्, then the

form will be असृक् in the N S without any difficulty Thus the declension of असृज will be

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom	असृक् or असृग्	असृजी	असृञ्जि ॥
Acc	"	"	

But in the weak-case terminations there will be two forms, *viz*, one with असन् (VI 1 63 S 228) and the other with असृज ॥ Thus Acc Pl असृञ्जि or असानि ॥ Instr Sing Dual असृजा or अस्ना, असृग्भ्याम् or असभ्याम् &c

Now we take up the declension of ऊर्ज ॥

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Nom & Acc	ऊर्क् or ऊर्ग्	ऊर्जी	ऊन्र्जि ॥

In the last, the conjunct consonant is न् र् and ज ॥

Vârtik —There is prohibition of the augment नुम् in the case of बहूर्ज्

Vârtik —Or, the नुम् may be added before the final consonant, i e. inserted betwen र् and ज् ॥ Thus बहूर्जि or बहूर्ञ्जि कुलानि ॥

Note —According to Mahabhâsya the Nom Pl is ऊर्जि without any nasal (See sûtra VII 1 72) His reason is that the word अच in नपुंसकस्य झलच should be construed in the Ablative, the sutra meaning " the augment नुम् should be added to a Neuter stem which ends in झल् consonant, provided that such झल is preceded by a vowel " In ur j, the letter that follows the vowel, i e र is not a jhal, nor does the Neuter stem end in i But the jhal ज् which is final, is not preceded by a *vowel* but by र ॥ So there will be no nasal here

Now, we take up the declension of त्यद् &c Nominative and Accusative

	Singular	Dual	Plural
त्यद्	त्यत् or त्यद्	त्ये	त्यानि ॥
तद्	तत् or तद्	ते	तानि ॥
यद्	यत् or यद्	ये	यानि ॥
एतद्	एतत् or एतद्	एते	एतानि ॥

But in anvâdesha or remployment, the Nom Sing of एतद् is declined as एनत् ॥

The word बेभिद् is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the verbal root बेभिद्य (a Frequentative root) The अ and य are dropped (अतो लोप) ॥

Its N and Ac S and Dual are बेभित् or बेभिद्, बेभिदी ॥ In the Plural, i e before the affix शि, the augment नुम् required by VII 1 72 S 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ of बेभिद्य is considered as sthânivat

and so the base does not end in a झल् consonant * Nor will it take नुम् on account of its ending in a vowel, because there is no sthânivat-bhâva, with regard to the rule applying to its own self

Thus the Plural is बेभिदि ब्राह्मणकुलानि ॥

Similarly the plural of चेच्छिद् is चेच्छिदि ॥

The root अञ्चु has two meanings, (a) to go, (b) to worship (See भ्वादि 203) When the compound is formed from it with the upa-pada गो, we get गो + अञ्च् + क्विन् ॥ Thus गा अञ्चति meaning ' he drives the cow ' The nasal will be elided by VI 4. 24 S 415 But when the meaning is ' he honors or worships the cow ' the nasal will not be elided because of the prohibition of VI 4. 30 S 424

Thus we get two forms (1) गवाञ्च (2) गवाच् ॥ Then the Sandhi of गो + अच् itself gives rise to three forms, namely (1) where there is no Sandhi by VI 1 122 S 87 (2) where अवङ् is substituted for ओ of गो by VI 1 123 S 88, (3) where ओ + अ of गो and अच् become ओ by VI 1 122 S 87 Thus (1) गोअच् (2) गवाच् (3) गोऽच् ॥

Verse —In the Neuter, the word गवाच् meaning (a) he who honors cows or (b) he who drives cows, has 109 forms, according as the bases are namely (1) गोअञ्च, (2) गवाञ्च् (3) गोऽञ्च (4) गोअच् (5) गवाच् (6) गोऽच ॥ The case terminations सु (N S), अम् (Ac S) सुप् (L Pl) give rise to nine forms each, the भ्या (i e Instr , Dative and Ablative Dual and Pl) to six forms each, the जस and शस् (i e Nomi and Acc Pl) to three forms each, the remaining ten case terminations four forms each

Thus when we analyse गवाञ्च् or गवाच् as गाम् अञ्चति, we add the affix क्विन् by III 2 59 S 373 Then the nasal is elided, when the sense is to move' Then there is the अवङ् substitution by VII 1 123 S 88 In this case we have N S as गवाक् or गवाग्, or when we apply the option of VI 1 122 S 87, we have गोअक् or गोअग्, when we apply the rule of पररूप, we have गोऽक् or गोऽग् ॥

When the sense is ' to honor ', we have the कुत्व or gutturalisation of the nasal in to ङ as N S गवाङ् or गोअङ् or गोऽङ् ॥ In the Acc S we shall also get these nine forms

In the Nom and Acc dual, the termination is शी, before which the base gets the designation of bha (भ) and the अ of अच is elided by VI 4 138 S 416 and thus we get the form गोची ॥ But when the sense of the verb is ' to honor ', we get the forms गवाञ्ची, or गोअञ्ची or गोची ॥

* The अ of बेभिद् was elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 The *Vartika* क्नौलुप्त न स्थानिवत् see sutra VI 4 85 S 273 is not applied here, as that *Vartika* is not of universal application

The N and Ac Pl affix is शि which being a Sarvanâmasthâna, we have the augment नुम and thus we have गवाञ्चि or गोअञ्चि or गोञ्चि whether the verb means 'to go' or 'to honor'

The Instr Sing of गवाच is only गोचा, for the same reason as N and Ac Dual is गोची, of गवाञ्च् is गवाञ्चा or गोञ्चा or गोअञ्चा ॥

The Instr, Dat and Abl dual of गवाच् is गवाग्भ्याम् or गोअग्भ्याम or गोग्भ्याम्, of गवाञ्च is गवाङ्भ्याम् or गोअङ्भ्याम् or गोङ्भ्याम् &c

In the Loc Pl, when the base is गवाच, we add the augment क् by VIII 3 28 Thus गवाङ्क्षु or गोअङ्क्षु or गोङ्क्षु or गवाङ्षु or गोअङ्षु or गोङ्षु ॥

But when the base is गवाञ्च्, we get L Pl as गवाक्षु or गोअक्ष or गोक्षु ॥

By applying the vârtika चयो द्वितीया, क may be changed to ख and we may get six other forms, but that *Vartika* is not applicable, since the चर्त्व rule is asiddha

Now we take up the declension of तिरञ्च ॥

Its Nom forms are तिर्यक्, तिरश्ची, तिर्यञ्चि ॥

But when अञ्च means 'to honor' and thus the nasal is not elided, the Nom forms are तिर्यङ्, तिर्यञ्ची, तिर्यञ्चि ॥

Now we take up the declension of यकृत् ॥ Its Nom and Acc forms are यकृत्, यकृती, यकृन्ति ॥

But before weak case terminations यकन् is optionally substituted for यकृत् as ordained by VI 1 63 S 228 Thus Ac Pl is either यकृन्ति or यकानि ॥ The Insr Sing is यक्ना or यकृता ॥

Now we take up the declension of शकृत् ॥ Its Nom and Acc forms are शकृत् शकृती शकृन्ति ॥ According to VI 1 63 S 228, शकन् is optionally substituted for शकृत् before the weak case terminations So the Acc Pl is optionally शकानि ॥ Similarly, the Instr Sig is either शक्ना or शकृता ॥

Now, we take up the declension of ददत् ॥ Its Nom Sing and dual are ददत् । ददती ॥

The formation of the N Pl is governed by the following rule

४४४ । वा नपुंसकस्य । ७ । १ । ७९ ॥

अभ्यस्तात्परो यः शता तदन्तस्य क्लीबस्य नुम् वा स्यात्सर्वनामस्थाने परे । ददन्ति । ददति । तुदत्॥

444 The Participial-affix शतृ optionally takes the augment नुम after a reduplicate stem, in Neuter nouns when

a sarvanâmasthâna I 1 42 S 313 follows

Thus Nominative Plural ददन्ति or ददति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of तुदत् ॥ Its N S is तुदत् ॥

In the formation of its N Dual and Plural the following rule applies —

४४५ । आच्छीनद्योर्नुम् । ७ । १ । ८० ॥

अवर्णान्तादङ्गात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्याङ्गस्य नुम् वा स्याच्छीनद्यो परत । तुदन्ती । तुदती तुदन्ति । भात् । भान्ती । भाती ॥ भान्ति । पचत् ॥

445 When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in अ or आ, it may optionally take the augment नुम before the neutral case-ending शि VII 1 19 S 319 and before the feminine affix ई (that is Nadi I 4 3 S 266)

Thus N D तुदन्ती or तुदती , N P तुदन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of भात् 'shining' Its Nominative forms are भात्, भान्ती or भाती, भान्ति ॥

Now we take up the dclension of पचत् ॥ ('cooking') Its N S is पचत् ॥ Its N D Pl are governed by the following rule —

४४६ । शपश्यनोर्नित्यम् । ७ । १ । ८१ ॥

शपश्यनोरात्परो य शतुरवयवस्तदन्तस्य नित्य नुम् स्याच्छीनद्यो परत । पचन्ती । पचन्ति । दीव्यत् । दीव्यन्ती । दीव्यन्ति । स्वप् । स्वब् । स्वपी । नित्यात्परादपि नुम प्राक् अप्तृन्निति दीर्घ । प्रतिपदोक्तत्वात् । नुम् । स्वाम्पि । निरवकाशत्व प्रतिपदोक्तत्वमिति पक्षे तु प्रकृते तद्विरहान्नुमेव । स्वम्पि । स्वपा ॥ अपोभि ॥ स्वद्भ्याम् । स्वद्भि । अर्तिपिबतीत्यादिना धनेरुन । हस्वम । धनु । धनुषो । सान्तति दीर्घ । नुम्विसर्जनीयेति षत्वम् । धनूषि । धनुषा । धनुर्भ्याम् । एव चक्षुर्हविरादय । पिपठिषषे क्विप । वारिति दीर्घ । पिपठी । पिपठिषी । अल्लोपस्य स्थानिवत्त्वाज्झलन्तलक्षणो नुम न । स्वविधौ स्थानिवत्त्वाभावान्जन्तलक्षणोऽपि नुम् न । पिपठिषि । पिपठीर्भ्यामित्यादि । पय । पयसी । पयासि । पयसा । पयोभ्यामित्यादि । सुपुम् । सुपुसी । सुपुमासि अद । विभक्तिकार्यम् । उत्वमत्व । अमू । अमूनि । शेष पुवत् ॥

446 When the affix शतृ comes after a verbal stem ending in the vikaranas शप and श्यन्, it invariably takes the augment नुम before the neutral case-ending शी (ई), and the feminine ending ई (Nadî)

Thus N D पचन्ती, N Pl पचन्ति ॥ The word नित्य stops the anuvritti of वा (VII 1 79 S 444)

Similarly, the Nominative forms of दीव्यत् are दीव्यत्, दीव्यन्ती, दीव्यन्ति ॥

Now, we take up the declension of स्वप् meaning 'a tank containing good water,

Note —In forming the compound सु + अप्, sûtra V 4 74 S 940 required the addition of अ to the final as in the case of द्वि + अप् = द्वीप, but here the अ is not added on account of the prohibition contained in V 4 69 S 954 Nor is the अ changed to long ई required by VI 3 97 S 941 because the word अप् in that sûtra means that अप् which has taken the समासान्त affix अ ॥ Thus we get the base स्वप्

Its N S and Dual are स्वप् or स्वब् and स्वपी respectively In the N Plural the अ of स्वप् will be *first* lengthened by VI 4 11 S 277 and then नुम is to be added This is because the word अप् is *specifically* mentioned in the sûtra VI 4 11 S 277 Otherwise by the general rule, the augment नुम् taught by VII 1 72 S 314 is *nitya* and subsequent in order of Ashtâdhyâyi to the sûtra VI 4. 11 and should have been added first Thus the Nominative Plural is स्वाम्पि ॥

But if the view be taken that the *pratipadokta* rule supersedes a nitya and a subsquent rule, then only, when it has no scope otherwise, then we should not have the lengthening ordained by VI 4 11 S 277, for that lengthening finds its scope in cases like आप स्तिष्ठन्ति, while in स्वप् + शि, the नुम् taught subsequently will supersede the lengthening rule which is precedent. Thus we have the Nominative Plural स्वम्पि ॥

Note —This is the more valid form according to the opinion of Manorama.

The Instr Sing is स्वपा ॥ The Instr Dual is स्वद्भ्याम्, the प् being changed to द् by VII 4 48 S 442 The Instr Plural is स्वाद्भिः ॥

Now we take up the declension of धनुस् ॥ This word is formed by adding the Unâdi affix उस् to the root धन् (Unâdi II 117) The स् is changed to र् (VIII 2 66 S 162) and then changed to Visarga, thus Nominative Sing is धनुः, Nominative Dual धनुषी ॥

In the Nominative Plural the उ of धनुस् is lengthened by VI 4 10 S 317 The स् is changed to ष् by VIII 3 58 S 434 Thus Nominative Plural is धनूंषि ॥ The Instr S and Dual are धनुषा, धनुर्भ्याम् respectively Similar is the declension of चक्षुस् and हविस् &c

Now, we take up the declension of पिपठिस् ॥ It is derived from the Desiderative root पिपठिष with the affix क्विप् before which the final अ is elided by VI 4 48 S 2308 and in the N S the penultimate vowel is lengthened by VIII 2 76 S 433 Thus N S पिपठीः, N Dual पिपठिषी ॥

In the Plural, i e before the affix शि, the augment नुम् required by VII 1 72 S 314 is not added, because the lopa elided अ is considered as sthânivat and so the base does not end in a झल् consonant

Nor will it take नुम by considering it as ending in a vowel, for the elided अ can not be considered as sthânivat in applying the rule to its own self (compare sutra 443) Thus N Pl is पिपठिषि ॥ The

rest of the declensions, such as पिपठीर्भ्याम् &c are similar to those of the Masculine

Now, we take up the declension of पयस् &c

Nom and Acc

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Instr S	Dual
पयस्	पय	पयसी	पयांसि ॥	पयसा,	पयोभ्या
सुपुस	सुपुम्	सुपुसी	सुपुमांसि ॥		
अदस्	अद				

In the Dual and Pl all the operations required in the case affixes should be made first and then the उ and म substitution mentioned under VII 2 107 S 437 and VIII 2 81 S 438 should take place Thus N and Acc D and Pl are अमू and अमूनि ॥

Note —The N D of अदस् is thus formed —

अदस् + शी = अद + ई (The स् is elided by VII 2 102 S 265) = अदे ॥ This is the form obtained by applying all the rules of विभक्ति ॥ The vibhakti kârya being done, we now apply VIII 2 80 S 491 The द् is thus changed to म and the ए to ऊ ॥ Thus we get the form अमू ॥

Similarly by applying all the vibhakti rules to अदस्, we get the N Pl अदानि, to which applying VIII 2 80 S 491, we get अमूनि ॥

The rest of the declensions are like those of the Masculines

Here end the declensions of Neuters ending in consonants

—— o ——

अथाऽव्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XIV

THE INDECLINABLES

४४७ । स्वरादिनिपातमव्ययम् । १ । १ । ३७ ॥

स्वरादयो निपाताश्चाव्ययसंज्ञाः स्युः । स्वर् अन्तर् प्रातर् पुनर् सनुतर् उच्चैस् नीचैस्, शनैस् ऋधक् ऋते युगपत् आरात् पृथक् ह्यस्, श्वस् दिवा रात्रौ सायम् चिरम् मनाक् ईषत्, जोषम् तूष्णीम् बहिस् अवस् समया निकषा, स्वयम् , वृथा नक्तम् नञ् हेतौ इद्धा, अद्धा, सामि, वत् ब्राह्मणवत् क्षत्रियवत् सना, सनत् सनात् उपधा तिरस् अन्तरा, अन्तरेण ज्योक् कम्, शम्, सहसा विना, नाना, स्वस्ति, स्वधा अलम् वषट् श्रौषट् वौषट्, अन्यत्, अस्ति उपांशु क्षमा, विहायसा दोषा मृषा मिथ्या, मुधा, पुरा मिथो, मिथस्, प्रायस्, मुहुस्, प्रवाहुकम्, प्रवाहिका, आर्यहलम् अभीक्ष्णम्, साकम्, सार्धम् नमस्, हिरुक्, धिक् अथ अम्, आम्, प्रताम्, प्रशान् प्रतान्, मा, माङ् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ च वा, ह, अह, एव एवम्, नूनम्, शश्वत्, युगपत्, भूयस् कूपत्, सूपत्, कुवित् नेत् चेत् चण् कच्चित्, किच्चित्, यत्र नह हन्त माकि, माकिम् नकि आकिम् माङ्, नञ् यावत् तावत् त्व, द्वै न्वै, रै, श्रौषट्, वौषट् स्वाहा स्वधा, तुम्, तथाहि खलु किल, अथो, अथ, सुष्ठु स्म, आदह उपसर्गविभक्तिस्वर प्रतिरूपकाश्च । अवदत्तम् अहंयु अस्तिक्षीरा अ, आ, इ, ई, उ, ऊ ए ऐ ओ, औ, पशु शुकम्, यथाकथाच, पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग है हे भोः, अय, द्य, विषु एकपदे, युत् आतः । चादिरप्याकृतिगणः ॥

447 The words svar 'heaven,' &c, and the particles (I 4 56) are called indeclinables

This defines avyaya or indeclinables Their list is given below —

स्वर् 'heaven,' अन्तर् 'midst' प्रातर् 'in the morning,' पुनर् 'again,' सनुतर् 'in concealment,' उच्चैस् 'high, aloft' नीचैस् 'low, down,' शनैस् 'slowly,' ऋधक् 'rightly, separately aside, singly, particularly, truly,' ऋते 'except, without,' युगपत् 'at the sametime, at once,' आरात् 'near, far from, directly' पृथक् 'separately, apart,' ह्यस् 'yesterday,' श्वस् 'to morrow,' दिवा 'by day,' रात्रौ 'by night or in the night,' सायम् 'at eve,' चिरम् 'long, long since, a long time,' मनाक् 'a little,' ईषत् 'slightly, a little जोषम् gladly,' तूष्णीम् 'silently,' बहिस् outside,' अवस् 'below, without, outside समया 'near,' निकषा 'near, hard, close by' स्वयम् 'of one's self,' वृथा in vain,' नक्तम् at night, by night,' नञ् negative particle, not,' हेतौ 'for this reason, by reason of,' इद्धा 'truly, really' अद्धा 'evidently, truly,' सामि 'half,' वत् 'enclitic like, as Brâhmanavat, Kshatriyavat warrior like, सनत् सनात् 'perpetually,' उपधा 'division,' तिरस् 'crookedly, awry, over अन्तरा अन्तरेण 'except, without' ज्योक् 'long,' कम् expletive particle,' शम् ease,' सहसा 'suddenly, hastily,' विना 'without,' नाना 'variously' स्वस्ति 'greeting, peace,' स्वधा 'exclamation, oblation to Manes,' अलम् 'enough,' वषट् 'exclamation,' श्रौषट्, वौषट् (interjection) 'oblation of

butter,' अन्यत् 'again, moreover, otherwise' अस्ति 'being present,' पाउझु 'in a low voice, secretly, privately,' क्षमा 'patience, pardon' विहायसा 'aloft in the air,' दोषा 'at night or in the evening,' मृषा, मिथ्या 'falsely, मुधा 'in vain' पुरा 'formerly,' मिथो or मिथस् 'mutually, together,' प्रायस् 'frequently, almost,' मुहुस् 'again, repeatedly' प्रवाहुकम् or प्रवाहिका 'at the same time' आर्यहलम् 'violently' अभीक्ष्णम 'repeatedly,' साकम् or सार्धम् 'with' नमस्, 'reverence,' हिरुक् 'without धिक् 'fie!' अथ 'thus,' अम् "quickly" आम् "indeed" प्रताम् 'with fatigue,' प्रशाम् 'alike,' प्रतान् 'widely,' मा, माङ् 'do not'

So also the words formed by the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V 3 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with शस् (V 4 42 S 2109) and ending with समासान्त (V 4 68 S 676), by the affixes कृत्वसुच्, सुच्स् आच् and थाल् by the affixes having the sense of the affix च्वि, or by the affixes अम or आम्, तसि or वति, न or नाञ् are also indeclinables

This class is known as avayaya' from its form, so that where words are found treated as indeclinables, they may be put as under this class

The following are निपात or particles च 'and,' वा "or," ह an expletive, अह vocative particle एव 'only," एवम् 'thus,' नूनम् 'certainly' शश्वत् 'continually,' युगपत् 'at once' भूयस् 'repeatedly,' कूपत् 'excellently, सूपत् 'excellently' कुवित् 'abundantly,' नेत् or चेत् "if," चण् 'if' कच्चित् "what if" यत्र 'where नह 'no,' हन्त ah!' माकिम, माकि, नकि or नकिम "do not," माङ 'do not' नञ् 'not यावत् 'as much as,' तावत् 'so much,' त्व, वै or न्वै perhaps, रै disrespectful interjection, श्रौषट्, वौषट् or स्वाहा "oblation to the gods" वषट् "oblation to the Gods" तुम "thouing," तथाहि "thus" खलु certainly, किल 'indeed,' अथ now, सुष्ठु excellent' स्म (gives the idea of past when attached to the present forms of verbs), आहह 'fie!'

To the list of Indeclinables belong also what have, without the reality, the appearance of an उपसर्ग, (I 4 59 S 22,) of a word with one of the terminations of case or person, and of the vowels In the example अवदत्तम् "given away," the अव is not really an upasarga, for if it were, the word would be अवत्तम् by VII 4 47 S 3078 In the example अहंयु 'egoistic' the ahan' is not identical with अहम् or 'I' terminating in a case affix, because a pronoun, really regarded as being in the Nominative case could not be the first member in such a compound

In the example अस्तिक्षीरा, a cow or the like in which there is milk, the अस्ति must be regarded as different from the word अस्ति or 'is" which ends with the affix of 3rd person Sing अ, आ, इ, ऊ ए, ऐ ओ, औ, (these express various emotions पशु 'well,' शुकम् 'quickly,' यथाकथाच "anyhow" पाट्, प्याट्, अङ्ग, है, ह, भोः (vocative particles) अये 'ah!' द्य in the sense of injury, opposition and to fill up the metre of a verse, विषु "on all sides," एकपदे at the same moment' कुत्सु 'blame' अतः 'hence'

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This list also from स्व &c is to be regarded as one each of which is to be recognised by its own form as before

४४८ । तद्धितश्चासर्वविभक्तिः । १ । १ । ३८ ॥

यस्मात्सर्वा विभक्तिर्नोत्पद्यते स तद्धितान्तोऽव्ययं स्यात् । परिगणनं कर्तव्यम् । तसिलादयः प्राक् पाशपः । शस्प्रभृतयः प्राक् समासान्तेभ्यः । अम् । आम् । कृत्वोर्थाः । तसिवती । नानाञाविति । तेनेह न । पचतिकल्पम् । पचतिरूपम् ॥

448 And the words ending in taddhîta or secondary affixes (IV. 1 76 S 530) which are not declined in all the cases are also Indeclinables.

An enumeration of these affixes should be made. They are the affixes beginning with तसिल् (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with पाशप् (V 3 47 S 1993), by the affixes beginning with शस (V 4 42 S 2109) and ending with समासान्त (V 4 68 S 676) by the affixes अम्, आम्, where meaning कृत्वसुच्, by the affixes तसि and वति and न or नाञ् ॥

Hence पचतिकल्पम् and पचतिरूपम् are not indeclinables.

Note —Taddhitas or secondary affixes are certain affixes, by which nouns are derived from other nouns, such as, from मनु we have मानव, asarva vibhaktis are those which do not take all vibhaktis but some only Thus the adverb यत is declined in the singular ablative only, and does not take the dual and plural terminations

Those derivative words which do not take all the case-terminations, but only some of them and which are formed by the addition of Tadhita affixes are indeclinables. As ततः 'thence,' तत्र 'there' Both these words are formed by taddhita affixes from the pronoun तद् 'that,' the one is used in the ablative case only and the other in the locative So also यतः, यत्र, तदा, यदा, सर्वदा, सदा, &c

४४९ । कृन्मेजन्तः । १ । १ । ३९ ॥

कृद्यो मान्त एजन्तश्च तदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । स्मारंस्मारम् । जीवसे । पिबध्यै ॥

449 The words formed by those krit or primary affixes, (III 1 93 S 374) which end with म or in ए, ओ, ऐ and औ are also Indeclinables

Note :—All affixes for the formation of nouns are of two kinds —1 Those by which nouns are derived directly from roots Primary affixes 2 Those by which nouns are derived from other nouns Secondary affixes The former are called krit, the latter, taddhita

Text —Words formed by krit affixes which end in म or ए, ओ, ए, or औ (connoted by the pratyahara एच्) are avyayas Thus the affix तुम्

(technically तुसुन्) and अस् (technically कसुन्, III 3 10 S 3175) are affixes which end in स् ॥ The words formed by the addition of these affixes will be indeclinables Thus स्मारम् स्मारम् 'having repeatedly remembered' जीवसे to live, पिबध्यै: 'to drink,' are also avyayas as they end in स्, &c

४५० । क्त्वातोसुन्कसुन । १ । १ । ४० ॥

एतदन्तमव्ययं स्यात् । कृत्वा । उदेतो । विसृप ॥

450 The words, ending with ktvâ (III 4 18 S 3316) tosun (III 4. 16 S. 3443) and kasun (III 4 9 S. 3436) are Indeclinables

As कृत्वा 'having done' उदेतो 'having risen,' विसृप 'having spread'

४५१ । अव्ययीभावश्च । १ । १ । ४१ ॥

अधिहरि ॥

451. (The compound called) Avyayîbhâva (II. 1 5 S 651) is also Indeclinable

Thus अधिहरि 'upon Hari or Vishnu'

Note —The Avyayibhâva or adverbial or indeclinable compounds are formed by joining an indeclinable particle with another word The resulting compound, in which the indeclinable particle forms generally the first element, is again indeclinable, and generally ends, like adverbs, in the ordinary terminations of the nominative or accusative neuter

The word च in the sûtra shows that here ends the definition of avyaya The avyayas, therefore, are all those words which are comprised in the above five sûtras

What is the object gained by making the avyayibhâva compounds avayayas? Three objects are gained, by making these compounds, indeclinables *viz*, we can apply to them (I) the rule relating to the elision (लुक्) of the case-affixes and feminine affixes, *i. e.*, sûtra II 4 82 S 452 thus, in the following example, the words upâgni and pratyagni though qualifying the word salabhâh, do not take the gender and number of the latter, उपाग्नि प्रत्यग्नि शलभा पतन्ति (2) the rule relating to accent when an avyaya is compounded with the word mukha, (मुखस्वर), *i e*, sûtras VI 2 167 & 168 S 3901 and 3902, Thus, उपाग्नि मुख, here, sûtra VI 2 167, required the final vowel to take the udatta accent, but the preceding word being an avyaya, sûtra VI 2 168, intervened, and the first word retains its natural accent (3) the rule relating to the change of visarga into स्, this change being technically called उपचार thus उपपय कार, उपपय कामि, as compared with अयस्कार Here, the compound उपपय being treated as avyaya, sûtra VIII 3 46, S 160 applies and prevents the change of into स् ॥

४५२ । अव्ययादाप्सुप । २ । ४ । ८२ ॥

अव्ययाद्विहितस्याप सुपश्च लुक् स्यात् । तत्र शालायाम् । विहितविशेषणान्नेह । अत्युच्चैसौ । अव्ययसंज्ञाया यद्यपि तदन्तविधिरस्ति तथापि न गौणे । आब्ग्रहण व्यर्थमलिङ्गत्वात् ॥

सदृश त्रिषु लिङ्गेषु सर्वासु च विभक्तिषु । वचनेषु च सर्वेषु यन्न व्येति तदव्ययम् ॥

इति श्रुतिलिङ्गकारकसख्याऽभावपरा ।

वष्टि भागुरिरल्लोपमवाप्योरुपसर्गयो । आप चैव हलन्ताना यथा वाचा निशा दिशा ॥

वगाह । अवगाह । पिधानम् । अपिधानम् ॥

452 There is luk-elision of आप् (the feminine termination) and सुप् (the case-affixes) ordained after an Avyaya or Indeclinable

Thus, तत्र शालायाम् 'in that hall' Here the Indeclinable तत्र 'there,' does not take the feminine termination, although it is equivalent to तस्याम् 'in that'

By using the word "ordained" in the surra we mean that the case affixes must come after the Avyaya as such, and not after a pratipâdika compound, in which an Avyaya may be a secondary member Thus in the compound अति + उच्चैस though the word उच्चै separately is an Avyaya, yet as the whole compound is a noun, the case affixes will not be dropped after it Thus Nominative Dual अत्युच्चैसौ ॥ Though tadanta vidhi applies to avyayas also, and so a compound word ending with an avyaya will also be an avyaya, yet when such an avyaya is a secondary member only and the whole compound refers to a third person, then the tadanta vidhi will not apply

The word आप् (Feminine affix) has been read uselessly in the sûtra, because an Avyaya has no gender

Verse —" What changes not, remaining alike in the three genders, and in all cases, and in all numbers, is what is termed an indeclinable or avyaya "

Thus according to Sruti, avyayas have neither genders, cases nor numbers

" The grammarian Bhaguri wishes that there shall be elision of अ of अव and अपि and that आप् shall be the termination of all feminine words which would otherwise end in consonants, e g वाचा (instead of वाच), निशा (instead of निश), दिशा (instead of दिश्) "

This is of course optional, for it rests on the authority of a single grammarian So either अवगाह or वगाह ॥ पिधानम or अपिधानम् ॥

Here end the Indeclinables

अथ स्त्रीप्रत्यय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XV

FORMATION OF FEMININES

४५३। स्त्रियाम्। ४। १। ३॥

अधिकारोऽयम्। समर्थानामिति यावत्॥

453 When feminine nature is to be indicated, the affixes taught hereinafter must be employed

Note —This is an adhikara sutra pure and simple The phrase 'when feminine nature is to be indicated,' must be read in all the following aphorisms upto IV 1 81 inclusive The anuvritti of the word 'prâtipadika' should be read into this sura, from the sutra, IV 1 1 S 182, not so, however the anuvritti of the words 'ङी आप्', for we are now going to form words by the application of ङी and आप् affixes

४५४। अजाद्यतष्टाप्। ४। १। ४॥

अजादीनामकारान्तस्य च वाच्यं यत् स्त्रीत्वं तत्र द्योत्ये टाप् स्यात्। अजाद्युक्तिर्ङीषो ङीपश्च बाधनाय। अजा। अत:, खट्वा। अजादिभि: स्त्रीत्वस्य विशेषणान्नेह। पञ्चाजी। 'द्विगो:' (४७९) इति ङीप्। अत्र हि समासार्थसमाहारनिष्ठं स्त्रीत्वम्। अजा। एडका। अश्वा। चटका। मूषिका। एषु जातिलक्षणो ङीष् प्राप्त:। बाला। वत्सा। होडा। मन्दा। विलाता। एषु वयसि प्रथम इति ङीप् प्राप्त:॥ * सम्भस्त्राजिनशणपिण्डेभ्य: फलात् * सफला। भस्त्रफला। ङ्यापोरिति ह्रस्व:॥ * सत्प्राक्काण्डप्रान्तशतैकेभ्य: पुष्पात् *॥ सत्पुष्पा। प्राक्पुष्पा। प्रत्यक्पुष्पा। * शूद्रा चामहत्पूर्वा जाति: *॥ पुंयोगे तु शूद्री। अमहत्पूर्वा किम्। महाशूद्री। क्रुञ्चा। उष्णिहा। देवविशा। ज्येष्ठा। कनिष्ठा। मध्यमेति पुंयोगेऽपि। कोकिला। जातावपि। * मूलान्नञ: *। अमूला। ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप्॥ कर्त्री। दण्डिनी॥

454 The affix टाप् is employed to indicate feminine nature, after the crude-forms 'aja' &c, and the crude-forms ending in short अ।

This debars ङीष् and ङीप्।

The words अज &c are given below Thus अज a 'he goat,' अजा 'a she goat' The words ending in short अ are such as, खट्व whose feminine will be खट्वा।

Note —The word खट्व is formed by adding the Unâdi affix क्वन् to the root खट् meaning "to desire" (Unâdi I 151)

The feminines in grammar do not follow the natural physiological division of sexes, and even names of things which have no sex may have genders, e g तट,

सदी तदम ॥ Similarly beings whose sexes may be feminines may have names whose Genders will be masculines such as दाराम् ॥

The words अज &c must denote, by themselves a feminine object in order to get the affix टाप्, therefore not in पञ्चाजी meaning "a collection of five goats" Here the feminine nature does not refer to the goats, but to the compound noun formed of पञ्च and अज। Therefore this feminine पञ्चाजी is formed by ङीप् (IV 1 21 S 479)

Following are the words belonging to the अजादि class

1 अज अजा 2 एडक एडका (3 कोकिल कोकिला)
4 चटक चटका 5 अश्व अश्वा 6 मूषिक मूषिका

Note —The above words denote 'jâti' or kind and though they end in short अ in the masculine, they would have taken, but for the present sûtra, the affix 'nish' (IV 2, 63 S 518) in the feminine

7 बाल बाला 8 होड होडा (9 पाक पाका)
10 वत्स वत्सा 11 मन्द मन्दा 12 विलात विलाता

Note —The above six words are descriptive of age, and though they end in the short अ in the masculine, but for the present sûtra, they would have taken the affix 'ङीप्' (IV 1 20 S 478) in the feminine

13 पूर्वापहरण, पूर्वापहरणा, 14 अपरापहारण, अपरापहारणा,

Note —These two words are formed by the affix ल्युट्, and being टित्, would have taken ङीप् (IV I 15 S 470) but for this Sûtra

Vârtika —The words सम्, भस्त्रा, अजिन्, शण and पिण्ड when followed by फल form the feminines with टाप्।

15 सफल सफला 16 भस्त्रफल, भस्त्रफला,
17 •अजिनफल, अजिनफला, 18 शाणफल, शाणफला,
19 पिण्डफल, पिण्डफला, (20 त्रिफल, त्रिफला,)

In भस्त्रफला, the long आ of भस्त्रा is changed to short अ by the sûtra VI 3 S 1001

Note —The above words ending in 'phala' would have taken the affix nish (IV 1 64 S 519) but for their enumeration in the 'ajâdi' class, 'त्रिफला' when a Dvigu Compound forms its feminine as त्रिफला, when a Bahuvrihi Compound, its feminine is त्रिफली ॥

Vârtika —The word पुष्प preceded by सत्, प्राच्, काण्ड, प्रान्त and शत takes the affix टाप् ॥

21 सत्पुष्प, सत्पुष्पा, 22 प्राक्पुष्प, प्राक्पुष्पा, So also प्रत्यक्पुष्पा
23 काण्डपुष्प, काण्डपुष्पा, 24 प्रान्तपुष्प, प्रान्तपुष्पा,
25 शतपुष्प, शतपुष्पा, 26 एकपुष्प, एकपुष्पा,

The above words ending in पुष्प would have taken ṅîsh by IV 1, 64 S 519

Vârtik —शूद्र forms its feminine शूद्रा when not preceded by महत् and when it denotes a caste

27 शूद्र शूद्रा

Note —But the feminine of शूद्र is शूद्री when the meaning is 'the wife of a Śudra', so also when the word शूद्र is compounded with the word महत् as, महाशूद्री 'a woman of 'महाशूद्र' class'

Note —The term 'महाशूद्र' is applied to the caste of Abhiras and this compound word would have taken the affix 'टाप्' by the rule of tadanta vidhi given in I 1 72, S 26, but for the vârtika, viz 'शूद्रा चामहत्पूर्वा जातिः' It might be objected that the tadanta vidhi cannot apply here on the strength of the following maxim —"That which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika does not denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself" Therefore, the word 'sudra' which cannot be anything but a prâtipadika, does not denote 'mahâ sudra' This objection is futile the very fact of this vârtika indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that with regard to the application of the feminine affixes, the tadanta vidhi is valid and does apply Thus we have the forms like अतिधीवरी अतिपीवरी and अतिभवती ॥

28 क्रुच् क्रुचा 29 उष्णिह् उष्णिहा 30 देवविश् देवविशा

Note —The above words end in cosonants and would not have taken टाप् but for their being included in the 'अजादि' class

31 ज्येष्ठ ज्येष्ठा 32 कनिष्ठ कनिष्ठा 33 मध्यम मध्यमा

Note —The above words denoting matrimonial relation would have taken the affix 'nîsh by IV 1 64 S 519

The word कोकिला takes टाप् even when denoting a class

Vârtik —When मूल is preceded by the negative particle न, it forms its feminine by टाप् ॥

34 अमूल अमूला The word 'mûla' preceded by the negative particle nañ, would have otherwise taken 'ṅish' by IV 1 64 S 519

४५४ A । ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् । ४ । १ । ५ ॥ (See S 306)

454 A The affix ङीप् is employed, in forming the feminine, after the crude-forms ending in ऋ or in न् ।

Note —Of the affix ङीप्, the letter ङ् is taken in order to make a common term with ङीष् and ङीन्, and the प् is taken to distinguish them from those affixes, the real affix is ई ॥ Thus, कर्तृ,—*f* कर्त्री, हर्तृ—*f* हर्त्री, दण्डिन्—*f* दण्डिनी,

४५५ । उगितश्च । ४ । १ । ६ ॥

उगिदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् । पचन्ती । भवन्ती । दीव्यन्ती । शप्श्यनोरिति नुम् । उगित्त्वामिति सू`ऽज्ग्रहणेन धातोश्चेदुगित्कार्यं तर्ह्यञ्चतेरेवेति नियम्यते । तेनेह न । उखास्रत् । क्विप् । अनिदितामिति नलोप । पर्णध्वत् । अञ्चतेस्तु स्यादेव । प्राची । प्रतीची ॥

455 And after what has an indicatory 'uk' the affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine

Note —The उक् is a pratyâhâra meaning उ, ऋ and ऌ ॥ Wherever it is possible to make these letters indicatory, in whatever way, it may be, that word form is called उगित् ॥ That which ends with such a word is meant here The prâtipadika pure and simple not formed by an affix may be उगित् thus the pronoun भवतु among the sarvanâmas an affix may be उगित् as the affixes क्तवतु and शतृ and therefore, the words formed by these affixes will be उगित्, similarly a letter may be उगित्, as ऋ meaning नृ in VI 4 127 S 364 , ("नृ is the substitute of the final of an inflective base ending in अर्वन् &c')

Thus, भवत् 'honored sir,—f भवती 'madam' Applying the rule of tadantavidhi, we have अतिभवत्—अतिभवती 'most exalted lady' Similarly पचत् (formed by adding शतृ III 2 124 S 3100), forms the feminine पचन्ती, the नुम् comes by VII 1 82 S 446 So also दीव्यत् and दीव्यन्ती ॥

Prohibition must be stated in the case of verbal roots having an indicatory 'uk' Thus the roots स्रंसु 'to fall down' ध्वंसु 'to fall down' have indicatory उ, and we get from these roots the prâtipadikas like उखास्रत् and 'पर्णध्वत्, (III 2 76 S 2983) The उखास्रत् ब्राह्मणी, 'पर्णध्वत् ब्राह्मणी ॥ Here, the feminine is not formed by adding ङीप् ॥

The prâtipadikas ending with the verb 'anchu', however, take the affix ङीप् ॥ As, प्राची, प्रतीची,'

४५६ । वनो र च । ४ । १ । ७ ॥

वन्नन्तात्तदन्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात्। रश्चान्तादेशः । वनिति ङ्वनिप्क्वनिप्वनिपां सामान्यग्रहणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात्स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । तेन प्रातिपदिकविशेषणात्तदन्तान्तमपि लभ्यते । सुत्वानमतिक्रान्ता अतिसुत्वरी । अतिधीवरी । शर्वरी । * वनो न हश इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हशन्ताद्धातोर्विहितो यो वन् तदन्तात्तदन्तान्ताच्च प्रातिपदिकात् ङीप् रश्च नेत्यर्थः । 'ओणृ अपनयने' वनिप् । विड्वनारित्यात्वम् । अवावा ब्राह्मणी । राजयुध्वा ॥ * बहुव्रीहौ वा * ॥ बहुधीवरी । बहुधीवा । पक्षे डाप् वक्ष्यते ॥

456 The affix 'ङीप्' is added, in forming the feminine of the crude forms that end in the syllable वन्, and also of a compound that ends in a word so formed, and र् is the substitute of the final of such syllable

Thus धीवन् (Unâdi IV 115) f धीवरी 'a female artisan , पीवन् f पीवरी 'a young woman, a stout woman,' शर्वन् f शर्वरी 'night' (शॄ + वनिप् III 2 75 S 2980, lit that which destroys light)

अतिधीवरी (a woman who has surpassed a male artisan)

Words ending in वन् are formed by the affixes ङ्वनिप्, (III 2 103 S 3091) क्वनिप् and वनिप् (III 2 74 S 3418) These words end in न् and consequently would have taken ङीप् even by IV 1 5 S 306, the necessity of the present sutra arose in order to teach the change of न् into र् in case of words ending in वन् ॥

Paribhâshâ —" An affix denotes when ever it is employed in grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that affix has been added and ends with the affix itself" Therefore by applying this rule and taking the affix वन् as qualifying the prâtipadika, we apply the affix ङीप to the prâtipadika ending in वन् ॥ Thus अतिसुत्वरी meaning a woman who has surpassed the drinker of soma- juice, अतिधावरी and शर्वरी ॥

Vârtika —After a crude form that ends in वन् as well as after a compound which ends with such a word, the affix ङीप् is not added in forming the feminine nor is the न् changed to र्, provided that the affix वन् has been specifically ordained to come after a root that ends in soft consonants and nasals

To the root ओण् meaning 'to remove' we add the affix वनिप् ॥ Thus ओण्+वन्=ओ आ (the long आ being substituted for ण् by VI 4 41 S 2982)+वन्=अवावन् ॥ This word is both Masculine and Feminine Thus the Feminine is अवावा ब्राह्मणी ॥ The Masculine is अवावाब्राह्मण So also राजयुध्वा meaning राजानं योधितवती "she who has incited the king to fight" It is formed with the affix वनिप् under III 2 95 S 3005

Vârtika —It is optionally so in the Bahuvrîhi compound Thus बहुधीवरी or बहुधावा नगरी "a city that contains many artisans"

In the third alternative, the affix डाप् will be added, as will be mentioned further on in IV 1 13 S 461 Thus there will be three forms in the Dual, as बहुधीवर्यौ, or बहुधीवानौ or बहुधीवे as the base is बहुधीवरी, or बहुधीवन् or बहुधीवा ॥

४५७। पादोऽन्यतरस्याम्। ४। १। ८॥

पाच्छब्द् कृतसमासान्तस्तदन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीब्वा स्यात्। द्विपदी। द्विपात्॥

457 The affix 'ङीप्' is optionally employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâda' when it assumes the samâsânta form पात् as well as after a compound word ending in पात्॥

The word पाद becomes पाद् when final in certain Bahuvrîhi compounds (V 4 140 S 179). Thus द्विपात् is both masculine and feminine, or it may optionally form its feminine by long ई (ङीप) ॥ In the latter alternative, the

form will be द्विपदि, the word पाद् being replaced by पद् by VI 4 130 S 414 (as read with I 4 18 S 231) Similarly त्रिपात् or त्रिपदी, चतुष्पाद् or चतुष्पदी ॥

४५८ । टाबृचि । ४ । १ । ९ ॥

ऋचि वाच्यायां पादन्ताट्टाप् स्यात् । द्विपदा ऋक् । एकपदा ॥ न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्य ॥ पञ्च चतस्र । पञ्चेत्यत्र नलोपे कृतेऽपि ष्णान्ता षडिति षट्संज्ञा प्रति नलोप सुप्स्वरेति नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वान्न षट्स्वस्रादिभ्य इति न टाप् ॥

458 The affix टाप् is employed in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending with the word 'pâd', when the word denotes a verse of the Rig-veda

This debars ङाप् ॥ Thus द्विपदा ऋक् 'a Rik verse consisting of two quarter verses', similarly एकपदा or त्रिपदा ऋक्, or चतुष्पदा ऋक् ॥

४५८ । A न षट् स्वस्रादिभ्य ॥ १० ॥

458 A The feminine affixes are not employed after the stems called 'षट्' (I 1, 24 S 369), and 'स्वसृ' &c

This prohibits all feminine affixes that would otherwise have presented themselves Thus, पञ्चब्राह्मण 'the five Brâhmanî ladies' चतस्र ॥ So also सप्त, नव, दश &c are feminine as well as masculine

Note —In पञ्च, though the न् of पञ्चन् is elided, yet the elided न् is asiddha for the purposes of संज्ञा and the word पञ्च though not ending in न् will get the designation षट् by I 1 24 S 369, because the elided न् is asiddha by VIII 2 2 S 353 and so there is no टाप् after पञ्च by the present Sutra

संज्ञाविधि —As पञ्च ब्राह्मण्य, दश ब्राह्मण्य ॥ The elision of न् being asiddha, the words पञ्च and दश are still called shash, though they no longer end in न् (ष्णान्ता षट् I 1 24) Being called षष, they do not take टाप् in the feminine (IV 1 10 S 308)

According to the Vartika, there is no necessity of using the word संज्ञा in the sutra VII 2 2 S 2330 संज्ञा ग्रहणानर्थक्य च तन्निमित्तत्वाल्लोपस्य), because the elision of न् is caused by reason of its having such a designation (as षट) ॥ Thus without its having the name of षट् there would be no elision of जस and शस, without such elision there is no pada sanjna of these words, and unless these words get Pada designation, there can be no elision of न् by VIII 2 7 S 36 The shash designation, however, would not be retained by these words after taking plural affixes, when feminine affixes are to be added to them, but for this sutra The पञ्चन् and दशन् ending in न् would require ङीप in the feminine, which is however prohibited, for when जस् and न् are elided, the words end in अ and require टाप् for their feminine, which is also prohibited, because, by the present sûtra the word still retains its designation of षट् ॥

Q How can this be the purpose of this sûtra? There are two views as regards definitions (सञ्ज्ञा), the one is that a particular name is given to a thing once for all, *prior* to any operations, and operations are performed afterwards upon it or with it, as occasions arise This view is embodied in the maxim यथोद्देशं सञ्ज्ञापरिभाषम् 'Sanjñâ, and Paribhâshas remain where they are taught' The other view is that the sanjna sutra is to be read with every particular operative sutra, and the sanjñâ given to the word afresh, with every new operation In other words, the sanjñâ sutra becomes identified with a vidhi sûtra, every time that a vidhi is to be applied This is embodied in the maxim कार्यकालं सञ्ज्ञापरिभाषम् "Sanjñâs and Paribhâsas are attracted by or unite with the rules that enjoin certain operations" In the first view, the षट् sanjña will be good throughout, both for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस् and for prohibiting टाप् ॥ Hence this sutra is not necessary in that view But in the other view, the sutra is necessary For if the view be taken that a sanjña is to be applied with regard to each operation, then that षट् sanjna which had taken effect for the purposes of eliding जस् and शस्, will no longer hold good for the purposes of preventing the application of the feminine affix. Hence, the word सञ्ज्ञा is taken in this sutra, to prevent the application of the second view

४५९ । मन । ४ । १ । ११ ॥

मन्नन्तान्न ङीप् । सीमा । सीमानौ ॥

459 The affix ङीप् is not employed after a Nominal stem ending in the syllable मन् ॥

Thus सीमन् is both masculine and feminine, declined as सीमा, सीमानौ &c

४६० । अनो बहुव्रीहेः । ४ । १ । १२ ॥

अन्नन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्न ङीप् । बहुयज्वा । बहुयज्वानौ ॥

460 The affix ङीप् is not employed to denote the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन् ॥

This refers to those Bahuvrîhi compounds, in which the penultimate is not elided Of the Bahuvrîhi compounds which lose their penultimate letter, it is optional to employ this affix or not, as it will be taught in IV 1 28 S 462 Thus बहुयज्वन् is both gender and is declined as masculine, as N s बहुयज्वा, N d बहुयज्वानौ &c The penultimate अ of वन् is not elided because of the prohibition of न संयोगाद् &c (VI 4 137 S 355)

४६१ । डाबुभाभ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १३ ॥

सूत्रद्वयोपात्ताभ्यां डाब् वा स्यात् ॥ सीमा । सीमे । सीमानौ । दामा । दामे । दामानौ । नपुंसि दाम इत्यमरः । बहुयज्वा ॥ बहुयज्वे । बहुयज्वानौ ॥

461 The affix डाप् comes optionally after both these, viz the Nominal-stem ending in मन्, and a Bahuvrîhi

compound ending in अन्, as mentioned in the preceding two Sûtras

Of the affix डाप्, the letter ड indicates that the affix is to be added after the elision of the टि (I 1 64 S 79) of the base Thus दामन् + डाप् = दाम + आ = दामा ॥ This being an optional rule we have I s दामा d दामे or दामानौ pl दामा or दामान, similarly with सीमा, as, सीमा सामे or सीमाना, सामा or सीमान ॥

So also in Bahuvrîhi compounds ending in अन् ॥ As —

बहुराजा, बहुराजे or बहुराजानौ, बहुराजा or बहुराजान ॥
बहुतक्षा, बहुतक्षे or बहुतक्षाणौ, बहुतक्षा or बहुतक्षाण ॥
बहुयज्वा बहुयज्वे or बहुयज्वानौ

Why do we say "optionally"? So that the option may apply to sûtra IV 1 7 S 456 also, i e when a prâtipadika ending in वन्, which can be regarded as ending in अन्, is a Bahuvrîhi compound, then the change of न into र् and the application of ङीप are optional we may apply the affix डाप् instead As —बहुधीवा or बहुधीवरी, बहुपीवा or बहुपीवरी ॥

By IV 1 5, S 306 prâtipadikas ending in मन् would have taken the affix ङीप्, in as much as they end in न्, but the present sutra prohibits that Thus दामन् 'a string' is both neuter and feminine, and is declined as follows — I s दामा, d दामानौ, pl दामान ॥ Similarly पामा, पामानौ, पामान ॥ The word दामन् is never masculine according to Amarkosha

४६२ । अन उपधालोपिनोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २८ ॥

अवन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो वा ङीप् स्यात् । पक्षे डाब् ङाब् निषेधौ । बहुराज्ञी । बहुराज्ञ्यौ । बहुराजे । बहुराजानौ ॥

462 The affix ङीप् optionally comes after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

Thus बहुराजन् is a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in अन्, in applying ṅîp, it loses is penultimate by VI 4 134 S 234 (अल्लोपोऽन there is elision of अ of अन् when a *bha* affix follows) Thus बहुराज्ञी 'having many king' In the alternative, when ṅîp is not added, we may add the affix डाप् by IV 1 13 S 461 Thus बहुराजा, बहुराजे, बहुराजा ॥ Or we may apply the prohibition contained in IV 1 12 S 460 and have बहुराजा, बहुराजानौ, बहुराजान ॥

Note —When the penultimate is not elided we cannot apply the affix ङीप् at all in cases of such compounds there are only two forms of the feminine noun as सुपर्वा, सुपर्वे सुपर्वा or सुपर्वा, सुपर्वाणौ सुपर्वाण ॥ That is to say we apply IV 1 13 and 12 only, for in the case of सुपर्वन् &c rule VI 4 137 S 355 prevents

the elision of the penultimate न्, संयोगादूमन्तात्, there is not elision of the अ or अन् when it comes after a conjunct consonant ending in व or म) ॥

In forming the feminines of words ending in अक् the affix टाप् will be added after the change of अ to इ by the following Sûtra

४६३ । प्रत्ययस्थात्कात्पूर्वस्यात इदाप्यसुपः । ७ । ३ । ४४ ॥

प्रत्ययस्थात्ककारात्पूर्वस्याऽकारस्येकारः स्यादापि परे स आप् सुपः परो न चेत् । सर्विका । कारिका । अतः किम् । नौका । प्रत्ययस्थात्किम् । शक्नोतीति शका । असुपः किम् । बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी । कात्किम् । नन्दना । पूर्वस्य किम् । परस्य मा भूत् । कटुका । तपरः किम् । राका । आपि किम् । कारकः ॥ मामकनरकयोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मामिका । नरान् कायतीति नरिका ॥ त्यक्त्यपोश्च * ॥ दाक्षिणात्यिका इहत्यिका ॥

463 इ is substituted for the अ which stands before the क belonging to an affix, when the Feminine-ending आ follows, provided that, it does not come after a case-affix (i e when such a word in अक does not stand at the end of a Bahuvrîhi)

That which stands in an affix is called प्रत्ययस्थ, i e क् must be the part of the affix The अक् is changed into इक् in the feminine in आ ॥ As सर्विका, कारिका, &c Why do we say अतः? The क must be preceded by short अ, therefore, not here नौका Why do we say belongingto an affix? The क must belong to the affix, therefore, not in शका from शक शक्नोति ॥ The स्थ in प्रत्ययस्थ is for the sake of distictness, there is no affix which is only क ॥ Why do we say असुपः 'provided that the feminine affix आप does not come after a case affix'? Observe बहवः परिव्राजका अस्यां नगर्याम्=बहुपरिव्राजका नगरी ॥ Here आप् comes after the noun बहुपरिव्राजक which ends in a case affix, and hence the अ of ज is not changed to इ ॥ The case affix is elided by II 4 71, S 650 and it still exerts its influence by I 1 62 S 272 Why do we say after क? The rule applies to क, therefore, not to नन्दना, रमणा ॥ Why do we say "which stands before"? The इ is substituted for the अ which precedes (पूर्वस्य) क, and not the अ which follows क्, as कटुका, चटुका ॥ Why do we say short अ? Observe राका? Why do we say when आप् follows? see कारक ॥ The substitution takes place when आ follows, therefore, not in कारकी ॥ The word आपि qualifies क ॥ The क should be followed by आ ॥

Vârt —मामक and नरक should be enumerated, for the क् of these is not part of the affix as मामिका नरिका ॥ Here ममक is substituted for मम before the affix अण (IV 3 3 S 1372), to which is then added टाप् ॥ The word ममक takes long ई in the feminine only when it is a Name or in the Vedas (IV 1 30 S 488) therefore though मामक ends in अण, it does not take ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) but टाप (IV 1 4 S 454), नरान् कायति=नरक formed with the affix क (अ III 2 3 S 2915)

Vârt —The rule applies to the words ending in त्यक् (IV 2 98 and त्यप्, (IV 2 104 S 1324) in spite of the prohibition in VII 3 46 S 2915 As दाक्षिणात्यिका, इहत्यिका ॥

Note —The word in the sûtra is कात् the fifth case of क ending in अ ॥ If then this be the condition, that the affix must end in ka क and not in k क्, then the rule will not apply to एतिका ॥ Because here the augment is अकच् (अक् with क् the final अ in अकच is for euphony only, and not a portion of the affix, as we find in भिन्धकि, छिन्धकि, रुन्धकि ॥ The word कात therefore, is construed to mean ending in the *consonant* क् ॥

४६४ । न यासयो । ७ । ३ । ४५ ॥

यत्तदारस्येत्त्र स्यात् । यका । सका । यकाम् । तकाम् । त्यकनश्च निषेध * ॥ अधित्यका । उप त्यका । आशिषि वुनश्च न * ॥ जीवका । भवका ॥ उत्तरपदलोपे न * ॥ देवदत्तिका देवका ॥ क्षिपका दीनां च * ॥ क्षिपका । ध्रुवका । कन्यका । चटका ॥ तारका ज्योतिषि * ॥ अन्यत्र तारिका ॥ वर्णका तान्तवे * ॥ अन्यत्र वर्णिका ॥ वर्तका शकुनौ प्राचाम् * ॥ उदीचां तु वर्तिका ॥ अष्टका पितृदेवत्ये * ॥ अष्टिकान्या ॥ सूतकापुत्रिकावृन्दारकाणां वेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ इह वा अ इति च्छेद । कात्पूर्वस्याकारादेशो वेत्यर्थ । तेन पुत्रिकाशब्दे ङीन ईवर्णस्य पक्षेऽकार । अन्यत्रेत्त्वबाधनार्थमकारस्यैव पक्षेऽकार । सूतका सूतिकेत्यादि ॥

464 The इ is not substituted for the अ of य and स, with the augment क, when the feminine आ follows.

As यका, सका, यकाम्, तकाम् ॥

Note —The या and सा simply stand for यद् and तद्, and the prohibition is not confined to the nominative case only, as the forms या and सा may lead one to think न यत् तदा would have been a better sutra The prohibition applies in every case, as यकामधीयते, तका पचामहे ॥ Or यकायकामधीमहे (i e ऋचा गाथा वा), and तका तकाम्पचामहे (i e ओषधी शाकिनी वा) ॥

Vârt —Prohibition with regard to the affix त्यकन् (V 3 34 S 1983) should be stated also —As अधित्यका, उपत्यका ॥

Vârt —So also in the affix वुन् used in benediction as जीवताद् जीवका and भवतान् भवका See III 1 150 S 2912

Note —The feminine of पावक &c in the Veda does not take इ for अ ॥ As हिरण्यवर्ण शुचय पावका, यासु अ लोमका अलमका &c But पाविका, अलोमिका in secular literature

Vârt —So also when the second member is elided in a compound as देवका यज्ञका, the second member दत्त is elided, the fuller forms being देवदत्तिका, यज्ञदत्तिका (अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्य) See V 3 83 Vârt S 2035

Vârt —क्षिपक &c should be enumerated in this prohibition as क्षिपका ध्रुवका, ध्रुवका, चटका, कन्यका ॥

Vârt —तारका is formed when it means 'stars', but तारिका 'a maid-servant' from तारयति ॥

Vârt —वर्णका is formed when it means 'a mantle or mask', but वर्णिका 'an expounder' as वर्णिका भागुरी लोकायते 'Bhâgurî is a commentary of Lokâyata'

Vârt —वर्तका 'a bird' according to the Eastern grammarians, but वर्तिका according to the Northern authorities Why do we say 'when meaning a bird'? Observe वर्त्तिका भागुरी लोकायतस्य ॥

Vârt —अष्टका when meaning a पित्रदैवत्य ceremony, but अष्टिका खारी ॥ The ceremony related to Pitridevata is called Pitridaivatya, the affix is यत् ॥ The former is derived from the root अश् with affix तकन् (अश्नन्ति ब्राह्मणा ओस्यामस्या), the other is derived from the numeral अष्ट by the affix कन् (V I 22 S 1687)

Vârt —Optionally सूतका पुत्रका and वृन्दारका, the other forms are सूतिका, पुत्रिका, and वृन्दारिका ॥ *

* The word वेति of this vârtika should be analysed as वा अ इति and not वा इति, and it means that अ is optionally substituted for the vowel that precedes क ॥ Therefore in पुत्रिका the short इ which is not the इ of this sutra, but इ of ङीप् of पुत्री shortened to इ, this इ is replaced by अ ॥ In other examples आ is replaced by अ ॥

४६५ । उदीचामातः स्थाने यकपूर्वायाः । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

यकपूर्वस्य स्त्रीप्रत्ययाकारस्य स्थाने योऽकारस्तस्य कात्पूर्वस्येद्वा स्यादापि परे केऽण इति ह्रस्व । आर्यका आर्यिका चटकका चटकिका ॥ आत किम् ॥ साकाश्ये भवा साकाश्यिका ॥ यकेति किम् । अश्विका ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्ययेति किम् ॥ शुभं यातीति शुभया ॥ अज्ञाता शुभया ॥ शुभयिका ॥ धात्वन्तयकोस्तु नित्यम् * ॥ सुनयिका, सुपाकिका ॥

465 According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the long आ of the feminine (under VII 4 13 S 834 before the affix क), which is preceded by a य् or a क् ॥

The mention of 'northern grammarians' makes this an optional rule As आर्यका or आर्यिका, चटकका or चटकिका ॥ Why do we say 'of long आ'? Observe साकाश्ये भवा=साकाश्यिका ॥ The word साकाश्य is formed from सकाश by the affix ण्य (सकाशे निर्वृत्त) ॥ Then is added the affix वुञ् (IV 2 121 S 1345) Here there is no shortening of a long आ, and hence no option is allowed

Why do we say preceded by य् or क्? Observe अश्वका अश्विका only (from अश्वा) ॥ Why do we say the आ of the Feminine affix? The word यकपूर्वायाः is exhibited in the feminine, in order to indicate that the rule applies when the *feminine* affix आ is shortened to अ ॥ Therefore not here

शुभयिका from शुभया (शुभं याति) ॥ So also भद्रयिका from भद्रया, where आ is part of the root या (see III 2 74 S 3418)

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated of the य and क् being finals of a root When the य or क preceding this अ, is the final of the root the prohibition contained in the sûtra, does not apply as सुनयिका, सुपाकिका ॥

४६६ भस्त्रैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा नञ्पूर्वाणामपि । ७ । ३ । ४७ ॥

स्वेत्यन्तं लुप्तषष्ठीकं पदम् एषामत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ तदन्तविधिनैव सिद्धे नञ्पूर्वाणामपीति स्पष्टार्थम् ॥ भस्त्राग्रहणमुपसर्जनार्थम् अन्यस्य तूत्तरसूत्रेण सिद्धम् ॥ एषा द्वा एतयोस्तु सपूर्वयोर्नेदम् । अ तत्र निर्दिष्टविभक्तिमाश्रित्याऽक्सुप इति प्रतिषेधात् ॥ अनेषका परमैषका अद्वके परमद्वके ॥ स्वशब्दग्रहणं संज्ञोपसर्जनार्थम् ॥ इह हि आत स्थाने इत्यनुवृत्तं स्वशब्दस्यात्मीयविशेषणम् नतु द्वैधयोगसंभवात् । नाप्यन्यथामव्यभिचारात् ॥ स्वशब्दस्त्वनुपसर्जनमात्मीयवाची अकजर्हः ॥ अर्थान्तरे तु न स्त्री ॥ संज्ञोपसर्जनीभूतस्तु कप्रत्ययान्तत्वाद्वस्त्युदाहरणम् ॥ एवं चात्मीयाया स्विका ॥ परमस्विकेति नित्यमेवेदम् ॥ निर्भस्त्रका निर्भस्त्रिका ॥ एषका एषिका ॥ कृतषत्वनिर्देशान्नेह विकल्पः ॥ एतिके एतिका अजका अजिका । ज्ञका ज्ञिका ॥ द्वके द्विके ॥ नि स्वका नि स्विका ॥

466 According to the opinion of Northern grammarians, इ is not substituted for that अ which is obtained by shortening the आ (before क by VII 4 13 S 834), of भस्त्रा, एषा, अजा, ज्ञा, द्वा (VII 2 102 S 265), and स्वा, even not then, when the negative particle precedes them

The word भस्त्रैषाजाज्ञाद्वास्वा of the Sutra has no case affix, but we must interpret it as having the genitive case affix elided after it, the word नञ्पूर्वाणामपि is used in the Sûtra merely for the sake of clearness, for even without these words, the rule would have applied, when the negative particle preceded, because as we have already shown, the rule of *tadanta vidhi* applies here The word भस्त्रा is mentioned in the Sûtra to indicate that the rule would apply to it even then when it is an upasarjana When it is not an upasarjana, the form would be evolved by the next Sûtra

Note —भस्त्रा is a word which has no corresponding masculine form and as such, by the following rule VII 3 48 it would not have taken इ, its special mention here indicates that it should be the secondary member of the compound here as अविद्यमाना भस्त्रा यस्या = अभस्त्रा, the Diminutive of which is अभस्त्रका or अभस्त्रिका ॥ Here first the भस्त्रा is shortened, as it is a secondary member (upasarjana), then when the Bahuvrihi is made the feminine affix टाप् is added to this भाषितपुंस्क word, then this आ is shortened before क by VII 4 13 This short अ (VII 4 13) does not come in the room of the आ which is ordained to come after a word having no corresponding masculine

But of the two words एषा and द्वा, the addition of इ would be prohibited, when they are preceded by another word, because in a compound the elided case affix is considered to be present, and therefore the prohibition of अक्सुप of

Sutra VII 3 44 S 463 would have applied to these Thus अनेषका, परनेषका, अद्वका, परमद्वके ।

Note —The mention of these two words in the Sûtra from this point of view, would be rather redundant, while in the case of the other four words, भस्त्रा, अजा ज्ञा, and स्वा there would be इत्व, by the option allowed by this Sûtra, even when they are the last members in a compound and in spite of the prohibition of असुप ॥

By this process of elimination, we come to the conclusion stated above, that the words आत स्थाने qualify स्व only For this word alone is ambiguous For when स्वा is a Sarvanama meaning one's own, *i e*, when it is not an upasarjana, then it is capable of taking अकच् by V 3 71 S 2026 Thus स्वा + अकच = स्व् अक् + आ = स्वका ॥ Here the अ before क is not an अ in the room of a long आ, and so the present sûtra will not apply to this स्वका ॥ All the same the अ of स्व will be changed to इ by VII 3 44 ante, and it will be स्विका *always* So also परमस्विका

But when स्व means agnate, soul, or property, then it is never in the feminine originally Therefore, it must be either a samjñâ (Name) or an upasarjana (secondary member of a compound) in order to give scope to this sûtra For then it can become feminine in long आ, which can take the affix क Thus when स्वा is a Proper Name, the feminine will be स्वा and so with क, it will be स्विका or स्वका by the present sûtra

So also निर्भस्त्रिका or निर्भस्त्रका, एषका or एषिका, अजका or अजिका, ज्ञका or ज्ञिका द्वक or द्विके नि स्वका or नि स्विका ॥

The word एषा is read in the sûtra with a ष and it shows that the option of this sûtra does not apply when the स is not changed to ष, as एतिके and एतिका for in the dual and plural there is not ष substitution

Note —Of एषा and द्वि there are no examples with the negative particle For if the compounding with the नञ् takes place after the addition of the अकच्, or on the contrary, if first अकच् be added and then the नञ् compounding takes place, in both alternatives, the case affixes must be added in order to substitute अ for the final by VII 2 102 S 265 and it is only when this अ is substituted that the feminine टाप् can come So that the case-affix is the principal ingredient, and टाप्, comes after सुप, and therefore by the prohibition of असुप in VII 3 44, there can arise no occasion for the substitution of इ ॥ Therefore अनेषका and अद्वके are the invariable forms of these words with the negative particle अनेषका may mean अज्ञाता एषा or एषका or न एषका or अज्ञाता अनेषा ॥

The word स्व is taken in the Sûtra not as a Sarvanâma but in the sense of agnates and property, for the sake of implying that the rule will apply to it when it is a सञ्ज्ञा, (i e when it means agnates or property and not self) and when it is an upasarjana.

Note —compare I 1 27 S 213 for the Sarvanâma स्व ॥

The anuvritti of "आत स्थाने," which we read in to this aphorism from the last sûtra, qualifies the long आ of स्वा only and not of the sarvanamans द्वा and एषा ॥ Because the sarvanamans take the affix अकच् (V 3 71 where other words would have taken कप् or अज्ञात क or कुत्सित क &c

Thus द्वा + अकच् = द् + अक् + आ (because this अकच् comes always before the टि portion of a word) = द्वका ॥ Here the अ of द before क is not a *substitute* in the place of long आ of द्वा, but it is a portion of the affix अकच् ॥ Therefore the words आत स्थाने can not qualify it

As regards the other words भस्त्रा, अजा and ज्ञा there is no necessity of qualifying them by आत स्थाने because they being invariably feminine will *always* shorten their आ before क ॥

४६७ । अभाषितपुंस्काच्च । ७ । ३ । ४८ ॥

एतस्माद्विहितस्यात स्थानेऽत इद्वा स्यात् ॥ गङ्गका गङ्गिका ॥ बहुव्रीहेर्भाषितपुंस्कत्वात्ततो विहितस्य नित्यम् ॥ अज्ञाता अखट्वा अखट्विका ॥ शैषिके कापि तु विकल्प एव ॥

467 According to the opinion of Northern Grammarians, इ is not substituted for an अ obtained from the shortening of the Feminine आ (VII 4 13 S 834), when to the feminine in long आ there is no equivalent masculine, even when the Negative particle precedes

अभाषित पुंस्क means a noun which is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form When a short अ *is ordained* to replace the long आ of such a feminine, there may be optionally इ in place of such a short अ in forming a secondary feminine Thus गङ्गा is such a word It has no corresponding masculine form When we form a derivative noun from such a word, by the affix क before which आ is shortened by VII 4 13, such as, गङ्गक, then the feminine of this word may be either गङ्गका or गङ्गिका ॥ But the addition of इ is not optional but compulsory, after a Bahuvrihi compound, though such a compound may have as its member an अभाषित पुंस्क word The reason of this is, that a Bahuvrîhi compound is always a भाषित पुंस्क i e it has always a corresponding masculine form Therefore, where a short अ is ordained to come in the place of a long आ of a word which though अभाषित पुंस्क singly is a member of a Bahuvrîhi compound the इ substitution in the place of such अ is compulsory and not optional Thus the word खट्वा is always feminine and has no corresponding masculine form We can form a Bahuvrihi compound from it such as अखट्व meaning 'a man who has no bedstead' The feminine of this will be अखट्वा 'a woman who has no bedstead' This need not take the Samâsânta affix कप् as V 4 154 S 891, is optional Now, this

word अखट्वा may take the affix क by V 3 73 S 2028 when the sense is want of knowledge, such as अज्ञाता खट्वा will be अखट्वा+क ॥ Before this क the long आ will be shortened to अ by VII 4 13 S 834 Here the option of the present sûtra will not apply Thus we shall have only one form अखट्विका by VII 3 44 S 463 meaning 'who is this women without a bedstead ?' or 'is it really so that this woman has no bedstead' But when the samâsânta affix कप् of sûtra V 4 154 S 891 is added then the option of the present sûtra will apply For when कप् is added, we have the Bahuvrîhi compounds as अखट्वाक or अखट्वक (VII 4 15 S 892) 'a man who has no bedstead' The Feminine of the second form अखट्वक will be अखट्वाका or अखट्विका ॥

४६८ । आदाचार्याणाम् । ७ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रविषये आद्वा स्यात् गङ्गाका ॥ वक्तृत्वकात्तु शुभ्रिका ॥

468 According to the opinion of other Teachers, आ is substituted for the अ, which arose from the shortening of the feminine आ of a word, which has no corresponding masculine form

Thus गङ्गाका or गङ्गिका ॥ But if a word has a corresponding masculine form, then there is no option, as शुभ्रिका ॥

४६९ । अनुपसर्जनात् । ४ । १ । १४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयं यूनस्तिरित्यभिव्याप्य॥ अयमेव स्त्रीप्रत्ययेषु तदन्तविधिं ज्ञापयति ॥

469 The following rules apply to a Nominal-stem, which is not a subordinate term in a compound

This is an adhikâra aphorism pure and simple, and has governing force upto IV 1 77 S 531 and prohibits the application of affixes to 'upasarjanas' That is to say, whatever we shall treat of hereafter, is to be understood to apply to such terms only which are not upasarjana or a subordinate term in a compound (I 2 43 S 653)

Note —As a general rule, tadanta vidhi (I, 1, 72 S 26) does not apply to compounds, but the present sûtra indicates by implication that the tadanta-vidhi applies to compounds, for the purposes of the application of feminine affixes For had it not been so, there would have been no necessity of making the present sûtra, for a rule applicable to a simple word as such, would not have applied to it, when it was part of a compound—whether subordinate (upasarjana), or principal (pradhâna) But the present sûtra indicates that the tadanta vidhi does apply, if the word does not become a subordinate member, but is regarded as the principal member, of a compound

४७० । टिड्ढाणञ्द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रच्तयप्ठक्ठञ्कञ्क्वरप । ४ । १ । १५ ॥

अनुपसर्जनं यट्टिदादि तदन्तं यददन्तं प्रातिपदिकं ततः स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात् ॥ कुरुचरी ॥ उपसर्जनत्वान्नेह बहुकुरुचरा ॥ नदट्, नदी ॥ वक्ष्यमाणेत्यत्र टित्त्वादुगित्वाच्च ङीप प्राप्तः ॥ वासुटो ङित्त्वेन लाश्रयमनुबन्धकार्यं नादेशानामिति ज्ञापनान्न भवति ॥ इन शानच शित्त्वेन क्वचिदनुबन्धकार्येऽप्यनल्विधाविति निषेधज्ञापनाद्वा ॥ सौपर्णेयी । ऐन्द्री । औत्सी । ऊरुद्वयसी । ऊरुदघ्नी । ऊरुमात्री । पञ्चतयी । आक्षिकी । लावणिका । यादृशी । इत्वरी ॥ *ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि* ॥ चौरी नञ्स्नञीकक्ख्युंस्तरुणतलुनानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ स्त्रैणी । पौंस्नी । शाक्तीकी । आढ्यंकरणी । तरुणी । तलुनी ॥

470 The affix ङीप् is added, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, if the affix with which it ends has an indicatory ट, or if the affix be ढ् or अण्, or अञ् or द्वयसच्, or दघ्नच्, or मात्रच्, or तयप्, or ठक्, or ठञ्, or कञ् or क्वरप् ॥

The word अत 'ending in short अ' is understood here by anuvritti from IV 1 4 S 454 and qualifies the affixes above mentioned, wherever necessary This debars the affix टाप् of IV 1 4 S 454 We shall give example of each *seriatim* (1) Thus, m, कुरुचर f, कुरुचरी m, मद्रचर f, मद्रचरी (चर+ई= चर्+ई, the final अ is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) The word kuru-chara is formed by ट (III 2 16 S 2930), of which ट् is indicatory

But if these words being the last members of a compound, are treated as upasarjana (I 2 43 S 653), then they will not take the affix ङीप् in the feminine Now in a Bahuvrihi compound, all the component members are upasarjana, (II 2,35 S 898), therefore, the feminine of such compounds will not take ङीप् ॥ Thus, बहुकुरुचरा ॥ So also the word नदट् is read with an indicatory ट् in the पचादि class of Ganapâtha under sûtra III 1 134 S 2896, it forms its feminine as नदी, because it has an indicatory ट् ॥

The word वक्ष्यमाण is formed with the affix शानच (III 3 14 S 3107), where the affix is the substitute of लृट् ॥ Therefore, this affix has an indicatory ट् as well as an indicatory ऋ and, therefore, its feminine ought to be formed by the present sûtra, and so the Feminine ought to be वक्ष्यमाणी ॥ This is, however, not the case, because of the following Paribhâshâ

Paribhâsha —"The substitutes of ल do not produce the effect which depends on the indicatory letters of ल ॥" This paribhâshâ is derived from the ज्ञापक of sûtra III. 4 103 S 2209 where the यासुट् the substitute of लिङ् is made expressly ङित् ॥ Or, we may infer this from the prohibition अनल्विधौ of sûtra I 1 56 S 49 So though in some places, the substitute श शानच may produce the operations required by anubandhas, because they have an indicatory श, yet it will not be so always

(2) Of words ending in ढ we have, m सौपर्णेय f, सौपर्णेयी so also f

वैनतेयी ॥ The ढ stands for the affix ढक्, and it is replaced by एय (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus सुपर्णा + ढक् (IV 1 120 S 1123) = सुपर्णा + एय = सौपर्णेय (VII 2 118 S 1076)

Note —There is no affix which is merely ढ without any indicatory letters, and denoting the feminine, the only affix as said above is ढक ॥ Therefore, the following maxim does not apply here —"When a term void of anubandhas (indicatory letters) is employed in grammar, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it," and we cannot say that the ढ of this sutra refers to the anubandha-less ढ of V 3 102 S 2057 which is always Neuter

(3) So also इन्द्र + अण् = ऐन्द्र ॥ Here अण् may have the force of सास्य देवता (IV 2 24 S 1226) or तस्येद (IV 3 120 S, 1500) Its feminine will be ऐन्द्री ॥

(4) Words formed by अञ् as औत्स f औत्सी, औदपान, f औदपानी, (IV 1 86 S 1078)

Note —Though by IV 1 73 S 527 the affix ङीन् would have come after the words ending in अञ्, the re employment of this affix, in the present sûtra, is for the purpose of preventing the application of the affix ङीष् which would have presented itself by IV 1 63 S 518 that is, even when 'jâti' is indicated, 'nish' is not to be employed here

(5) The three affixes द्वयसच्, दघ्नच्, and मात्रच् are added by V 2 37 S 1838 as, ऊरुद्वयसी, ऊरुदघ्नी, ऊरुमात्री 'reaching to the thigh' Similarly जानुद्वयसी, जानुदघ्नी, जानुमात्री ॥

(6) So also with words formed by तयप् (V 2 42 S 1843) As पञ्चतयी 'of which the parts are five,' so also दशतयी ॥

(7) So also with words ending in ठक (IV 4 1 S 1548) as, आक्षिकी 'a female dicer' शालाकिकी ॥ The ठ is replaced by इक (VII 3 50 S 1170)

(8) Similarly with words ending in ठञ् (V 1 18 S 1680) as, लावणिकी 'elegant'

Note —The affixes ठक and ठञ् are separately enumerated in this sutra, in order to exclude the affix ठन् &c For had the word ठ merely been used, then it would have meant all the *three* affixes ठक्, ठन् and ठञ्, which is not desired

(9) Similarly with words ending in कञ् (III 2 60 S 429) as, यादृशी, तादृशी ॥

(10) So also with words ending in क्वरप् (III 2 163 S 3143) as, इत्वरी 'swift', नश्वरी ॥

Vârtika —The words formed by the addition of the affix ण having the force of "whose habit is this," are operated upon as if they were formed by अण् ॥ Thus चौरी, तापसी are the feminine of चौर and तापस (IV 4 62 S 1612),

Vart —In addition to the foregoing, there should have been the enumeration of the affixes नञ and स्नञ् (IV 1 87 S 1079) and ईकक् (IV 4 59 S 1609) and ख्युन् (III 2 56 S 2973) and of the words तरुण and तलुन

'a youth' Thus श्रैणी 'a female', पौंस्नी 'a male', शार्ङ्गरवी 'a female spear bearer', आढ्यङ्करणा 'enriching', तरुणी or तलुनी 'a young woman'

४७१ । यञश्च । ४ । १ । १६ ॥

यञन्तात्स्त्रियां ङीप्स्यात् अकारलोपे कृते ॥

471 The affix ङीप् is employed, in denoting the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in 'यञ्' (IV 1 105 S 1107)

Note —The separation of this sûtra from the last, (for the affix यञ् could well have been included in the same), is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of यञ् only runs and not of others

Thus गार्ग्य । ङीप् = गार्ग्य् । ई (VI 4. 148 S 311) by which अ is elided

At this stage, applies the following Sutra —

४७२ । हलस्तद्धितस्य । ६ । ४ । १५० ॥

हल उत्तरस्य तद्धितयकारस्योपधाभूतस्य लोप ईति परे ॥ गार्गी ॥ अनपत्याधिकारस्थान्न ङीप् ॥ द्वीपे भवा द्वैप्या ॥ अधिकारग्रहणान्नेह देवस्यापत्यं दैव्या देवाद्यञञाविति हि यञ् प्राग्दीव्यतीयो न त्वपत्याधिकारपठित ॥

472 The य् of a Taddhita when preceded by a consonant, and penultimate in a stem, is elided before the feminine ई ॥

Thus गार्ग्य् + ई = गार्ग् + ई = गार्गी

Vart —This rule applies when the affix यञ् denotes a descendant, and not otherwise Therefore ई will not be applied to form the feminine of द्वैप्य of द्वीप । यञ् (IV 3 10 S 1380) Its feminine will be द्वैप्या 'living on or relating to an island'

The यञ् must be the patronymic affix taught in the sub-division of patronymics, that is, in the ApatyÂdhikâra Therefore, the य ordained after देव by the *Vârttika* under IV 1 85 S 1077 will not form its feminine by this rule Thus दैव्या the feminine of दैव्य, where यञ् is prâgdivyatîya affix, pure and simple and not an affix read in the apatyâdhikâra

In the evolution of the feminine form गार्ग्यायणी, the following rules apply

४७३ । प्राचां ष्फ तद्धित । ४ । १ । १७ ॥

यञन्तात्ष्फो वाऽन्यस्यात् स्त्रियां स च तद्धित ॥

473 In the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'shpha' is employed after what ends with the affix यञ्, and it is to be regarded as a Taddhita affix

४७४। ष प्रत्ययस्य। १।३।६॥

प्रत्ययस्यादि ष इत्स्यात्॥

474 The initial ष् of an affix is indicatory

४७५। आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनां।७।१।२॥

प्रत्ययादिभूतानां फादीनां क्रमादायन्नादय आदेशाः स्युः। तद्धितान्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकत्वम्। षित्त्वसामर्थ्यात् ष्फेणोक्तेऽपि स्त्रीत्वे षिद्गौरेति वक्ष्यमाणो ङीष्॥ गार्ग्यायणी॥

475 आयन्, for फ् एय् for ढ्, ईन् for ख्, ईय् for छ्, and इय् for घ्, are substituted, when these consonants stand in the beginning of an affix

गार्ग्यायण, being a word formed with a Taddhita affix, it will be a prâtipadika, and therefore will take the feminine affixes

Of this affix ष्फ the letter ष् is indicatory (I 3 6 S 474), and shows that the words formed by this affix will take 'ńish' (IV 1 41 S 498) The feminine nature is here manifested by these two affixes jointly, *viz*, by 'shpha' and 'ńish' The object of saying that 'shpha' is to be regarded as a taddhita affix, is that the word so formed may get the designation of prâtipadika (I 2 46 S 179) The affix फ is replaced by the substitute आयन (VII 1 2) Thus गार्ग्य + ष्फ + ङीष् = गार्ग्यायणी, so also वात्स्यायनी॥ This being an optional rule, we have in the alternative, गार्गी and वात्सी॥

Note —The word सर्वत्र "every where" of the sûtra IV 1 18 S 476 is to be read into this, by a process inverse to that of anuvritti, in order to prohibit the application of those rules even which would otherwise debar this Thus IV 1 75 S 529 says —'the affix चाप् comes after आवट्य'॥ Here आवट्य ends in यञ् and by IV 1 16, S 471 the word आवट्य would have taken the affix nîp IV 1 75 S 529 debarred this But according to Eastern Grammarians, here also the affix 'shpha' will be added Thus आवट्यायनी॥

४७६। सर्वत्र लोहितादिकतन्तेभ्यः।४।१।१८॥

लोहितादिभ्यः कतशब्दान्तेभ्यो यञन्तेभ्यो नित्यं ष्फः स्यात्। लौहित्यायनी। कात्यायनी॥

476 The affix 'shpha' is invariably added in the feminine after the words beginning with 'lohita' and ending with 'kata,' when they take the affix यञ्॥

Thus लौहित्यायनी and कात्यायनी॥

Note.—The words लोहित &c are a subdivision of Gargâdi class (IV 1 105)

The present sûtra makes the application of the affix ष्फ, compulsory while it was optional in the IV 1 17 S 473

४७७। कौरव्यमाण्डूकाभ्यां च। ४। १। १६॥

आभ्यां ष्फ स्यात्। टाप्ङीपोरपवादः। कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्यः। कौरव्यायणी। ढक् च मण्डूकादित्यण्। माण्डूकायनी॥ * आसुरेरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ आसुरायणी॥

477 The affix 'shpha' is added, in the feminine, after the words कौरव्य and माण्डूक।

The word कौरव्य is formed by adding the affix ण्य to the base कुरु (IV 1 151 S 1175), this word, ending in अ, would have formed its feminine by टाप् (IV 1 4 S 454), but for the present sûtra So also by IV 1 119, S 1122 the word माण्डूक is formed by अण् added to मण्डूक, and the feminine of mânḍûka would heve been formed by ṅip (IV 1 15 S 470) but for the present aphorism, which supersedes that affix Thus कौरव्यायणी, माण्डूकायनी॥

Vart —The word आसुरि should be erumerated along with kauravya and mânḍukya Thus आसुरायणी॥ The word आसुरि is formed by the affix इञ् added to the word असुर, the word 'âsuri' would, therefore, have taken the affix अण् in forming the further derivative (IV 2 112 S 1333)

४७८। वयसि प्रथमे। ४। १। २०॥

प्रथमवयोवाचिनोऽदन्तात् स्त्रियां ङीप् स्यात्। कुमारी॥ * वयस्यचरम इति वाच्यम् * ॥ वधूटी। चिरण्टी। वधूटचिरण्टशब्दौ यौवनवाचिनौ। अत किम्। शिशु। कन्याया न। कन्यायाः कनीन चेति निर्देशात्॥

478 The affix 'ङीप्' is employed, in the feminine, after a Nominal-stem ending in अ and denoting early age

The word वय means the condition of the body as dependent upon time, such as, youth, old age &c Words expresive of early age form their feminine by ई, though ending in अ॥ Thus, कुमारी 'a girl' किशोरी 'a young girl', बर्करी 'a she kid'

Why do we say ending in अ? Observe शिशु, which is both masculine and feminine

Vârt —The sûtra should have been अचरमे वयसि 'words expressive of not old age'? Thus वधूटी 'a young woman', चिरण्टी 'a young woman' These words denote the second stage of life, and not the first, i e they denote women who have attained their maturity

How do you explain the form कन्या 'a girl'? This is an exception, and Pânini himself uses the word 'kanyâ' showing that it is a valid form, as in sûtra IV 1 116 S 1119

४७९। द्विगोः। ४। १। २१॥

अदन्ताद्द्विगोर्ङीप् स्यात्। त्रिलोकी। अजादित्वात्त्रिफला। त्र्यनीका सेना॥

479 The affix 'ङीप्' comes in the feminine after a Nominal-stem ending in short अ, which is a 'Dvigu' compound

Thus त्रिलोकी ॥ But we find त्रिफला 'the three myrobalans', because this is one of the words spoken of as 'अज &c' (IV 1 4 S 454) Also त्र्यनीका सेना ॥

४८० । अपरिमाणबिस्ताचितकम्बल्येभ्यो न तद्धितलुकि । ४ । १ । २२ ॥

अपरिमाणान्ताद्बिस्ताद्यन्ताच्च द्विगोर्ङीप् न स्यात्तद्धितलुकि सति । पञ्चभिरश्वैः क्रीता पञ्चाश्वा ॥ आर्हीयष्ठक् । अध्यर्धेति लुक् । द्वौ बिस्तौ पचति द्विबिस्ता । द्व्याचिता । द्विकम्बल्या । परिमाणान्तात्तु द्व्याढकी । तद्धितलुकि किम् । समाहारे पञ्चाश्वी ॥

480 The affix ङीप् is not employed, when a Taddhita affix is elided, after a Dvigu compound ending in a word not denoting a mass or measure, or in 'bista', 'âchita', and 'kambalya'

Thus पञ्चाश्व is a Dvigu compound, meaning 'purchased for five horses' Here the Taddhita affix ठञ् (V 1 37 S, 1702) giving the sense of 'purchased with' has been elided by V 1 28 S 1693 This compound does not end in a word denoting parimâna technically so called or a measure The feminine of this word will not be formed by ङीप् but by टाप्, thus, पञ्चाश्वा 'a female purchased for five horses' So also with the words बिस्त & c. As द्विबिस्ता 'purchased for two bistas', त्रिबिस्ता द्व्याचिता, त्र्याचिता, द्विकम्बल्या, and त्रिकम्बल्या, &c

Why do we say 'not ending in a word denoting a Parimâna or a 'measure'? Observe द्व्याढकी, त्र्याढकी "a female purchased for two or three âdhakas' Here âdhaka means a measure equal to 7 lb 11 oz avoir

Why do we say 'when a Taddhita affix is elided'? In 'Samâhâra Dvigu' compounds, the affix 'ṅîp' will apply Thus पञ्चाश्वी 'an aggregate of five horses' so also दशाश्वी ॥

Note —This debars 'ṅîp' which otherwise would have presented itself by virtue of the last sûtra The words बिस्त 'a weight of gold equal to 80 Raktikas' आचितम् 'a measure of 10 cart loads or 80,000 tolahs', and कम्बल्य 'a measure', all denote measure, and are the only words expressing measure to which this rule applies The word परिमाण means 'measure', as distinguished from संख्या 'a Numeral', See V 1 19, &c

४८१ । काण्डान्तात्क्षेत्रे । ४ । १ । २३ ॥

क्षेत्रे य काण्डान्तो द्विगुस्ततो न ङीप् । तद्धितलुकि । द्वे काण्डे प्रमाणमस्या सा द्विकाण्डा

क्षेत्रभक्तिः । प्रमाणे द्वयसजिति विहितस्य मात्रच प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यमिति लुक् । क्षेत्रे किम्? द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः ॥

481 The affix ङीप् is not employed after an adjectival Dvigu compound, ending in the word 'काण्ड', where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound means a field.

Thus द्विकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः 'a division of a field of the measure of two kâṇḍas' Here, the word द्विकाण्ड is a Dvigu compound ending in 'kâṇḍa', the Taddhita affixes द्वयसच् &c denoting measure enjoined by V 2. 37, have been elided by the *vârtika* 'प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्' "The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure" The feminine, therefore, of this word will not be formed by 'ṅîp' but by टाप्, so also त्रिकाण्डा क्षेत्रभक्तिः ॥

Why do we say when the compound refers to superficial land measure? Observe द्विकाण्डी रज्जुः 'a rope two kâṇḍas long'.

४८२ । पुरुषात्प्रमाणेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । २४ ॥

प्रमाणे यः पुरुषस्तदन्तात् द्विगोर्ङीप् वा स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । द्वौ पुरुषौ प्रमाणमस्याः सा द्विपुरुषी द्विपुरुषा वा परिखा ॥

482. The affix 'ङीप्' is not optionally employed after a Dvigu compound, where the Taddhita affix is elided, when the compound ends in the word 'purusha', referring to measure

Thus द्विपुरुषा or द्विपुरुषी परिखा 'a mote two *purusha* wide' so also त्रिपुरुषी or त्रिपुरुषा &c The present sûtra ordains an option where IV. 1 22 would have made the prohibition universal.

४८३ । ऊधसोऽनङ् । ५ । ४ । १३१ ॥

ऊधोऽन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । इत्यनङि कृते डाप्ङीब्निषेधेषु प्राप्तेषु ॥

483 The syllable anan is the substitute of the final of ऊधस् in a Bahuvrîhi.

Note —As कुण्डमिव ऊधोऽस्याः =कुण्डोध्नी, घटोध्नी ॥ The feminine is formed by adding ङीष् ॥ (IV 1 25), and these words are always used in this form for the feminine only, no substitution takes place in the masculine, as महोधाः पर्जन्यः, घटोधो धेनुकम् ॥ ऊधस्+अन्=ऊधन् (VI 4 148 S 311) ऊधन्+ङीष्=ऊधन्+ई (अ being elided by VI 4 134 S 234)=ऊध्नी ॥

When अनङ् is substituted, there arises the prohibition of डाप् and ङीप्, when the following sûtra comes up

४८४ । बहुव्रीहेरूधसो ङीष् । ४ । १ । २५ ॥

ऊधोऽन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेर्ङीष् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । कुण्डोध्नी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुण्डोधो धेनुकम् । इहाऽनङपि न । तद्विधौ स्त्रियामित्युपसंख्यानात् ॥

484 The affix 'ङीष' is employed, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word ûdhas 'an udder'.

Thus the Bahuvrîhi compound of कुण्ड 'a bowl' and ऊधस् will be कुण्डोधस्, then the final of ûdhas is replaced by the substitute अनङ् (V 4. 131 S 483), thus we have कुण्डोधन्, which would have been liable to the rules IV 1 12, 13 S 460 & 461 *ante*, the present sûtra enjoins ङीष् instead Thus कुण्डोध्नी (V 4. 134 S 872) 'a woman with udders like jars'.

Why do we say 'after a Bahuvrihî compound'? Observe प्राप्ता ऊधः = प्राप्तोधा (II 2 4 S 715) which is a Tatpurusha compound

Why do we say in the feminine? The substitution of अन् for the final of ऊधस् takes place only then, when the feminine nature is to be expressed and not otherwise Therefore in the masculine we have कुण्डोधो धेनुकम् ॥ Here there is no अनङ् even, for that is ordained after the feminines only

४८५ संख्याऽव्ययादेर्ङीप् । ४ । १ । २६ ॥

ङीषोऽपवादः । द्व्यूध्नी । अत्यूध्नी । बहुव्रीहेरित्येव । ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता अत्यूधा ॥

485 The affix ङीप् comes in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in 'ûdhas', beginning with a Numeral or an Indeclinable

This sûtra ordains 'nîp', where by the last sûtra there would have been 'nîsh'. Thus द्वि + ऊधस् + अनङ् + ङीप् (V 4. 131 S. 483) = द्व्यूध्नी 'having two udders', so also त्र्यूध्नी, 'having three udders' The above are Bahuvrîhi compounds beginning with a Numeral Similarly अत्यूध्नी 'many uddered', निरूध्नी 'having no udders' The word "Bahuvrihi" is to be supplied here from the last. When the compound is not Bahuvrihi we have अत्यूधा = ऊधोऽतिक्रान्ता ॥

४८६ । दामहायनान्ताच्च । ४ । १ । २७ ॥

संख्यादेर्बहुव्रीहेर्दामान्ताद्धायनान्ताच्च ङीप् स्यात् । दामान्ते डाप्प्रतिषेधयोः प्राप्तयोर्हायनान्ते टापि प्राप्ते वचनम् । द्विदाम्नी । अव्ययग्रहणाननुवृत्तेरुद्दामा वडवेत्यत्र डाप्निषेधावपि पक्षे स्तः । द्विहायनी बाला ॥ * त्रिचतुर्भ्यां हायनस्य णत्वं वाच्यम् * ॥ वयोवाचकस्यैव हायनस्य ङीप् णत्वं चेष्यते * ॥ त्रिहायणी । चतुर्हायणी । वयसोऽन्यत्र त्रिहायना ॥ चतुर्हायना शाला ॥

486 The affix ङीप् comes, in the feminine, after a Bahuvrîhi compound beginning with a Numeral, and ending

with the words dâman 'a rope', and hâyana 'a year'

The word दामन् was liable to be be operated upon by two rules, viz by, IV 1 13 ordaining डाप् and by IV 1 11 S 459 prohibiting totally the affixing of ङीप्, while हायन् would have taken long आ by IV 1, 4, S 454, the present sûtra ordains ṅîp to the exclusion of all those As द्विदाम्नी 'a (mare) bound by two ropes' त्रिदाम्नी ॥ We do not read the anuvritti of अव्यय from the last sûtra into this Therefore when an Indeclinable such as उद् precedes दामन्, then the affix डाप् of IV 1 13 S 46 and the prohibition of IV 1 11 S 459 will apply, as उद्दामा वडवा ॥ द्विहायनी बाला 'two years (old girl)', त्रिहायणी चतुर्हायणी ॥

Vârt —The word 'hâyana' must denote 'age', for the purposes of this sûtra Therefore we have no ṅîp here —द्विहायना शाला 'a hall of two years existence'

Ishti —After त्रि and चतुर् the न of हायन is changed into ण, when हायन denotes 'age', and not otherwise त्रिहायना and चतुर्हायना when referring to a hall

४८७ । नित्य सज्ञाछन्दसो । ४ । १ । २९ ॥

अनन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरुपधालोपिनो ङीप स्यात् सज्ञाछन्दसो । सुराज्ञी नाम नगरी । अन्यथ पूर्वेण विकल्प एव । वेदे तु शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

487 The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in the Chhandas, and in forming Names, after that Bahuvrîhi compound which ending in the syllable अन् loses its penultimate अ ॥

This is an exception to IV 1 28 S 462, for while that enjoined the optional, the present enjoins the compulsory application of the affix ङीप ॥ Thus सुराज्ञी 'the city called Surâjñî', अतिराज्ञी 'the city of Atirajñî' When not a name, the option of IV, 1 28 S 462 will hold good Similarly in the Chhandas we have शतमूर्ध्नी ॥

४८८ केवलमामकभागधेयपापापरसमानार्यकृतसुमङ्गलभेषजाच्च । ४ । १ । ३० ॥

एभ्यो नवभ्यो नित्य ङीप् स्यात्सज्ञाछन्दसो । अथोतइन्द्र केवलीर्विश । मामकी । भागधेयी । पापी । अपर समानी । आर्यकृती । सुमङ्गली । भेषजी । अन्यत्र केवला इत्यादि । मामकग्रहण नियमार्थम् । अण्णन्तत्वादेव सिद्धे । तेन लोकेऽसज्ञायां मामिका ॥

488 The affix ङीप् necessarily comes in denoting the feminine, after the following Nominal-stems when employed to express a Name or in the Chhandas —केवल मामक, भागधेय, पाप, अपर, समान, आर्यकृत, सुमङ्गल and भेषज ॥

The phrase सज्ञा छन्दसि of the last sûtra is understood here also Thus केवली in the Chhandas, as opposed to केवला in the ordinary language, when not denoting a Name, so also मामकी तनू in the Vedas and मामिका in the secular literature भागधेयी as मित्रावरुणयोर्भागधेयी in the Vedas and भागधेया in Bhâshâ, तस्य सन्तु पापी in the Vedas and पापा in Bhâshâ, अपरी as उतास्परीभ्योमघवा विजिग्ये, (Rigveda I 1 13) otherwise अपरा, समानी व आकूति (Rigved,) otherwise समाना, आर्यकृती and आर्यकृता, सुमङ्गली (Rigveda X 85 33) सुमङ्गला, शिवारुद्रस्य भेषजी otherwise भेषजा ॥ सुमङ्गल takes ङीष् also by IV I 41 S 498 as belonging to Gaurâdi class No 86 The word मामक is read in the sutra in order to make a restrictive rule with regard to it, for it would have taken ङीप् by IV 1 15 S 470 even, because it is a word formed by अण् affix (-IV 3 3 S 1372) In the secular literature or otherwise it would be मामिका always (see VII 3 44 S 463)

४८६। अन्तर्वत्पतिवतोर्नुक्। ४। १। ३२॥

एतयो स्त्रिया नुक् स्यात् ॥ ऋन्नेभ्यो ङीप् ॥ गर्भिण्या जीवद्भर्तृकाया च प्रकृतिभागौ निपात्येते । तत्रान्तरस्त्यस्या गर्भ इति विग्रहे अन्त शब्दस्याधिकरणशक्तिप्रधानतयाऽस्तिसामानाधिकरण्याभावादप्राप्तो मतुब् निपात्यते । पतिवत्नीत्यत्र तु वत्व निपात्यत । अन्तर्वत्नी । पतिवत्नी । प्रत्युदाहरण तु । अन्तरस्त्यस्या शालाया घट । पतिमती पृथिवी ॥

489 The augment नुक् is added to the words अन्तर्वत् and पतिवत्, when the feminine affix ङीप् follows

This sûtra points out the base and teaches the addition of the augment नुक् ॥ When this augment is added (and it must be added at the end, by sûtra I 1 46), the forms become अन्तर्वत्न् and पतिवत्न्, and these words must take ñîp by virtue of IV 1 5, S 306 if not by this sûtra Thus we have अन्तर्वत्नी and पतिवत्नी ॥ This irregular formation of the feminine is employed only then, when the sense of the words so formed is 'a pregnant female' and 'one whose husband is living' respectively Therefore, we have not the above forms in the following —प्रथत त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी, here the word पतिमती qualifies the word पृथवी and has not the sense of 'having the husband living', therefore its formation is regular Similarly when the sense is not of 'a pregnant female', the feminine will not be अन्तर्वत्नी, in fact there will be no affixing of वत् (मतुप्) ॥ Because मतुप is added to words possessing certain attribute, as described in V 2 94, S 1894 while the word अन्तर् has the sense of location, and can never be in apposition with the sense of अस्ति "having" as required by V 2 94 S 1894 The word अन्तर् would not therefore take मतुप् ॥ It does so irregularly by this sûtra The म is changed to व by VIII 2 2 S 1897 in अन्तर्वत् ॥ The change of म to व in पतिवत् is however irregular

The augment नुक is optionally added to these words in the Vedas — as सान्तर्वत्नी or सान्तर्वती देवानुपेत् ॥ पतिवत्नी or पतिवता तरुणवत्सा ॥

४९० । पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे । ४ । १ । ३३ ॥

पतिशब्दस्य नकारादेशः स्याद्यज्ञेन सम्बन्धे । वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी । तत्कर्तृकयज्ञस्य फलभोक्त्रीत्यर्थः । दम्पत्योः सहाधिकारात् ॥

490 The substitute **न्** replaces the final **इ** of **पति** before the feminine affix **ङीप्**, when the word so formed means 'a wife, who takes part in the sacrifices of her husband'

Thus वसिष्ठस्य पत्नी meaning one who participates in the fruits of sacrifices performed by Vasishtha Because sacrifices must be performed jointly by the husband and wife

४९१ । विभाषा सपूर्वस्य । ४ । १ । ३४

पतिशब्दान्तस्य सपूर्वस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य नो वा स्यात् । गृहस्य पतिः गृहपतिः । गृहपत्नी । अनुपसर्जनस्येत्येतदिहोत्तरार्थमनुवृत्तमपि न पत्युर्विशेषणं किंतु तदन्तस्य । तेन बहुव्रीहावपि । दृढपत्नी दृढपतिः । वृषलपत्नी । वृषलपतिः । अथ वृषलस्य पत्नीति व्यस्ते कथमिति चेत् । पत्नीव पत्नीत्युपचारात् । यद्वा । आचारक्विबन्तात्कर्तरि क्विप् । अस्मिंश्च पक्षे पत्नियौ, पत्नियः, इतीयङ्विषये विशेषः । सपूर्वस्य किम् । गवां पतिः स्त्री ॥

491 In forming the feminine with the affix **ङीप्**, **न्** is optionally the substitute of the final **इ** of **पति**, when the latter is preceded by another word

The word सपूर्वस्य means when the word पति stands at the end of a compound गृहपति or गृहपत्नी ॥ This is an example of aprâpta vibhâshâ Because it is free from the limitations of "yajña-sanyoga' of the last sûtra Why do we say when it is preceded by another word? Observe गवांपति स्त्री 'this lady is the mistress of cows' Here the feminine is पति and not पत्नी although preceded by गवां but with which it is not compounded.

The anuvritti of the word अनुपसर्जनस्य (though its anuvritti is necessary for the next sutra,) does not qualify पति but the compound ending with पति in this sutra Therefore the rule will apply to पति even when it is an upasarjana, as being the last member of a Bahuvrihi compound, as दृढपत्नी or दृढपति "whose husband is strong" So also वृषलपत्नी or वृषलपति ॥

How then do you justify the phrase like वृषलस्य पत्नी "the Patni of a Sudra", for a Sûdra cannot perform sacrifice, and so he cannot have a पत्नी in the proper sense of the word? Such usage is however allowed by analogy, for the wife of a Sûdra is analogous to the wife of a Brâhmana Or we may explain it by saying that the word here is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to पत्नी with the force of पत्नी इव आचरति "she who behaves like a Patni" If पत्नी be taken to have been so

formed, then it will take इयङ् in Plural and Dual by VI 4 77 S 271 as पत्नियौ 'two wives of a Sudra" and पत्निय "many wives of a Sûdra" and not पत्न्यौ and पत्न्य as is the general case. As a matter of fact, in ancient times Sûdras were allowed to perform sacrifices.

४९२। नित्य सपत्न्यादिषु । ४ । १ । ३५ ॥

पूर्वविकल्पापवाद.। समानस्य भावोऽपि निपात्यत । समान पतिर्यस्या सा सपत्नी । एकपत्नी वीरपत्नी ॥

492 In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the word पति always takes the substitute न in the words like 'सपत्नी' and the rest

This enjoins the necessary and not optional substitution of न् for the final इ of पति, before the affix ङीप्, in the cases of certain words The word 'nitya' is used in the aphorism for the sake of precision Thus सपत्नी, एकपत्नी Here समान is replaced by स by this sûtra

४९३। पूतक्रतोरै च । ४ । १ । ३६ ॥

अस्य स्त्रियामै आदेशो ङीप् च । इय त्रिसूत्री पुयोग एवेष्यते ॥ पूतक्रतो स्त्री पूतक्रतायी । यया तु क्रतव पूता स्यात्पूतक्रतुरेवसा ॥

493 In forming the feminine, the leter ऐ is the substitute of the final of the word पूतक्रतु, when the affix ङीप् is added

Thus पूतक्रतायी 'this wife of Putakratu' *Ishti* —According to Patanjali this and the two succeeding sutras, are valid then only, when the sense of the feminine words is that of 'wife of so and so' otherwise these sûtras will not apply see IV 1 48 S 504 Thus if the meaning is not that of 'wife of', the word पूतक्रतु will be both masculine and feminine as well, meaning 'she by whom sacrifices (क्रतव) are sanctified (पूता)

४९४। वृषाकप्यग्निकुसितकुसिदानामुदात्त । ४ । १ । ३७ ॥

एषामुदात्त ऐ आदेश स्यात् ङीप् च । वृषाकपे स्त्री वृषाकपायी । हरिविष्णू वृषाकपी इत्यमर, वृषाकपायी श्रीगौर्योरिति च । अग्नायी । कुसितायी । कुसिदायी । कुसिदशब्दो ह्रस्वमध्यो न तु दीर्घमध्य ॥

494 In forming the feminine with the affix ङीप्, the letter ऐ having udâtta accent is the substitute of the finals of वृषाकपि, अग्नि, कुसित and कुसिद ॥

Thus वृषाकपायी (Rig Veda X 86 13) 'the wife of Vrishâkapi' or Hara or Vishnu's wife (Amar III 3 129 and 155) namely Lakshmî or Gauri अग्नायी, (Rig Ved I 22 12) the wife of Agni', कुसितायी the wife of Kusita', कुसिदायी

'the wife of Kusida' In the above the udâtta falls on the syllables पाँ, ग्रा, ताँ and शाँ respectively The last word is कुसिद and not कुसीद as in some texts

४६५ । मनोरौ वा । ४ । १ । ३८ ॥

मनुशब्दस्यौकारादेशः स्यादुदात्त ऐकारश्च वा । ताभ्यां सन्नियोगशिष्टो ङीप् च । मनोः स्त्री मनायी । मनावी । मनु ॥

495 औ is the substitute of the final of मनु, or the udâtta ऐ optionally, and to the remaining base so formed, is added ङीप् in the feminine

The phrases ऐ and उदात्त are understood The force of वा is to make the substitution optional Thus we have three forms, मनायी or मनावी or मनु, all meaning 'the wife of Manu'

४६६ । वर्णादनुदात्तात्तोपधात्तो नः । ४ । १ । ३९ ॥

वर्णवाची योऽनुदात्तान्तस्तोपधस्तदन्तादनुपसर्जनात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीप् स्यात्तकारस्य नकारादेशश्च । एनी । एता । रोहिणी । रोहिता । वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानामिति फिट्सूत्रेणाद्युदात्त । त्र्येण्या च शलल्येति गृह्यसूत्रम् । त्रीण्येतानि यस्या इति बहुव्रीहिः । अनुदात्तात्किम् । श्वेता । घृतादीनां चेत्यन्तोदात्तोऽयम् । अत इत्येव । शितिः स्त्री ।* पिशङ्गादुपसंख्यानम् *॥ पिशङ्गी । पिशङ्गा ॥ किंतु* असितपलितयोर्न * असिता । पलिता ॥* छन्दसि क्नमेके * ॥ असिक्नी । पलिक्नी ॥ अवदातशब्दस्तु न वर्णवाची । विशुद्धवाची तेन अवदाता इत्येव ॥

496 The affix ङीप् is optionally employed after a Nominal-stem expressive of colour, ending in a gravely accented vowel, and having the letter त as its penultimate letter and the letter न is substituted in the room of त ॥

Thus of एत 'variegated', the feminine is एता or एनी 'variegated' रोहिणी or रोहिता so श्येता or श्येनी 'black,' हरिता or हरिणी 'green' All these words have udâtta accent, on the first vowel, by the Phit sutra II 10 (वर्णानां तणतिनितान्तानाम् 'of words expressive of colour and ending in तण or ति or नि or त, the udâtta accent falls on the first vowel") as they are formed by तन् &c (Un III 36) Thus त्र्येण्या च शलल्या (Grihya Sûtra) The word tryenyâ is a Bahuvrihi, meaning "she who has three variegated"

Why do we say "ending in a gravely accented vowel?" Observe श्वेता 'white' Here though the word expresses 'color,' yet it has acute (instead of grave) accent on the final (by the rule of Phit sutra I 21 घृतादीनां च "the words ghrita &c, have udâtta on the final")

The words for the application of this rule must end in the letter अ in the masculine Otherwise this rule will not apply As शितिः स्त्री 'a black woman' Here शिति is a word expressive of color, it has a penultimate त,

has anudâtta accent on the final (VI 1 197) as it is formed by the affix क्त, but as it does not end in श्र, its feminine is not formed with nîp

Vârt —The affix nîp comes also after the word पिशङ्ग, as, पिशङ्गी or पिशङ्गा 'of tawny color'

Vârt —There is prohibition in the case of the words असित and पलित, as असिता 'black and पलिता 'grey'

Vârt —According to some, the substitute क्न replaces the final of these two words असित and पलित in the Vedic literature As असिक्नी (Rig Veda IX 73 29), पलिक्नी R Veda V 2 4 The word अवदात does not denote 'color,' but "purity" hence its feminine is अवदाता ॥ Amarkosha is wrong when it says "अवदात means white clear"

४९७ । अन्यतो ङीष् । ४ । १ । ४० ॥

तोपधभिन्नाद्वर्णवाचिनोऽनुदात्तान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् । कल्माषी । सारङ्गी । लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बह्वषो गुरुरिति मध्योदात्तावेतौ । अनुदात्तान्तात्किम् । कृष्णा । कपिला ॥

497 The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after every other word expressive of color and ending with an anudâtta accent, and which has no त as penultimate

The word वा of IV 1 38 does not govern this sûtra The word अन्यत means in other cases than those governed by the last aphorism *i e* after words which have *not* त as penultimate The difference between nip and nîsh affixes consists in accent, the former being gravely accented (III 1 4) and the latter acute Thus सारङ्गी, कल्माषी ॥ Both these words have acute on the middle by Phit Sûtra II 19 (A word whose final syllable is light, or a polysyllabic word whose two syllables are light, gets the acute on the heavy syllable wherever that may be)

Why do we say "ending with a syllable which is gravely accented"? Because when the word does not end with a gravely accented vowel, this rule does not apply, as, कृष्णा कपिला ॥

४९८ । षिद्गौरादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४१ ॥

षिद्भ्यो गौरादिभ्यश्च ङीष् स्यात् । नर्तकी । गौरी । अनडुही । अनड्वाही ॥ पिप्पल्यादयश्च ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

498 The affix ङीष् is employed in forming the feminine after words ending with affixes which have an indicatory ष् and after the words गौर and the rest

Thus by Sûtra III. 1 145 S 2907 the affix ष्वुन् is added to a

root, to form noun of agency, denoting an artist The feminine of the words so formed, will take nish As, नर्तकी 'an actress' So also the words गौर &c, as गौरी, अनडुही अनड्वाही ॥

In the Gaurâdi class is to be included the Pippalâdi words also (see Ganapâtha at the end) This is an Âkritigana, no complete list being given any where

४९९ । सूर्यतिष्यागस्त्यमत्स्यानां य उपधायाः । ६ । ४ । १४९ ॥

अङ्गस्योपधाया यस्य लोपः स्यात्स चेद्य सूर्याद्यवयवः ॥ *मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्* ॥ *सूर्यागस्त्ययोश्छे च ङ्यां च* ॥ 'तिष्यपुष्ययोर्नक्षत्राणि यलोप इति वाच्यम्'* ॥ मत्सी । मातरि षिदिति षित्वादेव सिद्धे गौरादिषु मातामहीशब्दपाठादनित्यः षिता ङीष् । दंष्ट्रा ॥

499 Of the bha stems सूर्य, तिष्य, अगस्त्य and मत्स्य (and their derivatives when they are Bha) the penultimate य् is also elided before the long ई and a Taddhita affix

Thus सूर्येणैकादिक्=सौरी (सूर्य+अण् under IV 3 112 S 1492=सौर्य, then ई of ङीप्=सौरी), as सौरी बलाका ॥

So also तिष्य—तैषमहः, तैषी रात्रिः ॥ So also अगस्त्यापत्यं स्त्री=आगस्ती (IV 1 114 S 1117) आगस्तीय, So also मत्स्य—मत्सी with ङीष as it belongs to the Gaurâdi class (IV 1 41 S 498)

Vart —The य of मत्स्य is elided before the feminine ई only therefore not here मत्स्यस्येदं मांसं=मात्स्यम् ॥

Vart —Of सूर्य and अगस्त्य before the affixes छ and ई (of the feminine) as सौरीय, सौरी आगस्तीय आगस्ती ॥ But not here सौर्य चरुं निर्वपेत्, आगस्त्य formed with the Patronymic अण् (IV 1 114)

Vârt —Of तिष्य and पुष्य when referring to asterisms, as, तिष्येण नक्षत्रेण युक्तः कालः=तैषः, पौषः (IV 2 3 S 1204)

By the *vartika* मातरि षिच्च given under IV 2 36, S 1242 the affix आमह in मातामह is treated as having an indicatory ष ॥ The word मातामह will take ङीष् because it is षित्, its inclusion in the list of Gaurâdi indicates that the rule of ङीष application, because a word is षित्, is not universal (अनित्यं षिल्लक्षणो ङीष्) ॥ Therefore we have forms like दंष्ट्रा &c

५०० । जानपदकुण्डगोणस्थलभाजनागकालनीलकुशकामुककबराद्वृत्त्यमत्रावपनाकृत्रिमाश्राणास्थौल्यवर्णानाच्छादनायोविकारमैथुनेच्छाकेशवेशेषु । ४ । १ । ४२ ॥

एभ्य एकादशभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्यः क्रमाद्वृत्त्यादिष्वर्थेषु ङीष् स्यात् । जानपदी वृत्तिश्चेत् । अन्या तु जानपदी । उत्सादित्वादञन्तत्वेन टिड्ढेति ङीप्यामुदात्तः । कुण्डी अमत्रं चेत् । कुण्डान्या । कुडि दाहे । गुरोश्च हलः इति अप्रत्ययः । अस्तु अमत्र जात्या कुण्ड इति मनुष्यजातिवचनस्तत्रो जातिलक्षणो ङीषु भवत्येव । अमत्रे हि स्त्रीविषयत्वाभावादप्राप्तो ङीष् विधीयते नतु नियम्यते । गोणी आवपनं चेत् । गोणान्या ।

स्थली अकृत्रिमा चेत् । स्थलाऽन्या । भाजी श्राणा चेत् । भाजाऽन्या । नागी स्थूला चेत् । नागाऽन्या । गजवाची नागशब्द स्थौल्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त उदाहरणम । सर्पवाची तु दैर्घ्यगुणयोगादन्यत्र प्रयुक्त प्रत्युदाहरणम् । काली वर्णश्चेत् । कालाऽन्या । नीली अनाच्छादन चेत् । नीलाऽन्या । नील्या रक्ता शाटीत्यर्थ । नाल्या अन्वक्तव्य इत्यत् । अनाच्छादनेऽपि न सर्वत्र किंतु ॥ * नीलादोषधौ * ॥ नीली ॥ * प्राणिनि च * ॥ नीली गौ ॥ संज्ञायां वा * ॥ नीली । नीला । कुशी अयोविकारश्चेत् । कुशाऽन्या । कामुकी मैथुनेच्छा चेत् । कामुकाऽन्या । कबरी केशानां संनिवेशश्चेत् । कबराऽन्या चित्रेत्यर्थ ॥

500 The affix ङीष् is employed after the eleven words jânapada &c, in the sense of profession &c respectively, i e after the words 1 जानपद 2 कुण्ड, 3 गोण, 4 स्थल, 5 भाज, 6 नाग, 7 काल, 8 नील, 9 कुश, 10 कामुक, and 11 कबर, the affix ङीष is employed when the sense is that of 1 'profession or living' 2 'a bowl, 3 'a sack or vessel for keeping grain', 4 'a natural spot of ground', 5 'a cooked food or rice-gruel', 6 'stout, 7 'black-coloured', 8 'blue-coloured other than cloth', 9 'a plough-share', 10 'a libidinous female' 11 'a fellet or braid of hair', respectively

Thus जानपदी 'a profession', otherwise जानपदी, the difference being in accent only For this word is formed by adding the affix अञ् to janapada, by sûtra IV 1 86, as it belongs to Utsâdi class of words in forming the feminine the affix ङीप् will be added in this latter case by IV 1 15 S 470 thus throwing the acute accent on the first syllable

(2) So also कुण्डी 'bowl shaped vessel', otherwise कुण्डा 'an adulteress' To the root 'कुडिदाहे the affix अ is added by III 3 103 S 3280 The nasal being added, because the Verb is read with an indicatory इ in the Dhâtupâtha The कुण्ड when meaning the son of a woman by a man other than her husband, while the husband is alive, is a word denoting caste or class and will therefore take ङीष् in the feminine by IV 1 63, S 518 and therefore the feminine will be कुण्डी and कुण्डा ॥

In denoting a vessel in the feminine, there would have been no ङीष in the feminine by any rule, so this rule ordains ङीष् and it does not make a niyama rule with regard to कुण्ड ॥ For, had it been a niyama rule, we could not have obtained the form कुण्डी meaning 'a female bastard'

(3) गोणी 'a sack' यत्र धान्यादि प्रक्षिप्य नीयते otherwise गोणा a particular name, (4) स्थली 'a place not prepared by artificial improvement, otherwise स्थला as स्थलयोदका परिखा ॥ (5) भाजी 'cooked', otherwise भाजा (6) नागी a stout elephantess', otherwise नागा "a long she serpent" When नाग denotes

'an elephant' and the quality of stoutness is applied to it, then only its feminine will be नागी under the present sûtra But when नाग denotes a serpent, and the length is only indicated, there the counter-example is नागा ॥

(7) काली 'a-black female', otherwise काला 'a name of a female where the name itself has no particular meaning

(8) When cloth is not denoted, we have नीली ॥ But when cloth is meant, the feminine will be नीला which means 'a blue colored cloth' This word is formed by adding the affix अन् denoting 'colored' by the *Vârtika* under sûtra IV 2 2 S 1203 and thus the base is नीलम to which आप् is added in forming the feminine

The word अनाच्छादन in the sûtra is rather too wide, it should be confined to the two senses indicated below i e when it applies to a plant called indigo or to animals'

Vartika —ङीष् is added in forming the feminine of नील when a medicinal plant is meant, as नीली 'an indigo plant'

Vârtika —So also when an animal is meant as नीलिगौ The Nilgâi

Vârtika —Optionally so, when it is a proper name, as नीली or नीला ॥

(9) कुशी 'a plough share', otherwise कुशा 'a rope or a kind of grass' (10) कामुकी 'a libidinous or lustful woman' otherwise कामुका 'a woman desirous of wealth' (11) कबरी 'a fi' ι or braid of hai', otherwise कबरा 'mixed, variegated'

५०१ । शोणात्प्राचाम् । ४ । १ । ४३ ॥

शोणी । शोणा ॥

501 The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after the word शोण ॥

Thus शोणी or शोणा वडवा 'a red or bay mare'

५०२ । वोतो गुणवचनात् । ४ । १ । ४४ ॥

उदन्ताद्गुणवाचिनो वा ङीष् स्यात् ॥ मृद्वी । मृदु । उतः किम् ॥ शुचि । गुणोक्ति किम् । आखु ॥ * खरुसंयोगोपधान्न * ॥ खरु पतिंवरा कन्या । पाण्डु ॥

502 The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after a word expressive of a quality and ending in short उ ॥

Thus मृदु or मृद्वी 'soft' Why do we say 'ending in a short उ'? Observe शुचिरियं ब्राह्मणी 'this brahmana lady is pure', Why do we say

"expressive of a quality?" Observe आखु 'a mouse' (both masculine and femenine)

Vârt—Prohibition must be stated after the word खरु, and after words ending in short उ, which have a conjunct consonant as penultimate As खरुरियं ब्राह्मणी 'a Brahmanî who chooses her own husband' Similarly पाण्डु is common gender, as ण्ड् is a conjunct consonant As पाण्डुरियं ब्राह्मणी ॥

५०३ । बह्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ४५ ॥

एभ्यो वाङीष् स्यात् । बह्वी बहु ॥ * कृदिकारादक्तिनः * ॥ रात्रि । रात्री ॥ सर्वतोऽक्तिन्नर्थादित्येके ॥ शकटि । शकटी । अक्तिन्नर्थात्किम् । अजननि । क्तिन्नन्तत्वादप्राप्ते विध्यर्थं पद्धतिशब्दो गणे पठ्यते । हिमकाषिहतिषु चेति पद्भावः । पद्धति पद्धती ॥

503 And the affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the feminine after the words बहु and the rest

As बहु or बह्वी ॥

Vârtika—So also after the vowel इ of a krit affix, not क्तिन् (III 3 94), as रात्रि or रात्री ॥

Vârtika—Some say that the feminine affix *nîsh* may come after any word ending in इ, if it has not the force of the affix क्तिन् ॥ As शकटि or शकटी ॥

Why do we say 'not क्तिन्'? Observe अजननि ॥

The word पद्धति is read in the Ganapâtha, to make it a *vidhi*, although it is formed with the affix क्तिन् ॥ This word is formed in accordance with the rule laid down in VI 3 54 S 992. Thus—पाद + हति + क्तिन् = पद्धति ॥ Its Feminine is either पद्धति or पद्धती ॥

५०४ । पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ४८

या पुमाख्या पुंयोगात् स्त्रियां वर्तते ततो ङीष् स्यात् । गोपस्य स्त्री गोपी ॥ * पालकान्तान्न * ॥ गोपालिका । अश्वपालिका ॥ * सूर्याद्देवतायां चाप् वाच्यः * ॥ सूर्यस्य स्त्री देवता सूर्या । देवतायां किम् । सूरी कुन्ती । मानुषीयम् ॥

504 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word when it expresses the name of a wife in relation to her husband

Thus the wife of Gopa is गोपी

Vârt—Prohibition must be stated in the case of words ending in पालक ॥ Thus गोपालिका 'the wife of a cow herd', also अश्वपालिका ॥

Vârt—The affix चाप् comes after सूर्य in denoting the wife of Sûrya, when she is a celestial being As सूर्या 'the celestial wife of the god Sûrya.' Why do we say 'a celestial being'? Observe सूरी denoting the human wife of Sûrya, such as, Kunti.

५०५ इन्द्रवरुणभवशर्वरुद्रमृडहिमारण्ययवयवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक् । ४।१।४९॥

एषामानुगागमः स्यात् ङीष् च । इन्द्रादीनां षण्णां मातुलाचार्ययोश्च पुंयोग एवेष्यते । तत्र ङीषि सिद्धे आनुगागममात्रं विधीयते । इतरेषां चतुर्णामुभयम् ॥ इन्द्राणी ॥ * हिमारण्ययोर्महत्त्वे *॥ महद्धिमं हिमानी । महदरण्यम् अरण्यानी ॥ * यवाद्दोषे * ॥ दुष्टो यवो यवानी । * यवनाल्लिप्याम् । यवनानां लिपिर्यवनानी ॥ * मातुलोपाध्याययोरानुग्वा * ॥ मातुलानी । मातुली । उपाध्यायानी ॥ उपाध्यायी ॥ * या तु स्वयमेवाध्यापिका तत्र वा ङीष् वाच्यः * ॥ उपाध्यायी । उपाध्याया ॥ आचार्यादणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यस्य स्त्री आचार्यानी । पुंयोग इत्येव । आचार्या स्वयं व्याख्यात्री ॥ अर्यक्षत्रियाभ्यां वा स्वार्थे * ॥ अर्याणी । अर्या । स्वामिनी वैश्या वेत्यर्थः । क्षत्रियाणी । क्षत्रिया । पुंयोगे तु । अर्यी । क्षत्रियी । कथं ब्रह्माणीति । ब्रह्माणमानयति जीवयतीति कर्मण्यण् ॥

505 The augment आनुक् is added to the Proper Nouns **इन्द्र, वरुण, भव, शर्व, रुद्र,** and **मृड**, and to the words **हिम** 'snow,' **अरण्य** 'a forest,' **यव** 'barley,' **यवन** 'a Yavana,' **मातुल** 'a maternal uncle,' and **आचार्य** 'a preceptor,' before the feminine affix **ङीष्**॥

The present sûtra teaches two things, the addition of the augment आनुक् (आन्) and secondly the feminine affix ङीष्॥ Out of the above words, in the case of those about which matrimonial relation is desired to be expressed, i e the Proper Nouns upto मृड, the present sûtra teaches only the addition of the augment आनुक्, for in their case, the affix ङीष् would follow by force of the preceding Sûtra. In the case of the remaining words, it teaches both these things

Thus इन्द्राणी the wife of Indra'

Vârt —Of the words हिम and अरण्य, there is the augment आनुक् in the sense of greatness Thus हिमानी 'a glacier, much snow,' अरण्यानी 'a great forest' Otherwise these words are always Neuter and never take feminine

Vârt —After the word यव 'barley' the feminine affix and the augment are added in the sense of fault The fault consists in its imitating barley while not being a barley In fact, the word denotes a new and inferior sort of grain Thus यवानी "a kind of grain, oat"

Vârt —After the word यवन, the affix and the augment are added in the sense of handwriting Thus यवनानी 'the written character of the Yavanas'

Vârt —Of the words मातुल 'a maternal uncle,' and उपाध्याय 'a preceptor,' when the feminine affix comes to express the wife there of, the augment आनुक् is optional Thus मातुलानी or मातुली 'the wife of a maternal uncle' उपाध्यायानी or उपाध्यायी 'the wife of a preceptor'

Vártika —But when the female herself is a teacher (not necessarily the wife of a teacher) then the addition of ङीष् is optional Thus उपाध्यायी or उपाध्याया

Várt —And there is not the change to the lingual ण् of the dental न् of the augment आनुक् (VIII 4 2 S 197), after the word आचार्य । Thus आचार्यानी or आचार्या 'the wife of a preceptor'

Várt —After the words अर्य and क्षत्रिय this rule applies optionally when the matrimonial relation is not intended, but the word retains its own sense Thus अर्याणी or अर्या 'the female of the Arya or Vaishya class,' क्षत्रियाणी or क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class' When matrimonial relation is to be expressed, then only ङीष is added As अर्यी 'the wife of a Vaishya,' क्षत्रियी 'the wife of a Kshatriya'

How do you explain the form ब्रह्माणी? It is derived from the derivative word ब्रह्माण by adding ङीप् The word ब्रह्माण is formed by adding the affix अण to the root अन् "to breathe" in the sense of object by III 2 1 S 2913, ब्रह्म + अन् + अण् = ब्रह्माण f ब्रह्माणी

५०६ । क्रीतात्करणपूर्वात् । ४ । १ । ५० ॥

क्रीतान्ताददन्तात्करणादेः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् । वस्त्रक्रीती । क्वचिन्न । धनक्रीता ॥

506 The affix ङीप is employed in the feminine after a compound word ending in क्रीत, the first member of the compound being the name of the means wherewith the thing is bought

The word करणपूर्वम् means that compound in which the करण or 'means' is the first member Thus वस्त्रक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for cloth' The word धनक्रीता is an exception, founded on the diversity allowed by कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् (II 1 32)

५०७ । क्तादल्पाख्यायाम् । ४ । १ । ५१ ॥

करणादेः क्तान्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यादल्पत्वे द्योत्ये । अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः ॥ अल्पाख्यायाम् किम् चन्दनानुलिप्ताङ्गना ॥

507 The affix ङीप् is employed after a compound Nominal-stem in which a name denoting "the means wherewith," is the first member, and the second member is a word formed by the Participle क्त, when the sense is that of 'a small quantity'

Thus अभ्रविलिप्ती द्यौः 'a sky covered slightly with clouds',

Why do we say when the sense is that of 'little'? Observe चन्दनलिप्ताङ्गना "a lady covered with sandal essence?"

Note —The word करण पूर्वात् 'preceded by a noun denoting 'the means wherewith', of the last Sûtra governs this also The participle in क्त must be preceded by a noun in the instrumental case, and the sense conveyed by क्त to the action should give the sense of 'little', in connection there with The अल्पाख्यायाम् of the sûtra qualifies the whole word

५०८ । बहुव्रीहेश्चान्तोदात्तात् । ४ । १ । ५२ ॥

बहुव्रीहेः क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ॥ * जातिपूर्वादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तेन बहुनञ्सुकालसुखादिपूर्वान्न । ऊरुभिन्नी । नेह । बहुकृता ॥ * जातान्तान्न * ॥ दन्तजाता । * पाणिगृहीती भार्यायाम् * ॥ पाणिगृहीतान्या ॥

508 The affix ङीष् is employed in the feminine after that Bahuvrîhi compound, which ending with a word formed by the affix क्त, has an acute accent on the last syllable

Note —The word क्तात् of the last aphorism governs this also This sûtra applies to those Bahuvrîhi compounds in which the first member is a *svânga* word But if the antecedent member is not a *svânga* word, then the application of the rule is optional

Vârt —It should be stated that the rule applies to those compounds only which have a word denoting jâti (class-name) as first member As ऊरुभिन्नी 'having a rent on the thigh' but not in 'बहुकृता' on account of the following *Vârtika* —

Vârt —Exception must be stated in the case of compounds, the antecedent member of which is any one of the following words —बहु, नञ्, सु, words denoting time, सुख &c. Thus बहुकृता, &c,

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated in the case of the participle जात 'born,' which is also acutely accented on the final Thus दन्तजाता 'a female who has cut her teeth'

Vârt—In the case of words पाणिगृहीती &c, the affix is employed in certain senses only Thus पाणिगृहीती 'a wife', (अग्निसाक्षिक यस्या पाणिर्गृह्यते), but पाणिगृहीता 'a woman whose hands have been taken, but not before the sacred fire, a concubine &c'

Note —Bahuvrîhi compounds get acute accent on the final syllable when they fall under the rules VI 2 170 and the following

५०९ । अस्वाङ्गपूर्वपदाद्वा । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वेण नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पोऽयम् । सुरापीती । सुरापीता । अन्तोदात्तात्किम् । वस्त्रच्छन्ना । अनाच्छादनादित्युदात्तत्वनिषेध । अत एव पूर्वेणापि न ङीष् ॥

509. The affix ङीष् is optionally employed in the

feminine after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in क्त, having acute accent on the final, the antecedent word not being a word denoting a part of the body.

The words अन्तोदात्तात् and क्तान्तात् govern this sûtra This aphorism lays down an option, where by the last aphorism, it would have been compulsory Thus सुरापीती or सुरापीता ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when the first member of the compound is not a *svânga* word'? Observe शङ्खभिन्नी, ऊरुभिन्नी which admit of only one form

Why do we say when the final is acutely accented? Observe वस्त्रच्छन्ना which is not acutely accented on the final (see VI 2 170), because the first member is a word denoting dress or आच्छादन, which is especially excepted from the scope of rule VI 2 170; and therefore it will not take ङीष् even by the preceding sûtra.

५१० । स्वाङ्गाच्चोपसर्जनादसंयोगोपधात् । ४ । १ । ५४ ॥

असंयोगोपधमुपसर्जनं यत्स्वाङ्गं तदन्तादकारान्तात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वा ङीष् । केशानतिक्रान्ता अतिकेशी । अतिकेशा । चन्द्रमुखी । चन्द्रमुखा । संयोगोपधात्तु सुगुल्फा । उपसर्जनात्किम् । शिखा । स्वाङ्गं त्रिधा ।

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् * ॥

सुस्वेदा द्रवत्वात् । सुज्ञाना अमूर्तत्वात् । सुमुखा शाला अप्राणिस्थत्वात् । सुशोफा विकारजत्वात् ॥

अतत्स्थं तत्र दृष्टं च * ॥

सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या । अप्राणिस्थस्यापि प्राणिनि दृष्टत्वात् ॥

तेन चेत्तत्तथा युतम् * ॥

सुस्तनी सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा प्राणिवत्प्राणिसदृश स्थितत्वात् ॥

510 And the feminine affix ङीष् comes optionally after what ends with the name of a part of the body, when the word is a subordinate member in a compound, and has not a conjunct for its penultimate letter (*i e* the final अ is not preceded by a double consonant)

Thus अतिकेशी or अतिकेशा, चन्द्रमुखी or चन्द्रमुखा ॥ The word अतिकेशा is a Tatpurusha compound meaning अतिक्रान्ता केशान् and केश is upasarjana by I 2 44.

Note —The *anuvritti* of the words बहुव्रीहेः, क्तान्तादन्तोदात्तात् does not extend to this aphorism But the anuvritti of the word वा 'optionally' does extend to this Sutra

Why do we say "subordinate in a compound"? Witness अशिखा "without crest" (where the शिखा is not subordinate or epithetical) Why

do we say "not having a conjunct for its penultimate letter"? Witness सुगुल्फा, सुपार्श्वा) ॥

The स्वाङ्ग which is of three sorts, has a technical meaning, as given in the following verse —

अद्रवं मूर्तिमत्स्वाङ्गं प्राणिस्थमविकारजम् ।
अतत्स्थं तत्र दृष्टं च तेन चेत् तत्तथायुतम् ॥

A word denoting a thing which (1) not being a fluid (अद्रव) is capable of being perceived by the senses, because of its having a form (मूर्तिमत्) is svanga, it must exist in a living being, (प्राणिस्थ), but not produced by a change from the natural state (अविकारज) (2) Or though found elsewhere actually (अतत्स्थ lit not actually there in the body) had previously been known as existing in only a living being (तत्र दृष्ट lit was seen in the body), (3) Or is found to have actually the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being तेन चेत् तत् तथा युतम् ॥

Thus of the first kind of Svânga, the counter-examples are सुस्वेदा "she who has good sweat' here "sweat" is "*liquid*" and so it is not a svânga, सुज्ञाना "who has good knowledge", here "knowledge" has no *form*, and so it is not a svânga, सुमुखा शाला "a hall having a good front," here मुख though lit "face," is applied to an inanimate object, and so is not svânga, so that the following is wrong फलमुखी वा रामुखी चानवस्था, similarly सुशोफा 'she who has a good deal of swelling or tumours' Here 'swelling" or "tumours" are not natural members of body but excrecences and hence it is not a svânga

Of the second kind of svânga words, the example is सुकेशी सुकेशा वा रथ्या "A chariot well cushioned with hair" Though chariot is a non living being yet hair is always found in a living being

Of the third kind of svânga, we have सुस्तनी or सुस्तना वा प्रतिमा "a statue having good breasts" Here the breasts have the same relation to the statue as they have in an animate being

५११ । नासिकोदरौष्ठजङ्घादन्तकर्णशृङ्गाच्च । ४ । १ । ५५ ॥

एभ्यो वा ङीष् स्यात् । 'अ' अयार्थब्रह्मलक्षणो निषेधो बाध्यते । पुरस्तादपवादन्यायात् । अष्टाङ्गीना पङ्क्तीनां तु असंयोगोपधात्रिति पर्युदास प्राप्त वचनम् । मध्येऽपवादन्यायात् । सहनञलक्षणस्तु प्रतिषेध परत्वादस्य बाधक । तुङ्गनासिका । तुङ्गनासिका इत्यादि । नेह । सहनासिका । अनासिका । अत्र वृत्ति ॥ अङ्गगात्रकण्ठेभ्यो वक्तव्यम् * ॥ स्वङ्गी स्वङ्गेत्यादि । एतच्चानुक्तसमुच्चयार्थेन चकारेण संग्राह्यमिति केचित् ॥ भाष्याद्यनुक्तत्वादप्रमाणमिति प्रामाणिका । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥ पुच्छाच्च * ॥ सुपुच्छी । सुपुच्छा ॥ कबरमणिविषशरेभ्यो नित्यम् * ॥ कबरं चित्रं पुच्छं यस्याः सा कबरपुच्छी मयूरी इत्यादि ॥ उपमानात्पक्षाच्च पुच्छाच्च * ॥ नित्यमित्येव । उलूकपक्षी शाला । उलूकपुच्छी सेना ॥

511 And the feminine ङीष् comes optionally after

compounds ending with नासिका 'a nose,' उदर 'belly,' ओष्ठ 'lip,' जङ्घा 'leg,' दन्त 'a tooth,' कर्ण 'ear,' and शृङ्ग 'horn'

The first two words नासिका and उदर are words of more than two syllables, and so would have been governed by the following sutra. This sûtra debars the application of IV. 1. 56, which follows it on the maxim पुरस्त "Apavâdas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the Apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules."

While the five words ओष्ठ &c, were excluded from the operation of the preceding sûtra by the incidental negation (paryudâsa) of असंयोगोपधात् ॥ This present sûtra makes an exception to that exception with regard to these five words. This is on the maxim मध्येऽपवादाः पूर्वान् विधीन् बाधन्ते नोत्तरान् "Apavâdas that are surrounded by the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the apavâda operations, supersede only those rules that PRECEDE not those that follow them." Therefore though the sûtras IV. 1. 54 and 56 are superseded by the present sûtra, not so the sûtra IV. 1. 57, which supersedes this because of its being *subsequent* but one.

Thus तुङ्गनासिकी or तुङ्गनासिका, &c, but we have only one form as सहनासिका, अनासिका by the operation of IV. 1. 57 S. 513.

In the opinion of Kâtyâyana, the affix ङीष् optionally comes after अङ्ग, गात्र, कण्ठ &c. Thus स्वङ्गी or स्वङ्गा &c.

According to others all this as well as that which is not mentioned here may be taken as read into the sûtra by the force of the connecting particle च ॥ While on the other hand those who are very particular about authority, say that we cannot do so, because these are not mentioned in the *Bhâsya*. Hence the following *Vartikas* :—

Vârt :—So also after the word पुच्छ 'tail'. As सुपुच्छा or सुपुच्छी ॥

Vârt.—The affix *ṅîsh* comes necessarily and not optionally after compounds of पुच्छ with कबर meaning variegated, picturesque मणि, विष and शर ॥ As, कबरपुच्छी 'a peahen' मणिपुच्छी, विषपुच्छी, 'a scorpion' and शरपुच्छी ॥

Vârt.—So also the feminine affix *ṅîsh* is necessarily employed after the words पक्ष and पुच्छ when used as a simile or as objects of comparison. As उलूकपक्षी सेना उलूकपुच्छी शाला ।

५१२ । न क्रोडादिबह्वचः । ४ । १ । ५६ ॥

क्रोडादेर्बह्वचश्च स्वाङ्गान्न ङीष् । कल्याणक्रोडा । अश्वानामुरः क्रोडा । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । सुजघना ॥

512. The feminine affix ङीष् does not come after

a Nominal-stem which denoting a part of the body, belongs to the class क्रोडा nor when the word is a stem of more than two syllables

क्रोडा means 'the breast of a horse' The krodâdi class is âkritigana So is also सुजघना which is a word of more than two syllables

Note —According to Ganaratnamahodadhi the word क्रोड without any gender is read in the Ganapâtha implying that examples can be given with all the three genders Mâdhava derives it from krud with घञ्, krodâ meaning the breast of a horse and according to him क्रोडा is read in Ganapâtha and it forms Bahuvrihi when it has the sense above given Otherwise as a general svânga word we have ङीष् as कल्याणक्रोडी मयूरी ॥

Note —The class क्रोड &c is akriti-gana, that is a class of words constituted by usage The following are some of the examples —As कल्याणक्रोणा, कल्याणखुरा, कल्याणोखा, कल्याण वाला, कल्याण शफा, कल्याण घाणा ॥ So also सुभगा, सुगला, &c Of the case where the word is polysyllabic, the examples are सुजघना, पृथुजघना, महाललाटा ॥ The word क्रोडा is feminine itself, and in the Bahuvrihi the feminine sign of the first member is elided by pungvad bhâva, and क्रोडा is shortened to क्रोड because it is an upasarjana (I 2 48)

५१३ । सहनञ्विद्यमानपूर्वाच्च । ४ । १ । ५७ ॥

सहेत्यादित्रिकपूर्वान्न ङीष् । सकेशा । अकेशा । विद्यमाननासिका ॥

513 The affix ङीष् does not come in the feminine after a Nominal-stem denoting a part of the body, when the word is subordinate in a compound, preceded by the word सह 'with', नञ् 'not', or विद्यमान 'having'

Thus सकेशा, अकेशा, विद्यमाननासिका ॥

Note —The last example shows, that the present rule governs also IV 1 55 *ante* as well as IV 1 54

५१४ । नखमुखात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ५८ ॥

ङीष् न स्यात् । शूर्पणखा । गौरमुखा । संज्ञायां किम् । ताम्रमुखी कन्या ॥

514 The feminine affix ङीष् is not employed after नख, and मुख, when (the word at the end of which they stand) is a Name

Thus शूर्प + नखा = शूर्पणखा, 'Sûrpanakhâ the sister of Râvana' The न् is changed to ण् by VIII 4 3 S 857 (पूर्वपदात् संज्ञायामगः) ॥ So also गौरमुखा, Why do we say 'when denoting a Name'? Witness ताम्रमुखी कन्या 'a copper-faced damsel'

५१५। दिक् पूर्वपदान् ङीप्। ४। १। ६०॥

दिक्पूर्वपदात्स्वाङ्गान्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्परस्य ङीषो ङीबादेशः स्यात्। प्राङ्मुखी। आद्युदात्तं पदम्॥

515 The feminine affix ङीप् replaces ङीष् after a Nominal stem denoting a part of the body which is preceded by a word signifying direction

Thus प्राँङ्मुखी॥ The accent here falls on the first syllable

Note —This aphorism over rules all the rules and prohibitions contained in sûtras 510 to 514 Whereever by those rules there would have been ङीष्, the present enjoins ङीप instead Though the form will be the same, the difference will be in the accent, the affix ङीप् being anudatta (III 1 4 S 3709) Thus प्राँङ्मुखी॥

५१६। वाह। ४। १। ६१॥

वाहन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात् ङीष स्यात्। ङीषेवानुवर्तते न ङीप्॥ दित्यवाट् च मे दित्यौही च मे॥

516 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending with the word वाह्॥

The anuvṛtti of ङीष् is to be taken in this aphorism and not that of ङीप, though the latter was nearer Thus दित्यवाट च मे दित्यौही च मे॥

Note —The word वह is formed from the root वह with the affix ण्वि (III 2, 64) The word वाह् is never found alone, but as ends of compounds, hence we apply the rule of *tadanta*, and have translated it by saying a "word ending in vâh" Thus दित्यौही 'sustaining the demon' This form is thus evolved — दित्य+वाह्+ङीष्=दित्य+ ऊह्+आह्+ङीष (VI 4 132 वाह ऊट्, Uth is the samprasârana of vâh, when this is a *bha*)=दित्य+ऊह्+ङीष् (VI 1 108) सम्प्रसारणाच्च after a samprasârana if a vowel follow, the form of the prior is the single substitute'),= दित्यौही (VI I 89 S 73 एत्येधत्यूठ्सु vriddhi is the single substitute when *eti*, *edhati* or ûth follow') Similarly प्रष्ठौही 'a young heifer training for the plough'

५१७। सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम्। ४। १। ६२॥

इतिशब्दः प्रकारे भाषायामित्यस्यानन्तरं द्रष्टव्य। छन्दस्यपि क्वचित्। सखी। अशिश्वी। आधेनवो धुनयन्तामशिश्वी॥

517 The form सखी 'a female companion" and अशिश्वी "a childless woman," are irregular forms ending in ङीष् found in secular (or vernacular as opposed to Vaidic) Sanskrit

The word इति in the sûtra has the force of प्रकार 'thus" its syntacti-

cal position is after भाषायाम् ॥ Therefore we find sometime such use in the vaidic literature also

Note —Thus सखाय मे ब्राह्मणी, and नास्या शिशुरस्तीति=अशिश्वी ॥ Why do we say in vernacular Sanskrit? Observe सखासप्तपदी भव and अशिशुमत्र मामयं शिशुरभिमन्यते ॥

Sometimes we find these forms in the Vedas also, though rarely, as धापेनवो धुनयन्तामाशिश्वी ॥ सखी सप्तपदी भव ॥

५१८ । जातेरस्त्रीविषयादयोपधात् । ४ । १ । ६३ ॥

जातिवाचि यत्र च स्त्रियां नियतमयोपधं ततः स्त्रियां ङीष् स्यात् ।

आकृतिग्रहणा जातिः * ॥

अनुगतसंस्थानव्यङ्ग्येत्यर्थः । तटी ॥

लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ॥

सकृदाख्यातनिर्ग्राह्या * ॥

असर्वलिङ्गत्वे सत्येकस्यां व्यक्तौ कथनाद्व्यक्त्यन्तरे कथनं विनापि सुग्रहा जातिरिति लक्षणान्तरम् । वृषली । सत्यन्त किम् । शुक्ला । सकृदित्यादि किम् । देवदत्ता ॥

गोत्रं च चरणैः सह * ॥

अपत्यप्रत्ययान्तः शाखाध्येतृवाची च शब्दा जातिकार्यं लभत इत्यर्थः । औपगवी । कठी । बह्वृची । ब्राह्मणीत्यत्र तु शार्ङ्गरवादिपाठात् ङीनो ङीष बाध्यते । जातेः किम् । मुण्डा । अस्त्रीविषयात्किम् । बलाका । अयोपधात्किम् । क्षत्रिया ॥ योपधप्रतिषेधे हयगवयमुकयमनुष्यमत्स्यानामप्रतिषेध * ॥ हयी । गवयी । मुकयी । हलस्तद्धितस्येति यलोपः । मानुषी । मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम् ° ॥ मत्सी ।

518 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a word denoting a jâti or species, when it does not express in its original meaning a feminine, and which moreover has not the letter य् for its penultimate

The word जाति is thus defined —

आकृति ग्रहणा जातिर्लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् ।
सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या गोत्रं च चरणैः सह ॥

(This verse is split up into three parts by Bhattoji and thus explained) आकृतिग्रहणाजाति whatever is distinguishable from another (*species*) on account of its possessing certain form or figure (common to individuals of that class) is a jâti Or a jâti noun is that which expresses a distinguishing feature Thus तटी 'a bank, a place near the river' But —(2) लिङ्गानां च न सर्वभाक् "Provided that it is not a word used in all genders" (for then it will be a genus and not *species*), सकृदाख्यात निर्ग्राह्या, but though not used in all genders, yet while employed to denote a single individual and therefore in singular number, it will apply to other individuals of the class without their being

specially mentioned Such a word would also be jati Thus वृषली "a low caste woman," which implies her sons, brothers &c Why do we say not having all genders? Observe शुक्ला॥ Why do we say "singly used implying others"? Observe स्वसृता (3) गोत्रं च चरणैः सह "A word denoting Gotra descendant denoted by a grammatical affix and charan (or school) is also a jâti word" That is to say, a word formed with a Patronymic affix, and expressive of a person belonging to a particular branch of Vedic school who studies a particular portion of the Vedas As औपगवी, कठी बह्वृचा॥ In ब्राह्मणा the ङीष is debarred by ङीन् as it is read in sarngaravadi class (IV 1 73)

Why do we say "expressive of jâti"? Observe मुण्डा 'shaven' (where the word expresses not a jâti but a quality) Why do we say "not invariably feminine"? Witness बलाका 'a mistress, a beloved woman' Why do we say "not having the letter य् for its penultimate?" Witness क्षत्रिया 'a female of the Kshatriya class'

Vârt —In excluding words that have the letter य as penultimate, there is not involved the exclusion of the following words (which have a penultimate य्) *viz*, गवय 'the Bos Caveans,' हय 'horse,' मुकय 'a sort of animal' मत्स्य 'a fish,' and मनुष्य 'a man' Thus गवयी हयी मनुषी (VI 4. 150 S 472 हलस्तद्धितस्य 'there is elision of the य of a taddhita affix coming after a consonant when long ई follows') मत्सी॥ The य of *Matsya* is elided by the vârtika 'मत्स्यस्य ङ्याम्'॥ See also VI 4 149 S 499 All these words are also included in the class गौरादि (IV 1 41 S 498) and would have taken ङीष् independently of this vârtika

Note —The Loukika Gotra should not be confounded with the Grammatical Gotra Charana is one who studies a particular shakha of a Veda Some explain however, that the word Gotra here means the Loukika Gotra of Clans The above examples of कठी meaning "a woman who reads the Veda as belonging to the Katha Shakhâ" and बह्वृची "a woman who must read Rik verses," show that women were not debarred from the study of *Vedas* even in Panini s time The present day prohibition is of recent origin, not more than a thousand years or so For we read —

पुरा कल्पेषु नारीणां मौञ्जीबन्धनमिष्यते ।
अध्यापनं च वेदानां सावित्रीवचनं तथा ॥

"In ancient times women were invested with the sacred thread and girdle of a Brahmacharin and they were taught the Vedas and the Gayatri"

५१९ । पाककर्णपर्णपुष्पफलमूलवालोत्तरपदाच्च । ४ । १ । ६४ ॥

पाकाद्युत्तरपदाज्जातिवाचिनः स्त्रीविषयादपि ङीष् स्यात् । ओदनपाकी । शङ्कुकर्णी ॥ शालपर्णी । शङ्खपुष्पी । दासीफली । दर्भमूली । गोवाली । ओषधिविशेषे रूढा एते ॥

519 And the feminine affix ङीष् comes after the Nominal-stem expressive of jâti, followed by the following पाक 'cooked,' कर्ण 'ear,' पर्ण 'leaf,' पुष्प 'flower,' फल 'fruit,' मूल 'root,' and वाल youth'

Here the affix applies to words which in their original sense denoted females, and, therefore, were not provided by the last sûtra Thus ओदनपाकी शङ्कुकर्णी, शालपर्णी शङ्खपुष्पी, दासीफली, दर्भमूली, and गोवाली all these are rudhî words expressing medicinal herbs

When, however, the affix ङीष् is not intended to be applied to compounds ending with फल, पुष्प, and मूल, then those compounds will fall under Ajâdi class (IV 1 4 S 454, such as सफला, भस्त्रफला, सत्पुष्पा, अमूला &c

५२० । इतो मनुष्यजाते । ४ । १ । ६५ ।

ङीष् स्यात्। दाक्षी । योपधादपि । उदमेयस्यापत्यं औदमेयी। मनुष्येति किम। तित्तिरि ॥

520 The feminine affix ङीष् comes after a Nominal-stem ending in short इ denoting classes or races of men

Thus अवन्ती 'women of Avanti,' कुन्ती 'women of Kunti,' दाक्षी 'Dâkshi.' Thus अवन्ति + ञ्यङ् (IV 1 171 S 1189) 'आवन्त्य men of Avanti' In the feminine this affix by IV 1 176 S 1195 is elided दाक्षी "the female descendant of Daksha" Why do we say "ending in short इ'? Witness विट् 'Vaishya,' दरत् 'Darat' Why do we say "of men'? Witness तित्तिरि 'partridge'

Though the anuvritti of the word जाति could have been read into this aphorism from IV 1 63, S 518 its repetition here indicates that ङीष् is to be applied even when the penultimate letter is य Thus औदमेयी ॥

Vârt —This rule applies to words ending in the taddhita affix इञ् (IV 2 80 S 1292) though they do not denote a *jati* Thus सौतङ्गमी, मौनचित्ती ॥ The affix इञ् here referred to is the quadruply significant affix taught in IV 2 80 S 1292 and ordained to come after सुतङ्गम &c, and does not denote a jâti

५२१ । ऊङुत । ४ । १ । ६६ ॥

उकारान्तादयोपधान्मनुष्यजातिवाचिन स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कुरू ॥ कुरुनादिभ्यो ण्य ॥ तस्य स्त्रियामवन्तीत्यादिना लुक् । अयोपधात्किम् । अध्वर्यु ॥ अप्राणिजातेश्चारज्ज्वादीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ रज्ज्वादिपर्युदासादुवर्णान्तेभ्य एव । अलाबू । कर्कन्धू । अनयोर्दीर्घान्तत्वेऽपि नाङ्धात्वोरिति त्वभत्त्वसूत्रे प्रतिषेध ऊङ फलम् ॥ प्राणिजातेस्तु कृकवाकु । रज्ज्वादेस्तु रज्जु । हनु ॥

521 After a nominal-stem ending in short उ not having the letter य as its penultimate letter, and being expressive of races of men, the affix in the feminine is ऊङ्.

The anuvritti of the words मनुष्यजाति and अयोपधात् should be read into the sûtra to complete it Thus कुरू 'a female of the country of the Kurus,' ब्रह्मबन्धू "a Brahmani of the class of the fallen Brahmans so called," जीवबन्धू : "a woman of the Jivabandhu class"

Thus कुरु+ण्य=कौरव्य' IV 1 172, S 1190 and this affix is elided by IV 1 176 S 1195 in the feminine

Note —The long ऊ is taught to debar the affix कप्, for a short उ would have also given the form कुरू (कुरु+उ=कुरू) ॥ The long ऊ therefore, indicates that the affix कप्, enjoined by V 4 154, S 891 in Bahuvrihis will not apply in the feminine forms ब्रह्मबधू and the like, by the rule of vipratishedha

The indicatory letter ङ् in ऊङ् is to distinguish this affix in Sutras like नोङ् धात्वो (VI 1 175 S 3721), for had the affix been enunciated merely as ऊ, then the Sûtra VI 1 175 S 3721 would have run as नो धात्वो and the sense would have been ambignous, for we could not have known what affix was partcularly meant there Thus in ब्रह्मबन्ध्वा we could not have known the accent

Why do we say "not having the letter य as its penultimate"? Witness अध्वर्युर्ब्राह्मणी 'a woman versed in the Yajur Veda'

Vârt —The affix ऊङ् comes under similar conditions afterwords denoting non animate jâti, except the words रज्जु &c Thus अलाबू 'the bottlegourd', कर्कन्धू 'the jujube tree' Though these two words have ऊ in the masculine also, yet the addition of another long ऊ in the feminine indicates the difference of *accent*, though not of form, as अलाब्वा and कर्कन्ध्वा are svarita accented on the final by VI 1 175 S 3721 Why do we say "non-animate"? Witness कृकवाकु 'a kind of lizard' Why do we say "except the word rajju &c" Witness रज्जु 'rope', हनुः cheek' &c The example अलाब्वा is Instrumental singular, and it is here that the rule of accent can be illustrated, and not in the Nominative or Accusative

५२२ । बाह्वन्तात्संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । भद्रबाहू । संज्ञायां किम् । वृत्तबाहू' ॥

522 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name after a Nominal-stem ending with the word बाहु ॥

भद्रबाहू 'Bhâdrabâhû' Why do we say in "expressing a Name"? Observe वृत्तबाहू 'a woman having rounded arms,' which is an attributive word In other words, when the compound is a name, बाहु takes long ऊ in the feminine

५२३ । पङ्गोश्च । ४ । १ । ६८ ॥

पङ्गूः । श्वशुरस्योकाराकारलोपश्च * ॥ चादूङ् । पुंयोगलक्षणस्य ङीषोऽपवादः । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्वादयः । श्वश्रूः ।

523 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after the word पङ्गु 'lame

As पङ्गूः 'a female lame'

Vârt —The feminine affix ऊङ् is added to श्वशुर, and thereby there is elision of the letter उ and of the letter अ of the word As श्वश्रूः 'mother-in law' This debars the punyoga ङीष् of IV 1 48 S 504 The case affixes are added to the base श्वश्रू on the maxim प्रातिपदिक ॥ &c see IV 1 1 S 182.

५२४ । ऊरूत्तरपदादौपम्ये । ४ १ । ६९ ॥

उपमानवाचिपूर्वपदमूरूत्तरपदं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तस्मादूङ् स्यात् । । करभोरूः ॥

524 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes after a stem ending in ऊरु when comparison with something (expressed by the first term) is meant

Thus करभोरूः 'a female ' ʰh thighs like the ulnar or tapering fleshy side of the hand'

Why do we say "when expressing an object of comparison"? Witness वृत्तोरूः स्त्री "a woman with round thighs' The word करेणुकरोरु "thigh like the proboscis (कर) of an elephant (करेणु)" is a poetic irregularity in the following विच्चकरे च करेणुकरोरुभिः ॥

५२५ । संहितशफलक्षणवामादेश्च । ४ । १ । ७० ॥

अनौपम्यार्थं सूत्रम् । संहितोरूः । सैव शफोरूः । शफौ खुरौ ताविव संश्लिष्टत्वादुपचारात् । लक्षणशब्दादर्शआद्यच् । लक्षणोरूः । वामोरूः ॥ सहितसहाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ हितेन सह सहितौ ऊरू यस्याः सा सहितोरूः । सहेते इति सहौ ऊरू यस्याः सा सहोरूः । यद्वा । विद्यमानवचनस्य सहशब्दस्य ऊर्वतिशयप्रतिपादनाय प्रयोगः ॥

525 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in the Vedas after the word ऊरु when the words संहित 'accompanied or joined', शफ 'a hoof', लक्षण 'a mark,' and वाम 'handsome' precede it

This aphorism applies, when no comparison is intended As संहितोरूः 'a female whose thighs are joined (e g from obesity)' शफोरूः 'whose thighs are put together like the two hoofs on a cows foot" लक्षणोरूः 'whose thighs are marked,' वामोरूः 'with handsome thighs' The word lakshana here is a Taddhita formed word meaning "she who has the mark" The affix अच् is added to lakshana by its belonging to अर्शआदि class V 2, 129 S 1933

Vârt —So also with the words सहित and सह ॥ As सहितोरू and सहोरू ॥ The word सह here has the force of denoting largeness or excessiveness' though it literally means mere existence

५२६ । संज्ञायाम् । ४ । १ । ७२ ॥

कद्रुकम० न्योः संज्ञायां स्त्रियामूङ् स्यात् । कद्रू । कमण्डलू । संज्ञायां किम् । कद्रुः कमण्डलुः । अच्छन्दोर्थं वचनम् ॥

526 The feminine affix ऊङ् comes in denoting a Name, after the word कद्रु and कमण्डलु ॥

This rule applies to other than Vaidic forms Thus कद्रू 'a female named Kadrû wife of Kâśyapa,' कमण्डलू 'Kamandalû' Why do we say "in denoting a Name"? Observe कद्रु 'the tawny color' कमण्डलु 'a water-gourd'

५२७ । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञो ङीन् । ४ । १ । ७३ ॥

शार्ङ्गरवादेरञो योऽकारस्तदन्ताच्च जातिवाचिनो ङीन् स्यात् । शार्ङ्गरवी । बैदी । जातेरित्यनुवृत्तेः पुयोगे ङीषेव । नृनरयोर्वृद्धिश्चेति गणसूत्रम् । नारी ॥

527 The feminine affix ङीन् comes after the words शार्ङ्गरवा and the rest, and that which ends with the affix अञ् ॥

Thus शार्ङ्गरवी 'a Sârngrava woman' So also after a word formed with the affix अञ् as, बैदी 'a female descendant of Bida.' This sûtra applies to words expressing jâti or kind In other words, this aphorism debars the affix ङीष् of IV 1 63 S 518 &c, where it came after jâti-vâchaka words, but it does not debar that ङीष् which is employed in describing the relation of wife, such as, the ङीष् of IV 1 48 S 504.

The नृ would have taken ङीप् by IV 1 5 S 306 and नर would have taken ङीष् as it denotes a jâti These words take vriddhi before ङीन्, the form being नारी in both cases This is by force of the sûtra नृनरयो &c read in the following list Such sûtras are called gana-sûtras

The following is a list of Sârngaravâdi class words —

1 शार्ङ्गरव, 2 कापटव, 3 गौग्गुलव, 4 ब्राह्मण, 5 बैद, 6 गौतम ॥ These words are formed by the affix अण्, the first four being formed by the अण् of (IV 1 83 S 1073) from शृङ्गर, कपटु, गुग्गुलु and ब्रह्मन्, the word गौतम is formed from गोतम by the अण् of IV 1 114 This word is also included in Gaurâdi class IV 1 41 S 498 7 कामण्डलेय, 8 ब्राह्मणकृतेय, 9 आनिचेय, 10 आनिधेय, 11 आशोकेय ॥ These are formed by ढक् (IV 1 123 S 1126) except kâmandaleya which is formed by ढञ् (IV 1 135 S 1141) 12 वात्स्यायन, 13 मौञ्जायन ॥ Thes are formed by फक् of IV 1 101 S 1103 and IV 1 99,

S 1101 and denote castes or Gotra 14 कैकसेय is also formed by ढक् (IV 1 123 S 1126) 15 काव्य, 16 शैव्य are formed by ष्यङ् (IV 1 171 S 1189) 17 एहि, 18 पर्येहि are formed by इन् added to आ+इह् 'to try', and परि+आ+इह् (Un IV 117 सर्वधातुभ्य इन्) 19 आसुरेय is formed by यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) 20 औदपान is formed by अण् (IV 3 76 S 1455) 21 अराल, 22 चण्डाल, 23 वतण्ड are jâti words 24 भोगवत्, 25 गौरिमत् ॥ These take ङीन् when denoting a Name These words are formed by the affix मतुप्, and are consequently उगित्, and should have taken ङीप् (IV 1 6 S 455) This ordains ङीन् ॥

५२८ । यङश्चाप् । ४ । १ । ७४ ॥

यङन्तात् स्त्रियां चाप् स्यात् । यङ इति ष्यङ्ष्यञोः सामान्यग्रहणम् । आम्बष्ठ्या । कारीषगन्ध्या ॥ षाद्यञश्चाप् वाच्य * ॥ पौतिमाष्या ॥

528 The feminine affix चाप् comes after a stem which is formed by the affix ष्यङ् or ष्यञ् (with final acute VI 1 163)

The affix यङ् here denotes and includes both the affixes ष्यङ् (as taught in IV 1 171 S 1189 and ष्यञ् (IV 1 78 S 1198) as it is common element of both Thus आम्बष्ठ्या a woman of the race of Ambashṭhya'

Similarly ष्यङ् formed words, as, कारीषगन्ध्या, &c

Vart —The affix चाप् comes in the feminine after a word ending with the affix यञ् when the letter ष् immediately precedes such yañ As शार्कराक्ष्या 'a female descendant of Śarkarâksha,' पौतिमाष्या 'a female descendant of Pûtimâshya'

५२९ । आवट्याच्च । ४ । १ । ७५ ॥

अस्माच्चाप् स्यात् । यञन्तेति । ङीपोऽपवाद । अवटशब्दो गर्गादि । आवट्या ॥

529 And the feminine affix चाप comes after the word अवट्य ॥

The word अवट belongs to Gargâdi class (IV 1 105 S 1107) which after taking यञ्, would have taken ङीप् (IV 1 16 S 471) Thus आवट्या 'a female descendant of Avaṭa'

५३० । तद्धिता । ४ । १ । ७६ ॥

आपञ्चमसमाप्तेरधिकारोऽयम् ॥

530 The Taddhita-affixes are treated of here after

This is an adhikâra or governing sûtra Up to the end of the Fifth Book of Pânini, all the affixes that will be taught, are to be understood to have the name of Taddhita

Note —Thus the affix ति taught in the very next sutra As युवति The word so formed is called Pratipadika The word तद्धिता is in the plural number, and not exhibited in the singular, like the word प्रत्यय (III 1 1 S 180) &c and it, therefore, indicates that it includes also affixes which are not especially taught in this book Such as पृथिव्य आञो ॥ अग्रादि पश्चाड् डिमच् ॥ As पार्थिव अग्रिम, आदिम पश्चिम ॥ See Vart IV 3 23 The word Taddhita is used in Sutras like कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्च I 2 46

५३१ । यूनस्ति । ४ । १ । ७७ ॥

युवन्शब्दात्तिप्रत्यय स्यात्स च तद्धित । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया सिद्धे तद्धिताधिकार उत्तरार्थः । युवति । अनुपसर्जनादित्येव । बहवो युवानो यस्या सा बहुयुवा । युवतीति तु यौते शत्रन्तान् ङीपि बोध्यम् ॥

531 The feminine affix ति comes after the Nominal-stem युवन् and this affix gets the name of Taddhita

As युवति 'a young maid' By IV 1 5 S 306 ङीप् would have been otherwise employed, the present sûtra debars it The word युवति ending in इ does not take the affix ङीष् of IV 1 65, S 520 for the affix ति its elf is a feminine making affix though a Taddhita or the word युवन् may be regarded as a non-jâti word and hence IV 1 65 S 520 would not apply But when upasarjana we get the form बहुयुवा "a city containing many youths" The form युवती is by ङीप् added to the Present Participle युवत् ॥ and is a different word altogether

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अथ कारकादिविभक्ति प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVI

THE KÂRAKAS

५३२ । प्रातिपदिकार्थलिङ्गपरिमाणवचनमात्रे प्रथमा । २ । ३ । ४६ ॥

नियतोपस्थितिकः प्रातिपदिकार्थः । मात्रशब्दस्य प्रत्येकं योगः । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे लिङ्गमात्राधिक्ये परिमाणमात्रे सङ्ख्यामात्रे च प्रथमा स्यात् । उच्चैः । नीचैः । कृष्णः । श्रीः । ज्ञानम् । अलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गाश्च प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इत्यस्योदाहरणम् । अनियतलिङ्गास्तु लिङ्गमात्राधिक्यस्य । तटः । तटी । तटम् । परिमाणमात्रे, द्रोणो व्रीहिः । द्रोणरूपं यत्परिमाणं तत्परिच्छिन्नो व्रीहिरित्यर्थः । प्रत्ययार्थे परिमाणे प्रकृत्यर्थोऽभेदेन संसर्गेण विशेषणम् । प्रत्ययार्थस्तु परिच्छेद्यपरिच्छेदकभावेन व्रीहौ विशेषणमिति विवेकः । वचनं सङ्ख्या । एकः । द्वौ । बहवः । इहोक्तार्थत्वाद्विभक्तेरप्राप्तौ वचनम् ॥

532 Where the sense is that of the Crude form (I 2 45 S 178) or where there is the additional sense of gender only, or measure only or number only, the first case-affix is employed

By the word "prâtipadikârtha" (sense of the crude form) is meant that meaning or connotation which is invariably present with the word The word mâtra "only" is to be taken in connection with each term severally in the sûtra

Thus—where the sense is only that of the Prâtipadika—उच्चैः "aloft," नीचैः "below," कृष्णः Krishna, श्रीः Srî, ज्ञानम् "knowledge"

These words have either no gender (as uchchais &c) or a fixed constant gender, having no corresponding opposite gender, as Krishna &c

While the words which have no fixed gender, will in addition to their own sense, denote gender also As तटः, तटी or तटम् "the (river) bank"

Where there is the additional sense of measure, we have द्रोणो व्रीहिः "rice of the measure of a Drona"—which means that quantity of rice whose measure is that of a Drona. Now "Drona" by itself denotes measure, the Nominative affix सु is added to it in the sense of measure—the latter has a *general* sense of measure, the first is a particular kind of measure The two—the base and the affix—have been united together in denoting an indivisible single thing, where the sense of the *base* (Drona) qualifies (limits) the general sense of the affix (su) But though the force of the affix सु after व्रीहि is also that of measure—yet here the connection between the base and the affix is not abheda sansarga, as it was in the case of drona and su but on the

contrary, in the case of vrîhi and su, the sense of the *affix* qualifies or limits the general sense of the base vrîhi, it is the Divider of a particular quantity out of a big mass—the relation between the affix and the base here being that of parichchhedaka (measurer) and parichchhedya (measurable,

The word "vachana' means number, as एक one, द्वौ two, बहव many

The terms dvitiyâ &c, are technical phraseology of older grammarians, and hence not defined by Pânini, they apply to the triads of सुप् affixes. कट करोति 'he makes the mat,' ग्राम गच्छति 'he goes to the village'.

५३३ । सबोधने च । २ । ३ । ४७ ॥

इह प्रथमा स्यात् । हे राम ॥

533 And when the sense is that of addressing the first case-affix is employed

Thus हे राम O Râma

——o——

५३४ । कारके । १ । ४ । २३ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

534 The phrase 'kâraka' (meaning 'in the special relation to a word expressing an action') is to be understood in the following aphorisms.

Note —Any thing that helps towards the accomplishment of an action is a kâraka Thus in 'cooking,' the fire, the furnace, the vessel, the cook are all helpers in the accomplishment of the action Thus 'Rama cooks food in a vessel, by the fire from the furnace for his master' Here Rama is agent kâraka, 'food' is object kâraka, 'vessel' is a locative karaka, fire is an instrumental kâraka, 'furnace' is the ablative kâraka and 'master' is the dative kâraka

The word 'kâraka' thus is synonymous with the word cause (hetu) and occasion (nimitta) All the various causes and occasions that are required to complete an action will be kârakas Out of the seven cases in which a Sanskrit noun is declined, six represent such relation with an action The Genitive or the sixth case can never be directly related with an action, and thus can never stand in the relation of a kâraka to a verb

५३५ । कर्तुरीप्सिततम कर्म । १ । ४ । ४९ ॥

कर्तु क्रियया आप्तुमिष्टतम कारक कर्मसज्ञ स्यात् । कर्तु किम । माषेष्वश्व बध्नाति । कर्मण ईप्सिता माषा नतु कर्तु । तमब्ग्रहण किम् । पयसा ओदन भुङ्क्ते । कर्मेत्यनुवृत्तौ पुन कर्मग्रहणमाधारनिवृत्त्यर्थम । अन्यथा गेह प्रविशतीत्यत्र न स्यात् ॥

535 That which it is intended should be most affected by the act of the agent is called the object or karma

That which especially desired by the agent to be accomplished by the action is called karma As कटं करोति "He makes the mat" ग्रामं गच्छति "he goes to the village" Why do we say "desired by the agent"? Observe माषेष्वश्वं बध्नाति "he ties the horse in the gram field" Here gram is no doubt most desired by the horse, but as horse is not the agent of the verb, the word माष takes the locative case Why do we use the word "most"? Observe पयसौदनं भुङ्क्ते "he eats the food along with the milk" Here milk is no doubt desired by the agent, but not being the principal object desired, it takes the Instrumental case

Though the word कर्म was understood in this sûtra by anuvritti from the sûtra I 4 46 S 542 the repetition of this word here is to indicate that the anuvṛitti of the word âdhâra does not extend to this sûtra, because we do not take the anuvṛitti of any word of the previous sûtra into this. Had we taken the anuvṛitti of the word karma from the last sûtra, then we could use the accusative case in those limited instances, where the word is capable of taking the Locative case also, but not in other cases Thus while we could very well say गेहं प्रविशति "he enters the house," we could not say ओदनं पचति "he cooks the food," सक्तून् पिबति "he drinks saktu" By repeating the word in this sûtra, such examples become valid everywhere The karma-karaka takes the second case-affix

५३६ । अनभिहिते । २ । ३ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

536 The word 'anabhihite' meaning 'not being specified' is to be understood as the governing word in the following sûtras

Note —Whatever will be taught from this point forward, should be understood to apply to those cases which have not been specified otherwise The case-affixes like those denoting 'object' 'instrument' &c, are applied to a noun only then when the force of the case affix is not otherwise denoted or mentioned by the voice of the verb, or by a Taddhita affix &c

५३७ । कर्मणि द्वितीया । २ । ३ । २ ॥

अनुक्ते कर्मणि द्वितीया स्यात् । हरिं भजति । अभिहिते तु कर्मणि प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्र इति प्रथमैव । अभिधानं तु प्रायेण तिङ्कृत्तद्धितसमासैः । तिङ् हरिः सेव्यते । कृत् लक्ष्म्या सेवितः । तद्धितः, शतेन क्रीतः शत्यः । समासः प्राप्त आनन्दो यं स प्राप्तानन्दः । क्वचिन्निपातेनाभिधानं यथा । विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम् । साम्प्रतमित्यस्य हि युज्यत इत्यर्थः ॥

537 When the object is not denoted by the termination of the verb, &c i e when the verb &c does not agree with it, the second case-affix is attached to the word

Thus हरिं भजति "he worships Hari", But when the karma relation is specified by the verb &c, then the word will take the affix of the first case by the general rule II 3 64

The force of a case affix is generally denoted either by *first* the conjugational affixes तिङ्, *secondly*, by the Primary affixes or कृत्, *thirdly*, by the secondary affixes तद्धित, or *lastly* by compounds (Thus this sutra declares that the second case affix is applied in denoting the object, as कटं करोति 'he makes the mat' ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village') But the object can be denoted otherwise Thus by the passive conjugational affix, as हरिः सेव्यते "Hari is served" Here the termination of the verb denotes the object See sutra I 3 13 and III 4 69 S 2679 and 2152 So also by the krit affix, as लक्ष्म्या सेवितः "served by Lakshmi" sûtra III 4 70 S 2833 So also by a Taddhita affix as शत्यः or शतिकः meaning 'purchased with a hundred'=शतेन क्रीतः Similarly by samâsa, as प्राप्त आनन्दोयं प्राप्तानन्दः "Whom happiness has reached"

Sometime the case relation may be shown by a preposition or Nipâta as विषवृक्षोऽपि संवर्द्ध्य स्वयं छेत्तुमसाम्प्रतम्॥ Here विषवृक्ष is equal to विषवृक्षम्॥ साम्प्रतम् means, "is proper" It is not proper to cut himself the poison tree that one has grown

५३८। तथायुक्तं चानीप्सितम्। १। ४। ५०॥

ईप्सिततमवत्क्रियया युक्तं नाप्सितमपि कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात्। ग्रामं गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति। ओदनं भुञ्जानो विषं भुङ्क्ते॥

538 If that which is not intended to be most affected by the act, becomes, however, similarly connected with the action, it also is called karma

That which is not desired by the agent is anîpsita or object of aversion Thus ओदनं बुभुक्षुः विषं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats poison while he was hungrying for rice" ग्रामम् गच्छन् तृणं स्पृशति going to the village, he touches the grass"

Here विषं and तृणं are in the Accusative case or karma karaka, though they certainly are not the things *desired* by the agent but as they are *similarly* connected with the action, as the most desired things 'rice' and 'village,' so they also take the accusative case

५३९। अकथितं च। १। ४। ५१॥

अपादानाद्यविशेषैरविवक्षितं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् ।
दुह्याच्पच्दण्ड्रुधिप्रच्छिचिब्रूशासुजिमथ्मुषाम् ।
कर्मयुक् स्यादकथितं तथा स्यान्नीहृकृष्वहाम् ।

दुहादीनां द्वादशानां तथा नीप्रभृतीनां चतुर्णां कर्मणा यद्युज्यते तदेवाकथितं कर्मेति परिगणनं कर्तव्यमित्यर्थः । गां दोग्धि पयः । बलिं याचते वसुधाम् । अविनीतं विनयं याचते । तण्डुलानोदनं पचति । गर्गान् शतं दण्डयति । व्रजमवरुणद्धि गाम् । माणवकं पन्थानं पृच्छति । वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि । माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा । शतं जयति देवदत्तम् । सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति । देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति । ग्राममजां नयति हरति कर्षति वहति वा ।

अर्थनिबन्धनेयं संज्ञा । बलिं भिक्षते वसुधाम् । माणवकं धर्मं भाषते अभिधत्ते वक्तीत्यादि । कारकं किम् । माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति ॥

अकर्मकधातुभिर्योगे देशः कालो भावो गन्तव्योऽध्वा च कर्मसंज्ञक इति वाच्यम् * ॥ कुरून् स्वपिति । मासमास्ते । गोदोहमास्ते । क्रोशमास्ते ॥

539 And that kâraka which is not spoken of as coming under any one of the special relations of ablation &c , is also called karma

Kârikâ —In the case of the twelve roots दुह् 'to milk' याच् 'to beg,' पच् 'to cook,' दण्ड् 'to punish,' रुध् 'to obstruct or confine' प्रच्छ 'to ask,' चि 'to collect' ब्रू 'to tell,' शास् 'to instruct' जि 'to win' (as a prize of wager) मन्थ् 'to churn' मुष् 'to steal,' and also in the case of the four verbs नी हृ, कृष, and वह् all meaning 'to take or carry' and others having the same signification that noun which, besides the direct object, is affected by the verb, is put in the Accusative case

As, गां दोग्धि पयः 'he milks the cow' बलिं याचते वसुधां 'He begs the earth of Bali', अविनीतं विनयं याचते "he supplicates for tolerance from the intolerant," similarly तंडुलानोदनं पचति, "He cooks the raw rice into boiled rice" गर्गान् शतंदण्डयति, "He fines the Gargas a hundred pieces money" व्रजमवरुणद्धि गा "He shuts up the cow (in) the cow pen" माणवकं पंथानं पृच्छति, "He asks the boy (which is) the road" वृक्षमवचिनोति फलानि, "He gathers fruits from the tree" माणवकं धर्मं ब्रूते शास्ति वा "He expounds Dharma to the boy or teaches him Dharma" शतं जयति देवदत्तं, "He wins hundred from Devadatta" सुधां क्षीरनिधिं मथ्नाति, "He churns out ambrosia from the ocean of milk" देवदत्तं शतं मुष्णाति, "He steals a hundred from Devadatta." ग्राममजां नयति हरति-कर्षति वहतिवा "He leads the goats to the village or takes them or drags them or drives them" are examples of the other roots in order

Since it is the *sense* of the verb that causes these nouns to get the designation of "Indirect Object," it follows as a necessary corrollary that other verbs also though not mentioned in the above list, but being synony-

mous with those verbs, will take two objects Thus बलिं भिक्षते वसुधां or माणवकं धर्मं भाषते, अभिधत्ते or व्यक्ति &c.

Why do we say "a kâraka?" Observe माणवकस्य पितरं पन्थानं पृच्छति "He asks the father of the boy which is the road" Here माणवकस्य not being a kâraka retains the Genitive

Vârtika The Intransitive verbs govern the accusative case of place, time, condition and length of road to be gone over As कुरून् स्वपिति "He sleeps in the land of the Kurus" मासमास्ते "He stays for a month" गोदोहमास्ते "He is engaged in milking cow" क्रोशमास्ते "He goes over one Krosa (two miles)"

५४० । गतिबुद्धिप्रत्यवसानार्थशब्दकर्माकर्मकाणामणि कर्ता सणौ ।१।४।५२॥

गत्याद्यर्थानां शब्दकर्मणामकर्मकाणां चाणौ यः कर्ता स णौ कर्म स्यात् ॥

शत्रूनगमयत्स्वर्गं वेदार्थं स्वानवेदयत् ।
आशयच्चामृतं देवान्वेदमध्यापयद्विधिम् ॥ १ ॥
आसयत्सलिले पृथ्वीं यः स मे श्रीहरिर्गतिः ॥

गत्यादीति किम् । पाचयत्योदनं देवदत्तेन ॥ अण्यन्तानां किम् । गमयति देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्तं तमपरः प्रयुङ्क्ते । गमयति देवदत्तेन यज्ञदत्तं विष्णुमित्रः ॥ नीवह्योर्न * ॥ नाययति वाहयति वा भारं भृत्येन ॥ नियन्तृकर्तृकस्य वहेरनिषेधः * ॥ वाहयति रथं वाहान् सूतः ॥ आदिखाद्योर्न * ॥ आदयति खादयति वान्नं बटुना ॥ भक्षेरहिंसार्थस्य न * ॥ भक्षयत्यन्नं बटुना । अहिंसार्थस्य किम् । भक्षयति बलीवर्दान् सस्यम् ॥ जल्पतिप्रभृतीनामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ जल्पयति भाषयति वा धर्मं पुत्रं देवदत्तः ॥ दृशेश्च * ॥ दर्शयति हरिं भक्तान् । सूत्रे ज्ञानसामान्यार्थानामेव ग्रहणं न तु तद्विशेषार्थानामित्यनेन ज्ञाप्यते । तेन स्मरतिजिघ्रतीत्यादीनां न । स्मारयति घ्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ शब्दायतेर्न * ॥ शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन । धात्वर्थसंगृहीतकर्मत्वेनाकर्मकत्वात्प्राप्तिः । येषां देशकालादिभिन्नं कर्म न संभवति तेऽत्राकर्मकाः । न त्वविवक्षितकर्माणोऽपि ॥ तेन मासमासयति देवदत्तमित्यादौ कर्मत्वं भवत्येव । देवदत्तेन पाचयतीत्यादौ तु न ॥

540 That which was Agent of the Non-causal verb becomes the Karma (object) of the causal verb, when the verb has the sense of "to move," "to know," "to make sound" or "to teach" or is an Intransitive verb.

In the case of roots that imply 'motion,' 'knowledge' or 'Information' or some kind of 'eating,' and other roots having a similar sense, also of roots that have some literary work for their object, and of intransitive roots that which is the subject of the verb in its primitive sense is put in the Accusative case in the causal, the object remaining unchanged, e g

Thus in the verse above given —

Causal	Non-Causal
शत्रून्-अगमयत् स्वर्गम्	शत्रवः स्वर्गम् अगच्छन्
He sent the enemies to Heaven.	The enemies went to Heaven

Therefore, the rule will not apply to verbs like स्मरति 'he remembers', जिघ्रति "he smells" &c As स्मारयति घ्रापयति वा देवदत्तेन ॥ "He makes Devadatta to remember or to smell"

Vart —Not so with the verb शब्दायति as शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन "He causes Devadatta to make sound"

By 'intransitive' roots mentioned above, is meant such roots, as are not by their nature capable of governing an object other than that of 'time,' 'place' &c, and not those roots which, though transitive, may sometimes be used intransitively according to the speaker's volition, or when their meaning is quite evident, as किंकर पचर पचति ॥ Here पचति, though transitive is used without an object, because it can be easily understood, hence किंकरेण पाचयति and not किंकर ॥ Thus in मासमासयति देवदत्तं the word मासम् is in the accusative case, but not so in देवदत्तेन पाचयति &c

Note —Patanjali in his Mahabhashya, adds this explanation on the meaning of the word शब्दकर्म in the sutra गतिबुद्धि &c शब्दकर्म may be either शब्दो येषां क्रिया or शब्दो येषां कर्म ॥

When we take the former interpretation, the roots ह्वयति (ह्वे) क्रन्दति (क्रन्द) and शब्दायते (denom of शब्द) have to be excluded from the rule, as, ह्वयति देवदत्त ह्वाययति देवदत्तेन, क्रन्दति शब्दायते देवदत्त, क्रन्दयति शब्दाययति देवदत्तेन ॥ And the roots श्रु ज्ञा with वि and लभ् with उप must be included in the rule, as शृणोति विजानाति उपलभते देवदत्त श्रावयति-विज्ञापयति उपलम्भयति देवदत्तम् ॥ When we adopt the second interpretation, the roots जल्प, भाष् with आ and लप with वि must be included in the rule, जल्पति-विलपति-आभाषते देवदत्त, जल्पयति विलापयति आभाषयति-देवदत्त ॥

In forming the passive construction of causal verbs, the principal object in the causal, which is the subject (agent) of the verb in its primitve sense, is put in the Nominative case, and the other object remains unchanged e g

Primitive	Causal Active	Causal Passive
रामो ग्राम गच्छति ॥	राम ग्राम गमयति ॥	रामो ग्रामगम्यते ॥
Rama goes to a village	(He) causes Rama to go to a village	Rama is caused to go &c
भृत्य कट करोति ॥	भृत्येन भृत्य वा कट कारयति ॥	भृत्य कट कार्यते ॥
The servant prepares a mat	(He) causes the servant to prepare a mat	The servant is made to prepare &c
गोविंदो मासमास्ते ॥	गोविंद मासमासयति ॥	गोविंदो मासमास्यते ॥
Govind sits for one month	(He) makes Govind sit &c	Govind is made to sit &c

(*a*) But in the case of roots that imply 'knowledge' 'eating,' and those that have a literary work for their object, the principal object is put in the Nominative case and the secondary in the Accusative, or vice versa

e g माणवकं धर्मं बोधयति 'he makes the boy know his duty', माणवको धर्मं बोध्यते or माणवकं धर्मो बोध्यते 'The boy is made known his duty' or 'duty is made known to the boy', बटुमोदनं भोजयति 'he makes the boy eat food' बटुरोदनं भोज्यते or बटुमोदनं भोज्यते (S K)

With regards roots that govern two accusatives, the rules mentioned above hold good in their case also, i e, those roots that imply motion &c, govern the Accusative of the subject of the primitive verb, and others, the Instrumental case, sometimes, as, वामनो बलिं वसुधां याचते (ईश्वरो) वामनेन बलिं वसुधां याचयति '(God) makes Vamana ask Bali for Earth' गोपोऽजां नगरं हरति, (स्वामी) गोपं गोपेन वाजां नगरं हारयति ॥ '(The master) makes the cowherd take the sheep to the town'

५४१ । हृक्रोरन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ५३ ॥

हृक्रोरणौ यः कर्ता स णौ वा कर्म स्यात् । हारयति कारयति वा भृत्यं भृत्येन वा कटम् ॥ अभिवादिदृशोरात्मनेपदे वेति वाच्यम् * ॥ अभिवादयते दर्शयते देवं भक्तं भक्तेन वा ॥

541 The agent of the verb in its non- causal form, in the case of hri "to lose" and kri "to make," is optionally called karma or object when these verbs are causal

Primitive	Causal
As हरति भारं भृत्यः ॥	हारयति भारं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥
The servant takes the load	He causes the servant to take the load
करोति कटं भृत्यः ॥	कारयति कटं भृत्यं or भृत्येन ॥
The servant makes the mat	He causes the servant to make the mat

Vart —The subject of the primitive verbs अभिवद् and दृश् when used in the Atmanepada, is either put in the Accusative or Instrumental case in the Causal as•

Primitive	Causal
अभिवदति देवं भक्तः ॥	अभिवादयते देवं भक्तं or भक्तेन ॥
The devotee bows down to the Deity	He makes the devotee bow down to the Deity
पश्यन्ति भृत्या राजानम् ॥	दर्शयते भृत्यान् राजानं or दर्शयते भृत्यैः ॥
The servants see the king	He makes the servants see the king

५४२ । अधिशीङ्स्थासां कर्म । १ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अधिपूर्वाणामेषामाधारः कर्म स्यात् । अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥

542 That which is the site of the verbs शी 'to lie down,' स्था "to stand," आस "to sit," when preceded by

the preposition अधि is, however, called karma kâraka or object

This ordains Accusative case, where otherwise by the last sûtra there would have been the Locative case As अधिशेते अधितिष्ठति अध्यास्ते वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥ "Hari lies down in, occupies or rules the Vaikuntha

५४३ । अभिनिविशश्च । १ । ४ । ४७ ॥

अभिनीत्येतत्सङ्घातपूर्वस्य विशतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् । परिक्रयणे संप्रदानमिति सूत्रादिह मण्डूकप्लुत्याऽन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणमनुवर्त्य व्यवस्थितविभाषाश्रयणात्क्वचिन्न । पापेऽभिनिवेशः ॥

543 That which is the site of the verb अभिनिविश् 'to enter,' is also called karma-kâraka.

As अभिनिविशते सन्मार्गम् 'he resorts to the good path' This is an optional rule, as the word "option" of sûtra I 4 44 S 580 should be read into it, though between I 4 44 S 580 and the present sûtra I 4 47 S 543 two other sûtras intervene, in which the anuvritti of option is not read This leaping over intermediate sûtras and exerting its influence on a remote sûtra is based on the maxim of "frog leap" The option however, will be a settled option—"vyavasthita vibhashâ"

Thus we have the following forms also पापेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to sin" कल्याणेऽभिनिवेशः "resorting to good" The rule here is that of vyavasthita vibhâsa

५४४ । उपान्वध्याङ्वसः । १ । ४ । ४८ ॥

उपादिपूर्वस्य वसतेराधारः कर्म स्यात् । उपवसति अनुवसति अधिवसति आवसति वा वैकुण्ठं हरिः ॥ अभुक्त्यर्थस्य न * ॥ वने उपवसति ॥

उभसर्वतसोः कार्या धिगुपर्यादिषु त्रिषु ॥
द्वितीयाऽऽम्रेडितान्तेषु ततोऽन्यत्रापि दृश्यते * ॥

उभयतः कृष्णं गोपाः । सर्वतः कृष्णम् । धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् । उपर्युपरि लोकं हरिः । अध्यधि लोकम् । अधोऽधो लोकम् ॥

अभितः परितः समयानिकषाहाप्रतियोगेऽपि * ॥ अभितः कृष्णम् । परितः कृष्णम् । ग्रामं समया । निकषा लङ्काम् । हा कृष्णाभक्तम् । तस्य शोच्यत इत्यर्थः बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किंचित् ॥

544 That which is the site of the verb वस् 'to dwell,' when preceded by upa, anu, adhi, and âṅ, is called karma-kâraka

As उपवसति-अनुवसति-अधिवसति or आवसति वैकुण्ठं हरिः 'Hari dwells in Heaven'

Vart —Prohibition must be stated when the verb वस् means "fasting," or does not denote "lying in a locality" As वने उपवसति "he fasts in the forest" Here the verb "upavasati" governs the locative case and not the accusative

Vartika —The words उभयत, सर्वत, धिक् and the double forms उपर्युपरि, अधोऽध, अध्यधि when they have the sense of nearness, govern the accusative, sometimes other cases also As उभयत कृष्णंगोपा 'on both sides of Krishna are the gopas' सर्वत कृष्ण 'on all sides of Krishna', धिक् कृष्णाभक्तम् 'fie to non devotee of Krishna" उपर्युपरि लोक हरि 'just over the lokas is Hari, अध्यधि or अधाधो लोकम् 'just below the loka'

Vart —The words अभित, परित both meaning 'round,' समया, निकषा both meaning 'near' and हा 'woe be to,' and प्रति 'to,' govern, the accusative case, as, अभित or परित कृष्णम् ''round Krishna' ग्राम समया 'near the village' निकषा लङ्काम् "near the Lankâ" हा कृष्णाभक्तम् 'woe be to non-devotee of Krishna, बुभुक्षितम् न प्रतिभाति किञ्चित् 'to a hungry person nothing occurs to his mind'

५४५। अन्तराऽन्तरेण युक्ते । २ । ३ । ४ ॥

आभ्या योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । अन्तरा त्वा मा हरि । अन्तरेण हरिं न सुखम् ॥

545 A word joined with (or governed by) the word antarâ, or antarena takes the second case-affix

Note —The anuvritti of dvitîya is understood here and not that of tritiya Both these words antara and antarena are Nipatas They govern the accusative This debars the genitive case The word antara means 'between,' while antarena means 'besides that,' 'without 'exception,' 'with reference to' 'regarding'

As अन्तरण हरिं न सुख 'there can be no happiness without Hari' अन्तरा त्वामा हरि 'Hari is between thee and me'

Why do we say 'when joined with?' Observe अन्तरा तक्षशिलाञ्च पाटलिपुत्र श्रुघ्नस्य प्राकार ॥

——— o ———

KARMAPRAVACHANIYAS

५४६। कर्मप्रवचनीया । १ । ४ । ८३ ॥

इत्याधिकृत्य ॥

546 From this point as far as aphorism I 4 97 the particles treated of, are to be understood as having the name of karma-pravachanîya

Note —These particles govern a substantive and qualify a verb and differ from other particles termed upasarga and gati As सुस्तुत भवता ' well praised by you " सु सिक्त भवता " you have sprinkled well " Here सु is a karmapravachaniya and qualifies the sense of the verb, i e it is an adverb It is not an upasarga, for had it been so, it would have changed the स into ष (VIII 3 65 S 2270) The word karma pravachaniya is a big term compared with other technical terms, such as, टि, घि, घु &c , which generally do not exceed more than two syllables The word karmapravachanîya is not however merely a technical term, it contains within itself a definition of itself It means that which qualifies or speaks about (प्रोक्तवन्त) an action (कर्म) is so called

५४७ । अनुर्लक्षणे । १ । ४ । ८४ ॥

लक्षणे द्योत्येऽनुरुक्तसंज्ञ स्यात् । गत्युपसर्गसंज्ञापवाद ॥

547 The word anu when it denotes a sign, is called karma-pravachanîya

The word lakshana means a sign , an attendant circumstance, an invariable concomitant or accident in its logical sense and not merely an occasional concurrence The force of अनु in this case is that of ' after, ' in consequence of,' ' because of,' or ' being indicated by '

This debars the designation of gati and upasarga with regard to *anu* meaning lakshana

५४८ । कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ८ ॥

एतेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । जपमनु प्रावर्षत् । हेतुभूतजपोपलक्षितं वर्षणमित्यर्थ । परापि हेतौ इति तृतीयाऽनेन बाध्यते । लक्षणेत्थं भूतत्यादिना सिद्धे पुनः संज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात् ॥

548 The second case-affix is employed after a word which is joined with a karmapravachanîya (I 4 83)

As जपमनुप्रावर्षत् ' it rained after or in consequence of the muttering of prayers ' To put it in other words, anu is a karmapravachnîya when it governs the word which indicates the cause or the attendant circumstance of an action

The third case affix ordained by the *subsequent* sûtra II 3 23 S 568 even is debarred by the present sûtra, so far as अनु is concerned This is because, though अनु would have been a karmapravachanîya by I 4 90 S 552 it has been read again in I 4 84 S 547.

Note —Why make unnecessarily this sûtra, when अनु would have been karma pravachanîya even by force of sûtra 552 following, where also the word lakshana occurs ? This is for the sake of indicating that the karmapravachanîyas should always govern the accusative case (II 3 8 S 548) even in expressing हेतु (II 3 23 S 568) Otherwise Rule 568 would have set aside Rule 548 i e the

present sutra, by the maxim of परत्व I 4 2 S 175 and would have caused a karma pravachaniya to govern an Instrumental case, where the sense was that of hetu

So also शाकलस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्=शाकल्येन सुकृता संहितामनुनिशम्य देव प्रावर्षत् ॥ "The God (clouds) rained having listened to the well performed reading, by Sakalya" The force of a karmapravachanîya, therefore, when fully analysed will be found to be that of an upasarga, whose verb is not expressed in the sentence but is understood, and because of its being so understood, the particle itself seems to govern the noun, which in fact was governed by the unexpressed verb Thus in the above example संहिता is in the accusative case, apparently governed by the preposition अनु, but really governed by the verb अनुनिशम्य understood

५४९ । तृतीयार्थे । १ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अस्मिन् द्योत्येऽनुरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । नदीमन्ववसिता सेना । नद्या सह सम्बद्धेत्यर्थ ॥ षिञ् बन्धनेक्त ॥

549 The word anu is karma-pravachanîya, when it has the force of the third case

The meaning of अनु in this case will be that of 'with' or 'along with' As नदीमन्ववसिता सेना "the army lying along side the river"

The word अवसिता is derived from षिञ् meaning 'to bind', with the past participial ffix क्त ॥

५५० हीने । १ । ४ । ८६ ॥

हीने द्योत्येऽनु प्राग्वत् । अनु हरिं सुरा । हरेर्हीना इत्यर्थ ॥

550 The word अनु is karma pravachanîya, when it is used in the sense of inferior or subordinate to

As अनुहरिंसुरा 'The gods are inferior to Hari'

Note —The word हीन् means 'inferior,' and being a comparative term requires the other term with which comparison is made and which is superior, to complete the sense In other words अनु governs the person to which others are inferior, in the accusative case As अनुशाकटायन वैयाकरणा 'all grammarians are inferior to Sakatayana'

५५१ । उपोऽधिके च । १ । ४ । ८७ ॥

अधिके हीने, च द्योत्ये उपेत्यव्यय प्राक्संज्ञ स्यात् । अधिके सप्तमी वक्ष्यते । हीने, उप हरिं सुरा ॥

551 The word उप when it means 'superior' or 'inferior to' is karma-pravachanîya

That is, when the sense is that of 'over, above,' or 'inferior' as उप हरिं सुरा "The gods are inferior to Hari" In this sense उप governs the accusative case

When उप means 'superior,' then it governs the Locative of the thing which is inferior, examples of this will be given hereafter

५५२ । लक्षणेत्थम्भूताख्यानभागवीप्सासु प्रतिपर्यनवः । १ । ४ । ९० ॥

एष्वर्थेषु विषयभूतेषु प्रत्यादय उक्तसंज्ञा स्युः । लक्षणे, वृक्षं प्रति पर्यनु वा विद्योतते विद्युत् । इत्थम्भूताख्याने, भक्तो विष्णुं प्रतिपर्यनु वा । भागे लक्ष्मीर्हरिं प्रतिपर्यनु वा । हरेर्भाग इत्यर्थः । वीप्सायां, वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रतिपर्यनु वा सिञ्चति । अत्रोपसर्गत्वाभावान्न षत्वम् । एषु किम् । परिषिञ्चति ॥

552 The words prati, pari and anu are karma pravachaniya when used in the sense of (1) 'sign' 'in the direction of' (2) 'mere statement of a circumstance' ('as regards') (3) division 'share of' and (4) 'pervasion' severally

As (1) वृक्षं प्रति—परि or अनु विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening is flashing in the direction of the tree' (2) भक्तो विष्णुम् प्रति—परि -अनु "devotee towards Vishnu" (3) हरिं प्रति लक्ष्मीः 'Lakshmī fell to the lot of Hari' So with परि and अनु ॥ (4) वृक्षं वृक्षं प्रति सिञ्चति "he sprinkles one tree after another" So with परि and अनु ॥ Here these words, not being upasargas, do not change the स of सिञ्चति to ष, as required by VIII 3 65 S 2270 Why in these senses only? Observe परिषिञ्चति ॥

५५३ । अभिरभागे । १ । ४ । ९१ ॥

भागवर्जे लक्षणादावभिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । हरिमभि वर्तते । भक्तो हरिमभि । देवं देवमभिसिञ्चति । अभागे किम् । यदत्र ममाभिष्यात्तद्दीयताम् ॥

553 The word abhi is karma-pravachanīya, in the above senses of 'in the direction of,' 'as regards,' and 'each severally' but not when it means division, or 'share of'

The illustrations given under the last sûtra mutus mutandi apply here also, with the exception of those given under head ३ ॥ As हरिमभि वर्तते भक्तो हरिमभि, देवं देवमभि सिञ्चति ॥ Why do we say 'when it does not mean division or the share of'? Observe यदत्र ममाभि ष्यात् तद् दीयताम् 'give that which falls here to my share' Here abhi is an upasarga, and therefore स of स्यात् is changed into ष by S 2270

५५४ । अधिपरी अनर्थकौ । १ । ४ ।६३ ॥

उक्तसंज्ञौ स्त । कुतोऽध्यागच्छति । कुत पर्यागच्छति । गतिसंज्ञाबाधाद्गतिर्गताविति निघातो न ॥

554 The words अधि and परि are karma-pravachanîya when used as mere expletives

As कुतोऽध्यागच्छति "whence has he come"? or कुत पर्यागच्छति ॥ These words, though mere surplusages, have been called karmapravachaniya, so that they may not get the designation of upasarga or gati, and thus produce results peculiar to those words (See VIII 1 70 S 3977) for by that rule they would produce accentlessness of the subsequent words. This is prevented.

५५५ । सु पूजायाम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

सुसिक्तम् ॥ सुस्तुतम् । अनुपसर्गत्वान्न षः । पूजायां किम् । सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र । क्षेपोऽयम् ॥

555 The word सु is karma-pravachanîya in the sense of "respect," (when it means 'excellently')

As सुसिक्तं भवता, "excellently sprinkled by your honor" सु स्तुतं भवता "Well praised by your honor" By not being an upasarga, it does not change the स into ष (VIII 3 65 S 2270)

Why do we say 'when respect is meant'? Observe सुषिक्तं किं तवात्र "has this your place been well sprinkled to day" This is meant here as an irony

५५६ । अतिरतिक्रमणे च । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अतिक्रमणे पूजायां चातिः कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् । अतिदेवान् कृष्णः ॥

556 The word अति, in the sense of super-abundance ('excessively') and 'excellently' is karma pravachanîya

As अतिदेवान्कृष्णः "Krishna is above all gods"

Note —The word अतिक्रमण means to do more than what is necessary for the accomplishment of an object The force of च in the aphorism is to draw in the word पूजायाम् from the last

५५७ । अपि पदार्थसंभावनाऽन्ववसर्गगर्हासमुच्चयेषु । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

एषु द्योत्येष्वपिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । अनुपसर्गत्वान्न षः । संभावनायां लिङ् । तस्या एव विषयभूते भवने कर्तृदौर्लभ्यप्रयुक्तं दौर्लभ्यं द्योतयन्नपिशब्दः स्यादित्यनेन संबध्यते । सर्पिष इति षष्ठी तु अपिशब्दबलेन गम्यमानस्य बिन्दोरवयवावयविभावसंबन्धे । इयमत्र ह्यपिशब्दस्य पदार्थद्योतकता नाम । द्वितीया तु नेह प्रवर्तते सर्पिषो बिन्दुना योगो न त्वपिनेत्युक्तत्वात् ॥ अपि स्तुयाद्विष्णुम् ॥ संभावनं शक्त्युत्कर्षमाविष्कर्तुमत्युक्तिः ॥ अपि स्तुहि । अन्ववसर्गः कामचारानुज्ञा ॥ धिग्देवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद्वृषलम् । गर्हा ॥ अपि सिञ्च अपि स्तुहि समुच्चये ॥

557 The word अपि is a karma-pravachanîya, when it implies, "the sense of word understood", ('somewhat') or possibility (e g, 'even' in the sense of such a great person) or permission to do as one likes, ('if you like'), or censure ('even' in the sense of what is disgraceful), or collection ('and')

In the above senses of "somewhat," "even "if you like", even", and "and", the word अपि gets the designation of Karmapravachanîya

As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् "there may be a drop of ghee" Here since *api* is not an upasarga, the स of स्यात् is not changed to ष् (VIII 3 87 S 2472)

There is Potential Mood with the force of सम्भावना in the above example When there is such a doubt or uncertainty with regard to the existence of the agent of the verb, that is to say, when owing to the scarcity of the agent, it is doubtful whether it exists or not, there the word *api* denoting 'scarcity' is related with the verb syât. The word सर्पिष् in the above example is in the Genitive case, and by force of the word अपि, it denotes that the word बिन्दु "a drop" which is understood here is related to सर्पि, as a part is related to its whole The full sentence will be सर्पिषोऽपि बिन्दु स्यात् ॥ The force of the genitive, therefore, here is to denote the general relation of part to the whole, of a "drop" to the whole "Ghee" This is the only way in which the word *api* can denote an *object* (padârtha) namely, to express scarcity owing to the scarcity of a drop even The second case affix ordained by II 3 8 S 548, does not apply here, and so the word सर्पि is not put in the accusative case This is because, it has already been said above, that the word सर्पि is syntactically connected with the word बिन्दु understood, and not with the Karmapravachanîya *api*

Secondly, when *api* has the force of sambhâvana, as अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् ॥ Vishnu who is not to be expressed by word or comprehended by mind, is being praised The meaning is that a person who is capable of praising Vishnu the Invisible, the Incomprehensible, the Unutterble, is certainly able to praise other Divinities lower in rank It is needless to say that he can praise others Here the word *api* expresses "possibility" itself, while in the first example, it expressed the scarcity of the object of possibility The word api being a Karmapravachaniya, the स is not changed to ष by VIII 3 65 S 2270

The word पदार्थ means the sense of another word which is not expressed, but has to be supplied As सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् ' there may be perhaps a

drop of ghee,' मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ Here some word like bindu 'a drop,' stoka 'a little,' mâtrâ 'a measure' &c, has to be understood The word सम्भावन 'means possibility, a supposition As, अपि सिंचेत् मूलकसहस्र क्षणनैकेन 'possibly may sprinkle a thousand trees in one moment' अपि स्तुयाद् विष्णुम् "he can praise even Vishnu" In the above cases, it is used with the Potential mood अन्ववसर्ग means indifference on the part of the speaker, where he permits another to do as he likes It is used with the Imperative mood As अपि सिंच 'you may sprinkle, if you like' अपि स्तुहि 'you may praise, if you like' The word गर्हा means 'censure, contempt or reproof As धिग् देवदत्तमपि स्तुयाद् वृषलम् ॥ The word समुच्चय means cummulative. As अपि स्तुहि—अपि सिंच 'praise as well as sprinkle,'

In all the above instances, the word not being an upasarga, does not change the स into ष ॥

५५८ । कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे । २ । ३ । ५ ॥

इह द्वितीया स्यात् । मासं कल्याणी । मासमधीते । मासं गुडधाना । क्रोशं कुटिला नदी । क्रोशमधीते । क्रोशं गिरि । अत्यन्तसंयोगे किम् । मासस्य द्विरधीते । क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वत ॥

558 After a word denoting time, or length, the affix of the 2nd case is employed, when denoting full duration

मासमधीते 'he reads for a month,' 'he studies full one month,' मासं कल्याणी 'prosperous during the month' (uninterruptedly), मासं गुडधाना । क्रोशं कुटिला नदी 'the river winding for one kos without any break,' क्रोशं गिरि 'the hill through one full kos

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग or 'full continuity' means the complete relation of time or space with its action, attribute or substance

Why do we say 'atyanta-sanyoga or complete continuity'? Observe मासस्य द्विरधीते or क्रोशस्यैकदेशे पर्वत ॥

Here ends the Accusative Kâraka.

KARTÂ

OR

THE AGENT KÂRAKA

५५९ । स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता । १ । ४ । ५४ ॥

क्रियायां स्वातन्त्र्येण विवक्षितोऽर्थः कर्ता स्यात् ॥

559. What ever the speaker chooses as the in-

dependent, principal and absolute source of action is called kartâ or agent

The agent is absolute and unconditioned, as, देवदत्त पचति 'Devadatta, cooks' स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks'

THE INSTRUMENTAL KÂRAKA

५६० । साधकतमं करणम् । १ । ४ । ४२ ॥

क्रियासिद्धौ प्रकृष्टोपकारकं करणसंज्ञं स्यात् । तमब्ग्रहणं किम् । गङ्गायां घोषः ॥

560 That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action is called the Instrument or karana kâraka.

Why do we say 'especially'? Because in the case of the other kârakâs, the non-mention of the word 'especially' makes it possible for us to use those cases, in not their strict sense Thus though the locative case should be used where strictly a thing is located in another, yet we may say गङ्गायां घोषः "the herdsman in the Ganges, not strictly in, but on the banks of, the Ganges" कूपे गर्गकुलम् "the family of frogs in the well, i e on the sides of the well"

५६१ । कर्तृकरणयोस्तृतीया । २ । ३ । १८ ॥

अनभिहिते कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया स्यात् । रामेण बाणेन हतो वाली ॥

प्रकृत्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ प्रकृत्या चारुः । प्रायेण याज्ञिकः । गोत्रेण गार्ग्यः । समेनैति । विषमेणैति । द्विद्रोणेन धान्यं क्रीणाति । सुखेन दुःखेन वा यातीत्यादि ॥

561 In denoting the agent or the instrument the third case-affix is employed

As रामेण बाणेन हतो वाली 'Bâli was killed by Râma by an arrow'

Vart —The following words take the 3rd case प्रकृति 'original,' प्राय 'almost,' गोत्र 'gotra,' सम 'equal,' विषम 'unequal,' द्विद्रोण, पञ्चक and साहस्र as प्रकृत्या चारुः प्रायेण याज्ञिकः, गार्ग्योऽस्मि गोत्रेण, समेन or विषमेण एति, द्विद्रोणेन धान्यम् क्रीणाति सुखेन दुःखेन वा याती त्यादि &c

५६२ । दिवः कर्म च । १ । ४ । ४३ ॥

दिवः साधकतमं कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्याच्चात्करणसंज्ञम् । अक्षैरक्षान्वा दीव्यति ॥

562 That which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action, of the verb दिव 'to play' is called karma (object), as well as karana, (instrument)

Note —The present sûtra ordains accusative case, where by the operation of the last aphorism there ought to have been Instrumental case The force of च in the sûtra is to indicate that karana is also to be read into this

As अक्षान् दीव्यति or अक्षै र्दीव्यति 'he plays the dice or with the dice'

५६३ । अपवर्गे तृतीया । २ । ३ । ६ ॥

अपवर्गः फलप्राप्तिस्तस्यां द्योत्यायां कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे तृतीया स्यात् । अह्ना क्रोशेन वाऽनुवाकोऽधीतः । अपवर्गे किम् । मासमधीतो नायातः ॥

563 The third case-affix is employed after the words denoting the duration of time or place, when the accomplishment of the desired object is meant to be expressed

Thus, अह्ना क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'he learnt the Anuvâka by going over a kos'

Why is the word अपवर्ग read in the sûtra? It means 'the finishing of an action, on the attainment of the object intended by the action, but not before' Thus संवत्सरेणानुवाकोऽधीतः means 'Anuvâka was perseveringly and effectually read by him in the whole year'

When the idea of apavarga is not intended, the accusative case is employed, as मासमधीतोऽनायातः 'learnt for a month, but not yet prepared the Anuvaka'

५६४ । सहयुक्तेऽप्रधाने । २ । ३ । १९ ॥

सहार्थेन युक्ते अप्रधाने तृतीया स्यात् । पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता । एवं साकंसार्धंसमंयोगेऽपि । विनापि तद्योगं तृतीया । वृद्धो यूनेत्यादिनिर्देशात् ॥

564 When the word सह 'with,' is joined to a word, the latter takes the third case, when the sense is that the w rd in the third case is not the principal but the accomp nent of the principal thing

As पुत्रेण सहागतः पिता 'the father has come with the son,'

The same will be the result with the synonyms of सह such as साकं, सार्धं समं &c, as, पुत्रेण सार्धं with the son' So also when the word सह is understood as Pânini himself uses in I 2 65 S 931 वृद्धो युना &c

Note —Why do we say 'when not the principal' Observe, शिष्येण सहोपाध्यायस्य गौः

५६५ । येनाङ्गविकारः । २ । ३ । २० ॥

येनाङ्गेन विकृतेनाङ्गिनो विकारो लक्ष्यते ततस्तृतीया स्यात् । अक्ष्णा काणः । अक्षिसम्बन्धिकाणत्वविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः । अङ्गविकारः किम् । अक्षि काणमस्य ॥

565 By whatsoever limb, being defective, is pointed out the defect of the person, after that the third case-affix is employed

As, अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खञ्जः 'lame of foot,' पाणिना कुण्टः &c The word anga in this sutra applies to the whole body Whatsoever by reason of being a member of the body is defective is indicated here Why do we say 'defect of a limb'? Observe अक्षि काणमस्य "His eye is blind"

५६६ । इत्थंभूतलक्षणे । २ । ३ । २१ ॥

कंचित्प्रकारं प्राप्तस्य लक्षणे तृतीया स्यात् । जटाभिस्तापसः । जटाज्ञाप्यतापसत्वविशिष्ट इत्यर्थः ॥

566 Any mark or attribute, by which is indicated the existence of a particular state or condition, is put in the third case to express this relation

जटाभिस्तापसः 'he is an ascetic by (the fact of his having) matted hair'

Note —अपि भवान् कमण्डलुना छात्रमद्राक्षीत् 'your honor might see the student by the fact of his having a kamandalu But not so here, कमण्डलुपाणिश्छात्रः 'a student has kamandalu in his hand' Because here in the compound कमण्डलुपाणि is hidden the mark

Why do we say ittha bhûta? Observe वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतनं ।

५६७ । संज्ञोऽन्यतरस्यां कर्मणि । २ । ३ । २२ ॥

संपूर्वस्य जानाते: कर्मणि तृतीया वा स्यात् । पित्रा पितरं वा संजानीते ॥

567 After the verb sam-jñâ, the third case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the object

पित्रा or पितरं संजानीते 'he knows his father'

५६८ । हेतौ । २ । ३ । २३ ॥

हेत्वर्थे तृतीया स्यात् । द्रव्यादिसाधारणं निर्व्यापारसाधारणं च हेतुत्वम् । करणत्वं तु क्रियामात्रविषयं व्यापारनियतं च । दण्डेन घटः । पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः । फलमपीह हेतुः । अध्ययनेन वसति । गम्यमानापि क्रिया कारकविभक्तौ प्रयोजिका । अलं श्रमेण । श्रमेण साध्यं नास्तीत्यर्थः । इह साधनक्रियां प्रति श्रमः करणम् । शतेन शतेन वत्सान्पाययति पयः । शतेन परिच्छिद्येत्यर्थः ॥ अशिष्टव्यवहारे दाणः प्रयोगे चतुर्थ्यर्थे तृतीया * ॥ दास्या संयच्छते कामुकः । धर्म्ये तु भार्यायै संयच्छति ॥

568 When a word denotes 'cause,' it takes the third case-affix

विद्यया यशः 'by learning there is produced fame' धनेन कुलम् 'by wealth, family,' कन्यया शोकः 'by daughter there is grief'

The word हेतु here is used in its popular sense and not the grammatical hetu (I 4 55 S 2575) which is "agent" Any thing capable of accomplishing a desired object is called *hetu*, where the thing produced is a substance, or a quality (गुण) or action (क्रिया), but where the *action* is not primarily taken into consideration

The difference between *hetu* and *Karana* is this, that any substance, quality or action in general, by which any object in general is accomplished, without referring to any action necessarily is a *hetu*, while karana is confined to *action* only, and its scope is always limited to that action necessarily This is expressed by the following verse —

द्रव्यादि विषयो हेतुः कारकं नियतक्रियम् ।
अनाश्रित तु व्यापारं निमित्तं हेतुरिष्यते ॥

As an example of substance (द्रव्य) being a hetu, we have दण्डेन घट = दण्डहेतुकाघट "A pot made by the stick" Here the stick is used to make the potters wheel revolve But it is not absolutely necessary The wheel might be moved by *hand* as well So the *stick* not being absolutely necessary for the accomplishment of the act, gets the name of hetu _ As an example of guna hetu, we have पुण्येन गौरवर्णः "white races get that color by their merit—while black races are sinners" Here "*white*" is an attribute or quality, the hetu of which is punya, but white colour may be acquired by other things than *punya* also In short, hetu is that which effects something in the shape of a substance or action or quality, and which is not immediately connected with any *verb* The *karaṇa* is always so connected with a verb, and gives rise only to *action*, and not to a substance or quality

As an example of action (क्रिया) we have पुण्येन दृष्टो हरिः "Hari is seen through virtue" Here punya means the highest merit (apûrva) acquired by deeds, and not any particular sacrifice &c So it is not a karana, for it is not absolutely necessarily implied in the idea of seeing

The FRUIT ALSO is hetu in the sense of this sûtra As अध्ययनेन वसति "He dwells with the Guru with the object of getting instruction"

An action not expressly mentioned in a sentence, but which may be inferred, may be the cause of giving rise to kâraka inflection As अलं श्रमेण "no necessity of exertion" Here Sramena is in Instrumental kâraka, without any *verb* expressed, the understood verb being साध्यं नास्ति ॥ Here श्रम or exertion is karaṇa or instrument to the verb साधन "accomplishment" understood The full sentence being "by exertion, accomplishment is not possible, so do not exert" So also शतेन शतेन वत्सान् पाययति "He makes the calves

to drink by hundred, that is, he waters the calves, by dividing them into groups of hundreds

Vârt —The Instrumental has the force of the Dative, in connection with the verb दा 'to give,' when immoral conduct is implied As दास्या संयच्छते कामुकः "The profligate gives to the slave to entice her" यच्छ replaces दा by VII 3 78 S 2440 But when proper conduct is meant, we use the Dative, and Parasmaipada, as भार्यायै संयच्छति 'He gives to his wife." See I 3 55 S 2728, for the use of the Atmane and Parasmai Padas

In the above vârtika the words दाणः प्रयोगे 'when the verb दा is employed" are redundant Because, by I 3 55 S 2728, दा alone takes the Instrumental case, with the force of the Dative, under certain cicumstances

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THE DATIVE KARAKA

५६९ । कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानम् । १ । ४ । ३२ ॥

दानस्य कर्मणा यमभिप्रैति स सम्प्रदानसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

569 The person whom one wishes to connect with the object of the verb दा 'to give' is called Sampradâna or recipient

Note :—Though the word कर्मणा in the sutra is indefinitely used, meaning 'with the object' yet it is not every object of any verb The object must be of the verb दा to give, and this we infer from the word सम्प्रदान which has the root दा in it

Note —As उपाध्यायाय गां ददाति "he gives the cow to the teacher" माणवकाय भिक्षाम् ददाति he gives alms to the boy Here the words 'cow' and 'alms' are the object of the verb 'give', the persons connected with this object are the teacher and the boy respectively These latter are in the Dative case and take the 4th case-affix

५७० । चतुर्थी सम्प्रदाने । २ । ३ । १३ ॥

विप्राय गां ददाति । अनभिहित इत्येव । दानीयो विप्रः ॥

क्रियया यमभिप्रैति सोऽपि सम्प्रदानम् * ॥ पत्ये शेते ॥

कर्मणः करणसंज्ञा सम्प्रदानस्य च कर्मसंज्ञा * ॥ पशुना रुद्रं यजते । पशुं रुद्राय ददातीत्यर्थः ॥

570 In denoting the sampradâna-kâraka (I 4 32) the fourth affix or the Dative is employed after the noun

As विप्राय गां ददाति 'He gives a cow to the learned' The word अनभिहिते is understood here also See II 3 1 S 536 Therefore we have the form दानीयाविप्र also, where the affix अनीयर् is used with the force of sampradâna

Vârt —The person whom one wishes to connect with the action should also be called recipient As पत्ये शेते 'she sleeps for her husband'

Vârt —After some verbs (especially to sacrifice), the object (karma) gets the name of Instrument (karana) and the recipient (Sampradâna) is called object (karma)

Thus पशुना रुद्र यजते or पशु रुद्राय ददाति 'he sacrifices with an animal to Rudra,' which is equivalent to, 'he gives an animal to Rudra'

५७१ । रुच्यर्थाना प्रीयमाण । १ । ४ । ३३ ॥

रुच्यर्थाना धातूना प्रयोगे प्रीयमाणोऽर्थ सम्प्रदान स्यात् । हरये रोचते भक्ति । अन्यकर्तृकोऽभिलाषो रुचि । हरिनिष्ठप्रीतेर्भक्ति कर्त्री । प्रीयमाण किम् देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदक पथि ॥

571 In the case of verbs having the signification of the root रुच 'to like,' the person or thing that is pleased or satisfied, is called Sampradâna

The verbs having similar meaning (artha) as the word ruchi or 'liking' are रुच्यर्थ A desire or longing caused by something else, is called ruchi As हरये रोचते भक्ति 'devotion pleases Hari' Here bhakti is the agent that draws out the longing which is latent in Hari

Why do we say 'the person pleased'? Observe देवदत्ताय रोचते मोदक पथि 'Devadatta likes sweet meat in the way" The word 'pathi' is here in the 7th case

५७२ ॥ श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमान । १ । ४ । ३४ ॥

एषा प्रयोगे बोधयितुमिष्ट सम्प्रदान स्यात् । गोपी स्मरात्कृष्णाय श्लाघते ह्नुते तिष्ठते शपते वा । ज्ञीप्स्यमान किम् । देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि ॥

572 In the case of verbs ślâgh 'to praise,' hnu 'to take away,' sthâ 'to stand,' and śap 'to curse,' the person whom it is intended to inform of or persuade by, those actions, is called Sampradâna

The word ज्ञीप्स्यमान means whom it is desired to make known or inform As गोपीस्मरात् कृष्णाय श्लाघते "Gopi praises Krishna,' i e while praising

Krishna she wishes that he should know this praise So also with other verbs As कृष्णाय ह्नुते "she hides from the co wives for the sake of Krishna," (wishing that Krishna should know of it)' कृष्णाय तिष्ठते "she stays or waits for Krishna" कृष्णाय शपते 'she reviles Krishna'

Why do we say 'the person whom it is intended to inform'? Observe देवदत्ताय श्लाघते पथि Here pathi is in the Locative case

५७३। धारेरुत्तमर्णः ।१।४।३५॥

धारयतेः प्रयोगे उत्तमर्ण उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात्। भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः। उत्तमर्णः किम्। देवदत्ताय शतं धारयति ग्रामे॥

573 In the case of the verb dhâri 'to owe,' the creditor is called Sampradâna

The word उत्तमर्ण is compounded of two words उत्तम 'best' and ऋण 'debt' meaning (whose debt is best) creditor, as opposed to अधमर्ण 'debtor' As भक्ताय धारयति मोक्षं हरिः "Hari owes salvation to His devotee"

Why do we say 'the creditor is called Recipient'? Observe देवदत्ताय शतंधारयति ग्रामे 'he owes hundred to Devadatta in the village' Here village is in the Locative case

५७४। स्पृहेरीप्सितः ।१।४।३६॥

स्पृहयतेः प्रयोगे इष्टः सम्प्रदानं स्यात्। पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति। ईप्सितः किम्। पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति। ईप्सितमात्रे इयं संज्ञा। प्रकर्षविवक्षायां तु परत्वात्कर्मसंज्ञा। पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति॥

574 In the case of the verb spṛih 'to desire,' the thing desired is called Sampradâna

The verb स्पृह 'to desire,' belongs to the Churâdi class The word governed by this verb takes the Dative case As पुष्पेभ्यः स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers'

Why do we say 'the thing desired' Observe पुष्पेभ्यो वने स्पृहयति 'he desires flowers in the forest' Here वने is in the Locative case, the Sampradâna being confined to the object desired only

This definition of the Dative is only confined to the thing desired But where superiority or excellence is to be expressed, then by the next sûtra, the thing desired will get the designation of karma and will be in the objective case, as पुष्पाणि स्पृहयति॥

५७५। क्रुधद्रुहेर्ष्यासूयार्थानां यं प्रति कोपः ।१।४।३७॥

क्रुधाद्यर्थानां प्रयोगे यं प्रति कोपः स उक्तसंज्ञः स्यात्। हरये क्रुध्यति। द्रुह्यति। ईर्ष्यति। असूयति। यं प्रति कोपः किम्। भार्यामीर्ष्यति मैनामन्योऽद्राक्षीदिति। क्रोधोऽमर्षः। द्रोहोऽपकारः। ईर्ष्याऽक्षमा।

असूया गुणेषु दोषाविष्करणम् । द्रुहादयोऽपि कोपप्रभवा एव गृह्यन्ते । अतो विशेषणं सामान्येन यं प्रति कोप इति ॥

575 In the case of the verbs having the sense of krudh 'to be angry,' druh 'to injure,' îrshya 'to envy,' asûyâ 'to detract,' the person against whom the feeling of anger &c, is directed is called Sampradâna

As हरये क्रुध्यति द्रुह्यति, ईर्ष्यति or असूयति "he is angry upon, (i e with) or bears malice to, or is jealous of, or finds the faults with Hari" Here Hari is in the Dative case

Krudh means non-tolerance, droha means doing wrong or hurt, irshya jealously, and asûya means to find out the faults of another The word kopa includes all the above four sorts of actions

Why do we say 'against whom the feeling of anger is directed' Because if there be no feeling of anger, then these verbs will not govern the dative case, but the accusative Thus भार्यामीर्ष्यति 'he is jealous of his wife,' i e, does not wish her to be seen by others Here the word 'bhâryâ' is in the accusative case The words द्रुह &c, here should be taken as given birth to by 'anger' Therefore they are all qualified by the common adjective "यं प्रति कोप" in the sûtra.

५७६ । क्रुधद्रुहोरुपसृष्टयोः कर्म । १ । ४ । ३८ ॥

सोपसर्गयोरनयोर्यं प्रति कोपस्तत्कारकं कर्मसंज्ञं स्यात् । क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति ॥

576 But in the case of the verbs 'krudh' and 'druh,' when preceded by prepositions, the person against whom the feeling of anger &c, is directed is called karma kâraka or object

क्रूरमभिक्रुध्यति अभिद्रुह्यति When used simply, those verbs of course govern the Dative case by the last aphorism As देवदत्ताय क्रुध्यति

Note —This aphorism is a proviso to the last, and enjoins accusative case, where by the last, there would have been dative The word upasrishta means having an upasarga or preposition

५७७ । राधीक्ष्योर्यस्य विप्रश्नः । १ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एतयोः कारकं सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । यदीयो विविधः प्रश्नः क्रियते । कृष्णाय राध्यति ईक्षते वा । पृष्टो गर्गः शुभाशुभं पर्यालोचयतीत्यर्थः

577 In the case of the verbs râdh, 'to propitiate,' and îksh 'to look to,' the person about whose good or bad

fortune questions are asked is called Sampradâna

The word viprasna means literally asking various questions, and denotes questioning about the good or bad luck of another Thus कृष्णाय राध्यति ईक्षते गर्गः 'Garga is favorable to or looks to Krishna' the sense is that being casually asked by Krishna, he reflects upon the good or bad fortune of Krishna

Note —Another explanation of this sutra is, the agent that puts various questions is put in the dative case As शिष्याय राध्यति or ईक्षते वा गुरुः meaning, the pupil asks the teacher various questions to resolve his doubts, and the teacher answers those questions to the pupil

५७८ । प्रत्याङ्भ्यां श्रुवः पूर्वस्य कर्ता । १ । ४ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां परस्य शृणोतेर्योगे पूर्वस्य प्रवर्तनारूपव्यापारस्य कर्ता सम्प्रदानं स्यात् । विप्राय गां प्रतिशृणोति आशृणोति वा । विप्रेण मह्यं देहीति प्रवर्तितः प्रतिजानीत इत्यर्थः ॥

578 In the case of the verb Śru preceded by the perpositions prati and ân, and meaning 'to promise,' the person to whom promise is made (lit the person who was the agent of the former verb) is called Sampradâna

As विप्राय गां प्रतिशृणोति—आशृणोति "he promises a cow to a learned man"

Note —The compound verb प्रतिश्रु and—आश्रु means to promise A promise is made on the motion or at the instance of another The person so proposing who was the agent of the former action becomes the recipient of the promise in the latter case

५७९ । अनुप्रतिगृणश्च । १ । ४ । ४१ ॥

आभ्यां गृणातेः कारकं पूर्वव्यापारस्य कर्तृभूतमुक्तसंज्ञं स्यात् । होत्रेऽनुगृणाति प्रतिगृणाति । होता प्रथमं शंसति तमध्वर्युः प्रोत्साहयतीत्यर्थः ॥

579 In the case of the verb gri, preceded by anu and prati, and meaning 'to encourage by repeating,' the person who was the agent of the prior action, which is repeated, is called Sampradâna

The phrase pûrvasya kartâ of the last is to be read into this aphorism As होत्रे ऽनुगृणाति or प्रतिगृणाति They encourage the Hotri *i e*, the Hotri priest invokes first, the Adhvaryu then follows him in invocation and by so doing encourages him

Note —The words अनुगर and प्रतिगर mean encouraging the invoker

५८० । परिक्रयणे सम्प्रदानमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । ४ । ४४ ॥

नियतकालं भृत्या स्वीकरणं परिक्रयणं तस्मिन् साधकतमं कारकं सम्प्रदानसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । शतेन शताय वा परिक्रीतः ॥ तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थी वाच्या * ॥ मुक्तये हरिं भजति ॥ क्लृपि सम्पद्यमाने च * ॥ भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते सम्पद्यते जायते इत्यादि ॥ उत्पातेन ज्ञापिते च * ॥ वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ हितयोगे च * ॥ ब्राह्मणाय हितम् ॥

580 In the case of hiring on wages, that which is especially auxiliary in the accomplishment of the action of the verb parikrî, 'employing on stipulated wages,' is optionally called Sampradâna

As शताय परिक्रीत or शतेन परिक्रीत ॥

Note —This ordains dative case, where there would otherwise have been Instrumental case The word परिक्रयणे means to engage for a limited period on payment of wages, and not absolute purchase for all time

Vart —The fourth case affix should be employed when the sense is that of 'for the purpose thereof', as मुक्तये हरिं भजति 'he worships Hari for the purpose of getting emancipation'

Vart —The verb क्लृप and other verbs meaning 'to be fit or adequate for result in, bring about, accomplsh, produce, tend to,' govern the dative case as, भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते सम्पद्यते जायते &c, 'devotion tends to produce knowledge'

Vart —The fourth case-affix is employed with the force of 'indicating a portent or calamity,' as वाताय कपिला विद्युत् ॥ 'The reddish lightening portends wind'

Vart —The fourth case affix should be employed in connection with the word हित as ब्राह्मणायहित 'good for the Brahmanas'

५८१ । क्रियार्थोपपदस्य च कर्मणि स्थानिनः । २ । ३ । १४ ॥

क्रियार्था क्रिया उपपदं यस्य तस्य स्थानिनोऽप्रयुज्यमानस्य तुमुनः कर्मणि चतुर्थी स्यात् । फलेभ्यो याति । फलान्याहर्तुं यातीत्यर्थः । नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय । नृसिंहमनुकूलयितुमित्यर्थः । एवं स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्येत्यादावपि ॥

581 The fourth case-affix is employed in denoting the object (karma) of that verb, which is suppressed (sthâni) in a sentence, and which has in construction (upapada) there with another ver denoting action performed for the sake of the future action (kriyârthe III 3 10 S 3175)

In other words, when the sense of an infinitive of purpose formed by 'tumun' and 'nvul' (III 3 10,] is suppressed in a sentence, the object of this infinitive is put in the Dative case

Thus फलेभ्यो याति = फलान्याहर्तुं याति 'he goes for fruits *i e* to bring fruits' This debars accusative case So also we have नमस्कुर्मो नृसिंहाय "we salute Man—Lion to propitiate Him" So also in स्वयम्भुवे नमस्कृत्य &c

५८२ । तुमर्थाच्च भाववचनात् । २ । ३ । १५ ॥

भाववचनाश्चेति सूत्रेण यो विहितस्तदन्ताच्चतुर्थी स्यात् । यागाय याति । यष्टुं यातीत्यर्थः ॥

582 The fourth case-affix is employed after a crude-form which ends in an affix denoting 'condition' (abstract noun, III 3 11 S 3180) and having the force of the affix tum (or Infinitive of purpose)

As यागाय याति 'he goes to offer a sacrifice' = यष्टुं याति ॥

Note —The word तुमर्थ means 'having the same significance as the affix तुम्' ॥

५८३ । नमःस्वस्तिस्वाहास्वधाऽलंवषड्योगाच्च । २ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभिर्योगे चतुर्थी स्यात् । हरये नमः ॥ * उपपदविभक्तेः कारकविभक्तिर्बलीयसी ॥ नमस्करोति देवान् । प्रजाभ्यः स्वस्ति । अग्नये स्वाहा । पितृभ्यः स्वधा । अलमिति पर्याप्त्यर्थग्रहणम् । तेन दैत्येभ्यो हरिरलं प्रभुः समर्थः शक्त इत्यादि । प्रभ्वादियोगे षष्ठ्यपि साधुः । तस्मै प्रभवति स एषां ग्रामणीरिति निर्देशात् । तेन प्रभुर्बुभूषुर्भुवनत्रयस्येति सिद्धम् । वषडिन्द्राय । चकारः पुनर्विधानार्थः । तेनाशीर्विवक्षायां परामपि चतुर्थीं चाशिषीति षष्ठीं बाधित्वा चतुर्थ्येव भवति । स्वस्ति गोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

583 The fourth case-affix is employed in conjunction with words namah 'salutation,' svasti 'peace,' svâhâ, svadhâ (terms used in offering oblations to Gods and Pitris respectively), alam 'a match for' 'sufficient for' and vashat a term of oblation

As हरये नमः But in नमस्करोति देवान् the word देवान् is in the Accusative case in accordance with the following Paribhâshâ'

Paribhâshâ—" A case-termination, which if it were added to a base would show that the person or thing denoted by that base is instrumental in bringing about the action denoted by the Verb of a sentence, posseses greater force than a case-termination which might be added to the same base, because of the presence in the same sentence of a word requiring **the**

addition of that particular termination, and it accordingly is added in preference to the latter "

Note —Accordingly देवान् has received the termination of the Accusative case by II 3 2 S 537' because the Accusative, namely the Devas are the object of the action denoted by नमस्करोति, and it has not received the termination of the dative which case is governed by the word नम ॥ उपपदविभक्तेः कारक विभक्तिर्बलीयसी The meaning of उपपदविभक्ति is " that case which is used in connection with a certain word and has not any direct relation with the verb in the sentence " Such as the dative case in हरये used in connection with नम ॥ Here the dative has no connection with the verb and is brought about by the force of नम ॥ कारकविभक्ति is the Vibhakti added on to the word which denotes the person or thing taking part in an action The maxim says Karaka Vibhakti is stronger then Upapad-vibhakti

स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य , स्वाहाऽग्नये, स्वधा पितृभ्य , अल मल्लो मल्लाय 'Salutation to Gods'; 'svâhâ to Agni', 'svâdhâ to the Pitris', 'an athlete is a match for an athlete' &c, The word अल, includes its synonyms also, as प्रभु , शक्त &c , as दैत्येभ्यो हरिरल, प्रभु , समर्थ , शक्त &c

The use of Genitive is also valid in connection with प्रभु &c. Because we find sentences like तस्मै प्रभवति (V I 101 S 1765) स एषां ग्रामणी (V 2 78 S 1878) Therefore this is valid —प्रभुर्बुभूषुर्भुवनत्रयस्य ॥ So also वषडिन्द्राय ॥

The च indicates that the Dative, will debar the Genitive, in spite of II 3 73 S 631 in the case of these words, though used benedictively , as, स्वस्तिगोभ्यो भूयात् ॥

५८४ । मन्यकर्मण्यनादरे विभाषाऽप्राणिषु । २ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्राणिवर्जे मन्यतेः कर्मणि चतुर्थी वा स्यात्तिरस्कारे । न त्वां तृणं मन्ये तृणाय वा । श्यना निर्देशात्तानादिकयोगे न । न त्वां तृणं मन्वे । अप्राणिष्वित्यपनीय नौकाकान्नशुकशृगालवर्ज्येष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ तेन न त्वां नावमन्नं वा मन्ये इत्यत्राप्राणित्वेऽपि चतुर्थी न । न त्वां शुने मन्ये इत्यत्र प्राणित्वेऽपि भवत्येव ॥

584 In denoting the indirect object, which is not an animal, of the verb manya 'to think,' the dative case is optionally employed, when contempt is to be shown

Ex न त्वां तृणं तृणाय वा मन्ये 'I do not consider thee worth a straw' The optional dative will not be employed with the synonyms of the verb मन्य So also the sûtra uses the form मन्य, with the vikarana श्यन्, indicating that it is Divâdi that governs a dative, and not the Tanâdi मन्, for the latter governs the accusative only, as न त्वां तृणं मन्वे ॥

The words "which is not an animal" in the sûtra are useless

and should be removed Because even when the object of comparison is an animate being, it will not take the dative —as न त्वा शुने मन्ये "I do not regard thee even as a dog" See the Vârtika given below

Vart —Instead of using अप्राणिषु in the sûtra, the word अनावादिषु should be used The following words belong to Nâvâdi class, they are always in the accusative after the word मन्ये never in the Dative —ना 'ship,' काक 'crow,' अन्न 'food,' शुक 'parrot,' and शृगाल 'jackal'

Hence नाव and अन्न although inanimate are not put in the dative in नत्वा नावमन्नं मन्ये , नत्वा शुने मन्ये ॥

५८५ । गत्यर्थकर्मणि द्वितीयाचतुर्थ्यौ चेष्टायामनध्वनि । २ । ३ । १२ ॥

अध्वभिन्ने गत्यर्थानां कर्मणि एते स्तश्चेष्टायाम् । ग्रामं ग्रामाय वा गच्छति । चेष्टायां किम् । मनसा हरिं व्रजति । अनध्वनीति किम् । पन्थानं गच्छति । गन्त्राधिष्ठितेऽध्वन्येवायं निषेधः । यदा तूत्पथात्पन्था एवाक्रमितुमिष्यते तदा चतुर्थी भवत्येव । उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

585 In the case of roots implying motion the place, to which motion is directed, takes the affix of the 2nd (Accusative) or the 4th (Dative) case, in denoting the 'object,' when physical motion is meant and the object is not a word expressing 'road'.

As, ग्रामं or ग्रामाय गच्छति 'he goes to the village' Why do we say 'when physical motion is meant? Observe मनसा हरिं व्रजति (the verb not denoting physical motion) 'he goes mentally to Hari' Why do we say 'when the object is not a word expressing road'? Observe पन्थानं गच्छति 'he goes over the way' (the object being the 'way')

The prohibition applies with regard to the going over or occupying the road , so that where a person from a wrong road goes to the right road, there the Dative will be employed, as उत्पथेन पथे गच्छति ॥

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THE ABLATIVE KÂRAKA

५८६ । ध्रुवमपायेऽपादानम् । १ । ४ । २४ ॥

अपायो विश्लेषस्तस्मिन्साध्ये ध्रुवमवधिभूतं कारकमपादानं स्यात् ॥

586 A noun whose relation to an action is that of a fixed point, from which departure takes place, is called apâdâna or ablation

५८७ । अपादाने पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २८ ॥

ग्रामादायाति । धावतोऽश्वात्पतति । कारक किम् । वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ जुगुप्साविरामप्रमादार्थानामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पापाज्जुगुप्सते विरमति धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति ॥

587 When the Apâdâna-kâraka is denoted, the fifth case-affix is employed

As, ग्रामादायाति 'he comes from the village', धावतोऽश्वात्पतति 'he falls off a galloping horse'

Why do we say कारक in explaining the sûtra? Observe वृक्षस्य पर्णं पतति ॥ The leaf of the tree falls (Here 'वृक्ष' has no direct connection with the Verb, hence it is not कारक) ॥

Vârtika —The objects of verbs denoting 'aversion,' 'cessation' and 'negligence' are also called ablation Thus पापाज्जुगुप्सते or विरमति, 'he dislikes or ceases from sin' धर्मात्प्रमाद्यति 'he deviates from the path of Virtue'

५८८ । भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतु । १ । ४ । २५ ॥

भयार्थानां त्राणार्थानां च प्रयोगे भयहेतुरपादानं स्यात् । चोराद् बिभेति । चोरात् त्रायते । भयहेतु किम् । अरण्ये बिभेति त्रायते वा ॥

588 In the case of words implying 'fear' and 'protection from danger,' that from which the danger or fear proceeds is called Apâdâna

The verbs signifying 'fear' or 'protection' govern the object feared of, or the danger to be protected from, in the ablative case Thus चोरात् बिभेति "he is afraid of the thief' चोरात् त्रायते or रक्षति "He protects or saves from the thief"

Why do we say 'the cause of fear (bhaya hetu), is put in the ablative case? Observe अरण्ये बिभेति or त्रायते "he fears or protects in the forest"

५८९ । पराजेरसोढः । १ । ४ । २६ ॥

पराजेः प्रयोगेऽसह्योऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । अध्ययनात्पराजयते । ग्लायतीत्यर्थः । असोढः किम् । शत्रून्पराजयते । अभिभवतीत्यर्थः ॥

589 In the case of the verb parâji, 'to be tired or weary of,' that which becomes unbearable, is called Apâdâna

When the verb जि "to conquer," with the preposition parâ has the

sense of 'becoming tired or unbearable' it governs the ablative case of the thing become unbearable As अध्ययनात् पराजयते 'he finds study unbearable'

Why do we say 'that which becomes unbearable' Observe शत्रून् पराजयते "he defeats the enemies"

५९० । वारणार्थानामीप्सितः । १ । ४ । २७ ॥

प्रवृत्तिविघातो वारणम् । वारणार्थानां धातूनां प्रयोगे ईप्सितोऽर्थोऽपादानं स्यात् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति । ईप्सितः किम् । यवेभ्यो गां वारयति क्षेत्रे ॥

590 In the case of verbs having the sense of "preventing," the desired object from which one is prevented or warded off, is called Ablation or Apâdâna

The obstruction to one's natural inclination is called vârana or prevention As यवेभ्यो गां वारयति or निवर्तयति "he wards off or withholds the cow from the barley"

Why do we say 'the object desired' is put in the ablative case'? Observe गां वारयति क्षेत्रे "he wards off the cow in the field"

५९१ । अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति । १ । ४ । २८ ॥

व्यवधाने सति यत्कर्तृकस्यात्मनो दर्शनस्याभावमिच्छति तदपादानं स्यात् । मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः । अन्तर्धौ किम् । चौरान्न दिदृक्षते । इच्छतिग्रहणं किम् । अदर्शनेच्छायां सत्यां सत्यपि दर्शने यथा स्यात् ॥ देवदत्ताद् यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

591 When concealment is indicated, the person whose sight one wishes to avoid, is called Apâdâna

Thus मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः "Krishna conceals or hides from his mother, so that the mother may not find him out or see him

Why do we say 'when concealment is indicated'? Observe चौरान् न दिदृक्षते "he does not wish to see the thieves" Here the term chaurân is in the accusative case

Why has the word ichchhati been used in the text? The apâdâna kâraka is to be used there only, where one desires that he should not be seen, yet he is seen As देवदत्ताद्यज्ञदत्तो निलीयते ॥

५९२ । आख्यातोपयोगे । १ । ४ । २९ ॥

नियमपूर्वकविद्यास्वीकारे वक्ता प्राक्संज्ञः स्यात् । उपाध्यायादधीते । उपयोगे किम् । नटस्य गाथां शृणोति ॥

592 The noun denoting the teacher is called Apâdâna or ablation, in relation to the action signifying formal teaching

Note —The word आख्यातृ means "teacher," and उपयोग means acquiring knowledge in the regular way

Thus उपाध्यायादधीते "he learns from the preceptor"

Why do we say 'when meaning to learn'? Observe नटस्य गाथां शृणोति 'he hears the song of the player,"

५९३ । जनिकर्तुः प्रकृतिः । १ । ४ । ३० ॥

जायमानस्य हेतुरपादानं स्यात् । ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते ॥

593 The prime cause of the agent of the verb jan "to be born," is called Apâdâna

As ब्रह्मणः प्रजाः प्रजायन्ते the creatures come out of Brahma'

Note —That which is the Agent (कर्ता) of the verb jan, is called जनिकर्ता That which is the prime-cause (प्रकृति) of the agent (or product) of the root jan is put in the ablative case

५९४ । भुवः प्रभवः । १ । ४ । ३१ ॥

भवनं भूः । भूकर्तुः प्रभवस्तथा । हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति । तत्र प्रकाशत इत्यर्थः ॥

ल्यब्लोपे कर्मण्यधिकरणे च * ॥ प्रासादात्प्रेक्षते । आसनात्प्रेक्षते । प्रासादमारुह्य आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षत इत्यर्थः श्वशुराज्जिह्रेति । श्वशुरं वीक्ष्येत्यर्थः ।

गम्यमानाऽपि क्रिया कारकविभक्तीनां निमित्तम् । कस्मात्त्वं नद्याः ॥

यतश्चाध्वकालनिर्माणं तत्र पञ्चमी * ॥ तद्युक्तादध्वनः प्रथमासप्तम्यौ * ॥ कालात्सप्तमी च वक्तव्या * ॥ वनाद्ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा । कार्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे ॥

594 The source of the agent of the verb bhû, "to become," is called Apâdâna

The phrase 'of the agent' (kartuh,) is understood here The word प्रभव means "the source or that from which anything arises" As हिमवतो गङ्गा प्रभवति "the Ganges has its source in the Himalayas"

The fifth case affix is employed in denoting the object, when the verbal participle ending in ल्यप् is elided, as प्रासादमारुह्य प्रेक्षते = प्रासादात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from a palace'

Vart —And under similar circumstances, in denoting the location, the place where an action is performed, is put in the ablative case, as, आसने उपविश्य प्रेक्षते = आसनात् प्रेक्षते 'he sees from the seat' So also श्वशुराज्जिह्रेति = श्वशुरं वीक्ष्य "He becomes shy at the sight of his father in-law"

A verb understood is also a cause that gives rise to kâraka inflection As कस्मात् त्वं नद्याः ॥

Note —In questions, and answers, the fifth case affix is employed — कुतो भवान्? पाटलीपुत्रात् 'whence is your Honor coming? From Pataliputra.'

Vart —That point of time or space, from which distance in time or space is measured, is put in the Ablative case —as, वनात् ग्रामो योजनं योजने वा "The village is one or two yojanas from the forest"

Vart —After a word denoting time, the seventh case is also employed in the sense of ablation As कार्त्तिक्या आग्रहायणी मासे 'Agrahâyana is one month from Kârtika' The word denoting the distance in time is put in the locative case here as मासे ॥

Vart —In the above the word denoting the distance in space may be put either in the nominative or locative, as गवीधुमतः सांकाश्यं चत्वारि योजनानि or चतुर्षु योजनेषु ॥

५९५ । अन्यारादितरर्ते दिक्शब्दाञ्चूत्तरपदाजाहियुक्ते । २ । ३ । २९ ॥

एतैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अन्य इत्यर्थग्रहणम् । इतरग्रहणं प्रपञ्चार्थम् । अन्यो भिन्न इतरो वा कृष्णात् । आराद्वनात् । ऋते कृष्णात् । पूर्वो ग्रामात् । दिशि दृष्टः शब्दो दिक्शब्दः । तेन सम्प्रति देशकालवृत्तिना योगेऽपि भवति । चैत्रात्पूर्वः फाल्गुनः । अवयववाचियोगे तु न । तस्य परमाम्रेडितमिति निर्देशात् । पूर्वं कायस्य । अञ्चूत्तरपदस्य तु दिक्शब्दत्वेऽपि षष्ठ्यतसर्थेति षष्ठीं बाधितुं पृथग्ग्रहणम् । प्राक्, प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् । आच्, दक्षिणा ग्रामात् । आहि, दक्षिणाहि ग्रामात् । अपादाने पञ्चमीति सूत्रे कार्तिक्याः प्रभृतीति भाष्यप्रयोगात् प्रभृत्यर्थयोगे पञ्चमी । भवात्प्रभृति आरभ्य वा सेव्यो हरिः । अपपरिबहिरिति समासविधानाज्ज्ञापकाद्बहिर्योगे पञ्चमी । ग्रामाद्बहिः ॥

595 When a noun is joined with words meaning 'other than' or with ârât 'near or remote' or itara 'different from' or rite 'without,' or words indicative of the 'directions' (used also with reference to the time corresponding to them) or with words having añchu 'to bend' as the last member of the compound (and expressive of direction), or with words ending with the affix âch or âhi (V 3 36 and 37) the fifth case-affix is employed

The word अन्य in the sûtra includes all words having the sense of अन्य, i e all words meaning 'other than' इतर must be synonymous with अन्य for the application of this sûtra Its use in the sûtra is therefore only illustrative. When इतर means नीच "low," then the sûtra does not apply

As अन्यो, भिन्नो इतरो, कृष्णात् "different from Krishna," आराद् वनात् "remote from or near to the forest' (The word ârât meaning 'near or remote' would have taken the sixth case-affix by sutra 611, but this enjoins 5th case affix) ऋते कृष्णात् 'excepting Krishna' पूर्वो ग्रामात् 'east of the village' The word दिक् 'direction' includes here every word which is employed primarily in denoting direction and nothing else Therefore, the rule applies when such a word is used in connection with point of time, as चैत्रात्

पूर्वं फाल्गुन, "The month Phalguna is anterior to Chaitra" Here the direction denoting word पूर्व governs the Ablative But when it means "member," it does not govern the ablative' for Panini himself shows this in the construction of the sutra तस्य पर आम्रेडितम् VIII 1 2 S 83 Here पर does it not govern the ablative, and the sûtra is not तस्मात् पर &c Thus पूर्वं कायस्य, here पूर्वं does not govern the ablative

The words like प्राक् &c, formed from the verb añch are also दिक्शब्द, their separate enumeration shows that the sixth case affix ordained by the sutra 609 does not come after them उत्तरो ग्रामात् 'north of the village,' पूर्वा ग्रीष्मात् वसन्त 'the spring is prior to summer' With añchu we have प्राक् प्रत्यग्वा ग्रामात् 'to the east or west of the village,' with आच् we have दक्षिणा-ग्रामात् ॥ and with âhî we have दक्षिणाहि वा ग्रामात् both meaning 'to the south or in the eastern direction of the village'

In commenting on the sutra II 3 28 S 587 Patanjali gives the example कार्तिक्या प्रभृति, which shows that प्रभृति and its synonyms also govern the ablative case Here प्रभृति means आरभ्य ॥ Thus भवात् प्रभृति आरभ्या वा सेव्यो हरि "Hari is to be served by all commencing with Bhava downwards"

The word बहिस् governs the ablative, and this we infer from II 1 12 S 666, which says "The words अप, परि बहिस् and indeclinables ending in अञ्चु may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case" This rule of samâsa *implies* that बहिस् governs fifth case as ग्रामाद् बहिस् ॥ This rule being inferred by implication is not universal, on the maxim ज्ञापकसिद्ध न सर्वत्र ॥ Therefore we have करस्य करभोबहि and not करात् ॥

———— o ————

The three particles अप, पार and आङ् govern the ablative, when they are Karmapravachanîya. The next two sûtras describe when they are Karmapravachaniya

५९६ । अपपरी वर्जने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

एतौ वर्जने कर्मप्रवचनीयौ स्त ॥

596 The words apa and pari are karma-pravachanîya, when meaning 'exclusion'

Note —The force of अप and परि is in this case that of 'with the exception of' As अपत्रिगर्तेभ्या वृष्टो देव "it rained outside of or with the exception of Trigarta So also परि त्रिगर्तेभ्या वृष्टादेव ॥ In this sense they govern the noun excluded in the ablative case (II 3 10) When not having these senses, they are not karma pravachaniya As ओदन परिषिञ्चति ॥ "He waters the rice

thoroughly" Here it is an upasarga, meaning thoroughly and hence changes the स into ष ॥

५९७ । आङ् मर्यादा वचने । १ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आङ् मर्यादायामुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् । वचनग्रहणादभिविधावपि ॥

597 The word ân "as far as", is karma-pravachanîya when it expresses limit (e g when it means 'as far as inclusive of' or 'as far as exclusive of')

The word वचन in the text shows that both sorts of limits are here meant As आपाटलिपुत्राद् वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (but excluding) Pâtaliputra" आपाटलिपुत्र वृष्टो देवः "it rained as far as (including) Pâtliputra," आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः ॥ आसाकाड्यात्, आ मथुरायाः when it means 'little' or is a verbal prefix, it does not get this name

The मर्यादा is the limit exclusive (विना तेन), while अभिविधि is the limit *inclusive* (सह तेन) ॥ The construction of the sûtra would have been better if it had been the same as II 1 13 S 667 आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः ॥

५९८ । पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः । २ । ३ । १० ॥

एतैः कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । अपहरेः परिहरेः संसारः । परिरत्र वर्जने । लक्षणादौ तु हरिंपरि । आमुक्तेः संसारः । आसकलाद्ब्रह्म ॥

598 The fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed when a word is governed by the karmapravachanîya apa, ân or pari

अप or परि हरेः संसारः "The samsâra is outside of Hari" Here the force is that of exclusion

The परि here has the meaning of 'exclusion' (I 4 88) being read along with अप, therefore, not here वृक्षं परि विद्योतते विद्युत् (I 4 90 S 552), or हरिं परि where the meaning is that of "sign" &c mentioned in I 4 90 S 552

So also आमुक्तेः संसारः = मुक्तिं मर्यादीकृत्य "the samsâra has its sway up to mukti, but not with it or beyond it" आसकलाद् ब्रह्म "Bramha is in every thing" Here आ has the force of inclusion, = सकलमभिव्याप्य ॥

५९९ । प्रतिः प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदानयोः । १ । ४ । ९२ ॥

एतयोरर्थयोः प्रतिरुक्तसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

599 The word prati is karma-pravachanîya when used in the sense of representative ('representative of') or exchange ('in exchange for.')

Note —That which is like to the principal is called प्रतिनिधि ॥ Giving in return for what is obtained is प्रतिदान ॥

६०० । प्रतिनिधिप्रतिदाने च यस्मात् । २ । ३ । ११ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीयैर्योगे पञ्चमी स्यात् । प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात्प्रति । तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् ॥

600 The Fifth case-affix (ablative) is employed after whatsoever is governed by the karmapravachaníya प्रति when used in the sense of 'substitute' or 'exchange' (I 4 92)

As प्रद्युम्नः कृष्णात् प्रति "Pradyumna is the representative of Krishna" तिलेभ्यः प्रतियच्छति माषान् "he exchanges mâshâs for the sesamum'

६०१ । अकर्तर्यृणे पञ्चमी । २ । ३ । २४ ॥

कर्तृवर्जितं यदृणं हेतुभूतं ततः पञ्चमी स्यात् ॥ शताद्बद्धः । अकर्तरि किम् । शतेन बन्धितः ॥

601 A word, implying debt, considered as a 'cause' but not as a kartri or agent, takes the fifth case-affix

As शताद्बद्धः 'he has been bound on account of a debt of a hundred pieces'

Why do we say 'when not denoting the agent?' Observe शतेन बन्धितः, 'a debt of hundred has thrown him in prison', here शत being considered as a prayojaka hetu, is an agent and takes the third case-affix.

६०२ । विभाषा गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् । २ । ३ । २५ ॥

गुणे हेतावस्त्रीलिङ्गे पञ्चमी वा स्यात् । जाड्याज्जाड्येन वा बद्धः । गुणे किम् । धनेन कुलम् । अस्त्रियां किम् । बुद्ध्या मुक्तः । विभाषेति योगविभागादगुणे स्त्रियां च क्वचित् । धूमादग्निमान् । नास्ति घटोऽनुपलब्धेः ॥

602 The fifth case-affix is employed optionally when the noun expresses an attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender.

As जाड्यात् जाड्येन वा बद्धः 'he has been bound by reason of his dullness' Why do we say 'when the noun expresses an attribute'? Observe धनेन कुलम् ॥ Why do we say 'not being of the feminine gender?' Observe बुद्ध्या मुक्तः 'he was set at liberty on account of his skill'

This sutra may be divided into two distinct sutras, e g विभाषा and गुणेऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ Thus we get two rules —

1 The ablative is used optionally when the noun expresses the cause of a thing whether material or attributive, whether feminine or masculine This rule is of limited scope

Therefore a feminine word even will also govern the ablative As धूमादग्निमान् "By reason of the smoke, (we infer the mountain to be) fiery" नास्ति घट अनुपलब्धे "There is no pot here, because it is not perceived"

2 The ablative is employed when a word expresses attribute, being the cause of a thing, provided that it is not of the feminine gender

६०३ । पृथग्विनानानाभिस्तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३२ ॥

एभिर्योगे तृतीया स्यात्पञ्चमीद्वितीये च । अन्यतरस्यां ग्रहणं समुच्चयार्थम् । पञ्चमीद्वितीयेऽनुवर्तेते । पृथग् रामेण रामात् राम वा । एव विना नाना ॥

603 When joined with the words prithak 'witnout,' vinâ 'without' and nânâ 'without' the thiud case-affix is employed, optionally (as well as the fifth and the second)

As रामाद्रामेण राम वा विना पृथग् नाना वा 'without or different from Râma'

Note —This sûtra may be divided into two parts —(1) पृथग् विना नानाभि (2) तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ By this arrangement we can read dvitiya into the aphorism.

विना वात विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतन विना ।
विना हस्तिकृतान् दोषान् केनेमौ पातितौ द्रुमौ ॥

The word anyatrasyâm in the sûtra is for the sake of "collecting"—i e it includes the dvitîya as well as panchamî vibhaktis In the Ashtâdhyâyi, the arrangement of the sûtras are 1 अपादाने पञ्चमी, 2 अन्यारादितरर्ते &c 3. स्तोक &c 4 एनपा द्वितीया. 5 पृथग् विना &c

Now in case the third case affix is not employed, then the second case affix *alone* would be employed, because dvitîya is used immediately in the preceding sûtra. But if the second case-affix will come optionally, then the fifth will also come But fifth is necessary (not optional), and thus the *simultaneous* employment of the three (5th, 2nd 3rd) will be impossible Hence we say that the word anyatarasyâma of the sûtra must mean "aggregation or collection" Thus by fiog leap we draw in the anuvritti of pañchamî from sûtra II 3 28, S 587 while we draw in dvîtîya from the sûtra immediately preceding the present नाना has also the sense of exclusion, as said in the Amarakosha पृथग् नाना च वर्जने (avyaya varga verse 3) as in नाना नारीं निष्फला लोकयात्रा ॥

The rule applies to these *three* synonyms only Therefore not here हिरुग् देवदत्तस्य 'without Devadatta'

६०४ । करणे च स्तोकाल्पकृच्छ्रकतिपयस्यासत्त्ववचनस्य । २ । ३ । ३३ ॥

एभ्योऽद्रव्यवचनेभ्य करणे तृतीयापञ्चम्यौ स्त । स्तोकेन स्तोकाद्वा मुक्त । द्रव्ये तु स्तोकेन विषेण हत ॥

604 When expressing an instrument-kâraka, after the words stoka 'little,' alpa 'little,' kṛichchhra 'difficulty,' and katipaya 'some,' the third as well as the fifth case-affix is used, when they do not denote material objects (i e they are used as adverbs and not as adjectives)

As स्तोकात् स्तोकेन वा मुक्त and अल्पान्मुक्त or अल्पेनमुक्त &c, 'he got off easily &c" But स्तोकेन विषेन हत, अल्पेन मधुना मत्त &c 'killed by a little poison' No option allowed, as it qualifies a substance

६०५ । दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यो द्वितीया च । २ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीया स्याच्चात्पञ्चमीतृतीये । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे विधिरयम् । ग्रामस्य दूर दूरात् दूरेण वा । अन्तिकम् अन्तिकात् अन्तिकेन वा । असत्त्ववचनस्येत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दूर पन्था ॥

605 After the words having the sense of dûra 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the second case-affix is used as well as the fifth and the third

As दूर दूराद् दूरेण वा ग्रामस्य and अन्तिकात्, अन्तिकेन or अन्तिक ग्रामस्य ॥

This rule applies only when these words have their original prâtipadika signification, and do not qualify a substance, because the anuvritti of "when they do not denote (or qualify) material objects" is understood here also Therefore the proper case affix is employed here as दूर पन्था ॥

THE GENITIVE

६०६ । षष्ठी शेषे । २ । ३ । ५० ॥

कारकप्रातिपदिकार्थव्यतिरिक्त स्वस्वामिभावादिसम्बन्ध शेषस्तत्र षष्ठी स्यात् । राज्ञ पुरुष । कर्मादीनामपि सम्बन्धमात्रविवक्षाया षष्ठ्येव । सता गतम् । सर्पिषो जानीते । मात स्मरति । एधो दकस्योपस्कुरुते । भजे शम्भोश्चरणयो । फलाना तृप्त ॥

606 The sixth case-affix is employed in the remaining cases, that is to say, where there is a sense, such as the relation between property and its owner, &c

different from that of a word related to a verb (kâraka), and from that of a Nominal stem (Pratipadika)

As, राज्ञ पुरुष 'the king's man' पशो पाद 'beasts foot' पितु पुत्र father's son'

The sixth case should also be employed when the *mere* relationship of kârkas like karma (Accusative) &c is intended to be expressed As सतां गतम्=सत्पुरुष सम्बन्धिगमनम् "the going of the good i e the going relating to the good" So also सर्पिषो जानीते "He knows about ghee" i e every thing relating to ghee, its price, manufacture, quality &c Here sixth case is used with the force of the Instrumental=सर्पि सम्बन्धि प्रवर्तन ॥ Others take it in the sense of karma, explaining it as सर्पि सम्बन्धि ज्ञान ॥

So also मातु स्मरति ॥ "He remembers his mother" एधोदकस्योपस्कुरुते (see 614) "Fuel does good to water i e purifies it Or heats it" The word edhodaka is either a samâhâra compound of एधाश्च उदकञ्च or एधासिच दकञ्च ॥ The word दक is an abbreviated form of उदक ॥

So also भजे शम्भोश्चरणयो 'I worship the feet of Shambhu and फलानां तृप्त "satisfied with fruits"

६०७ । षष्ठी हेतुप्रयोगे । २ । ३ । २६ ॥

हेतुशब्दप्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये षष्ठी स्यात् । अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

607 The sixth case-affix is employed after a noun implying the cause of an action, when the word "hetu" is used along with such a word

As अन्नस्य हेतोर्वसति 'he dwells for the sake of food This ordains sixth case, where there would have been otherwise the third case

६०८ । सर्वनाम्नस्तृतीया च । २ । ३ । २७ ॥

सर्वनाम्नो हेतुशब्दस्य च प्रयोगे हेतौ द्योत्ये तृतीया स्यात् षष्ठी च । केन हेतुना वसति । कस्य हेतो ॥

निमित्तपर्यायप्रयोगे सर्वासां प्रायदर्शनम् * ॥ किंनिमित्तं वसति । केन निमित्तेन । कस्मै निमित्तायेत्यादि । एवं किं कारणं को हेतु किं प्रयोजनमित्यादि । प्रायग्रहणादसर्वनाम्न प्रथमाद्वितीये न स्त । ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हरि सेव्य । ज्ञानाय निमित्तायेत्यादि ॥

608 After a sarvanâman (I 1 27 S 213) when it signifies the cause of an action, and the word 'hetu' is used with it, the sixth case-affix is employed as well as the third

As कस्य or केन हेतुना वसति 'for the sake of what does he live?' कस्य or कस्य हेतोर्वसति ॥

Vart —When the words निमित्त or कारण or its synonyms are so used, almost all the case affixes may be employed, as किं निमित्तं or केन निमित्तेन or कस्मै निमित्ताय or कस्मान्निमित्तात् or कस्य निमित्तस्य or कस्मिन् निमित्ते वसति ॥ Similarly with the words kârana and hetu किं कारणं को हेतुः किं प्रयोजनं &c Here also the word हेतु does not mean the word form hetu (I 1 68 S 25) but its synonyms also, as किं प्रयोजनं or केन प्रयोजनेन or कस्मै प्रयोजनाय &c, वसति ॥

By the employment of the word प्राय, the First and the second case-affixes do not come after non sarvanama words As, ज्ञानेन निमित्तेन हरिः सेव्यः or ज्ञानाय निमित्ताय &c

६०९ । षष्ठ्यतसर्थप्रत्ययेन । २ । ३ । ३० ॥

एतद्योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । दिक्शब्देति पञ्चम्या अपवादः । ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः पुरः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्टात् ॥

609 The sixth case-affix is employed when used in connection with words ending with affixes having the sense of the affix atasuch (V 3 28 S 1978)

The affix अतसुच् is ordained by V 3 28 S 1978
It debars the fifth case affix ordained by V 3 27 S 1974

As ग्रामस्य दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः पुरस्तात् उपरि उपरिष्टात् वा 'to the south or north, fore most, in or above the village'

६१० । एनपा द्वितीया । २ । ३ । ३१ ॥

एनबन्तेन योगे द्वितीया स्यात् । एनपेति योगविभागात्षष्ठ्यपि । दक्षिणेन ग्रामं ग्रामस्य वा । एवमुत्तरेण ॥

610 With a word ending with the affix 'enap' (V 3 35 S 1984), the second case-affix is employed as well as the sixth

As दक्षिणेन ग्रामम् ग्रामस्य वा 'south of the village' So also उत्तरेण ॥ By the rule of yoga-vibhâ, we get the sixth case affix also

६११ । दूरान्तिकार्थैः षष्ठ्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एतैर्योगे षष्ठी स्यात्पञ्चमी च । दूरं निकटं ग्रामस्य ग्रामाद्वा ॥

611 When in conjunction with words having the sense of 'dûra' 'distant,' and antika 'near,' the sixth case-affix is employed and also the Fifth

As ग्रामाद् ग्रामस्य वा वनं दूरं विप्रकृष्टं, अन्तिकं, अभ्याशं, निकटं समीपं वा 'the forest is distant from or near to the village'

६१२ । ज्ञोऽविदर्थस्य करणे । २ । ३ । ५१ ॥

जानातेरज्ञानार्थस्य करणे शेषत्वेन विवक्षिते षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

612 Of the verb ज्ञा jñâ, when not used in the sense of 'to know,' the instrument takes the sixth case-affix

As सर्पिषोज्ञानम् ॥

Note —The verb ज्ञा when not meaning 'to know', has the significance of 'to act, or to engage in,' or it may denote 'false knowledge', as, सर्पिषि रक्त प्रतिहतो वा ॥ Compare I 3 54

But not so here स्वरेण पुत्रं जानाति 'he recognises the son by the voice

६१३ । अधीगर्थदयेशाकर्मणि । २ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । मातुः स्मरणम् । सर्पिषो दयनम् । ईशनं वा ॥

613 Of the verbs having the sense of 'remembering,' (adhik) and of daya 'to give,' 'to pity' 'to protect,' 'to move,' and of îśa 'to rule or be master of,' the object takes the sixth case-affix

As मातुः स्मरणम् 'he remembers the mother' सर्पिषो दयनम् ॥ ईशनं वा he gives clarified butter,' नाथ गात्राणामीष्टे he can not rule his limbs.

Note —But not so here मातुर्गुणैः स्मरति because गुणाः here is not the object The word शेष is also understood here So that the cases not otherwise provided for, take this case So that मातरं स्मरति is also allowed

६१४ । कृञः प्रतियत्ने । २ । ३ । ५३ ॥

कृञः कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्याद्गुणाधाने एधो दकस्योपस्करणम् ॥

614 The object of the verb kṛi takes the sixth case affix, when it means 'to impart a new quality or virtue' (I 3 32)

As एधोदकस्योपस्करणम् 'the wood gives a new quality to the water' (or he prepares the wood and water for sacrifice) (By VI 1 139, S 2552 स is inserted)

Note —When प्रतियत्न is not meant, the second case affix is employed as कटं करोति ॥

The word शेष is also understood here So that we have also एधोदकमुपस्कुरुते ॥

६१५ । रुजार्थानां भाववचनानामज्वरे । २ । ३ । ५४ ॥

भावकर्तृकाणां ज्वरिवर्जितानां रुजार्थानां कर्मणि शेषे षष्ठी स्यात् । चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा । अज्वरिसंताप्योरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ रोगस्य चौरज्वर । चौरसंतापो वा । रोगकर्तृकं चौरसम्बन्धि ज्वरादि कमित्यर्थ ॥

615 The object of verbs having the sense of ruj 'to afflict,' with the exception of the Causative verb jvaraya 'to be feverish' takes the sixth case-affix, when the verb expresses a condition (i e, when the subject is an Abstract noun)

As चौरस्य रोगस्य रुजा "the disease afflicts the thief" चौरस्यामयति आमय ॥

Vartika —It should be rather stated "with the exception of ज्वरय or संतापय ॥

Why do we say 'when the subject is an Abstract noun'? Observe नदी कूलानि रुजति 'the river breaks the banks" So also not here चोर ज्वरयति ज्वर 'the fever burns the thief So also when the verb संताप is used, चोर संतापयति ताप ॥

The word शेष is also understood here Thus चौर रुजति रोग ॥

६१६ । आशिषि नाथ । २ । ३ । ५५ ॥

आशीरर्थस्य नाथते शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । सर्पिषो नाथनम् । आशिषीति किम् । माणवकनाथनम् । तत्सम्बन्धिनी याच्ञेत्यर्थ ॥

616 Of the verb nâth when meaning 'to bless', the object takes the sixth case-affix

As सर्पिषो नाथनम् 'the blessing of the honey' Why do we say 'to bless'? Observe माणवकनाथनम् 'he entreats the boy' Here नाथ does not mean to bless, and so it takes the accusative case

६१७ । जासिनिप्रहणनाटक्राथपिषां हिंसायाम् । २ । ३ । ५६ ॥

हिंसार्थानामेषां शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात । चौरस्योज्जासनम् । निप्रौ संहतौ विपर्यस्तौ व्यस्तौ वा । चौरस्य निप्रहणनम् प्रणिहननम् । निहननम् प्रहणन वा । नट अवस्यन्दने चुरादि । चौरस्योन्नाटनम् चौरस्य क्राथनम् । वृषलस्य पेषणम् । हिंसायाम् किम् । धानापेषणम् ॥

617 The object of the verbs jâsi 'to strike 'to hurt,' han 'to strike' preceded by नि and प्र jointly, severally or in any order, nât to 'injure,' 'krath,' and 'pish,' when they mean, 'to injure, takes the sixth case-affix

चौरस्योज्जासनम्, निप्रहणनम्, निहननम्, प्रहणनम्, प्रणिहननम्, उन्नाटयति, क्राथयति, पिनष्टि वा, 'he injures the thief'

The root नट् belonging to the Churâdi class No 250 should be taken, and not that of the Bhvâdi हन् with the prepositions pra and ni may be taken in any order The root क्रथ takes in the causative vriddhi irregularly This verb is Bhvâdi and falls into the subdivision ghaṭâdi, and is called there a मित् verb, all मित् verbs shorten their penultimate before the causative affix णिच् (IV 4 92) Thus क्राथ is an irregularity

Why do we say 'when meaning to injure'? Observe धानापेषणम् 'the pounding of the barley'

Note —The word शेष is also understood here as चौरस्योज्जासयति Only these govern the genitive, not so here चौरं हिनस्ति चौरं विहन्ति ॥

६१८ । व्यवहृपणोः समर्थयोः । २ । ३ । ५७ ॥

शेषे कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । द्यूते क्रयविक्रयव्यवहारे चानयोस्तुल्यार्थता । शतस्य व्यवहरणं पणनं वा । समर्थयोः किम् । शलाकाव्यवहारः । गणनेत्यर्थः ॥ ब्राह्मणपणनं स्तुतिरित्यर्थः ॥

618 The object of the verbs vyavahṛi and paṇ when they are synonymous, that is, when they mean 'dealing in sale and purchase transactions' or 'staking in gambling,' takes the sixth case-affix

As शतस्य व्यवहरणं or पणनं 'dealing in, or staking hundred

Why does not the verb पण take the affix आय? It takes आय when meaning 'to praise or honor,' and not in the sense of 'gambling, or bartering' &c Why do we say samarthayos? Not so here शलाका व्यवहारः 'counting the dice,' ब्राह्मण पणनं praising the Brâhmana The word शेष is also here understood, so that we have शतं पणते he stakes a hundred

६१९ । दिवस्तदर्थस्य । २ । ३ । ५८ ॥

द्यूतार्थस्य क्रयविक्रयरूपव्यवहारार्थस्य च दिवः कर्मणि षष्ठी स्यात् । शतस्य दीव्यति । तदर्थस्य किम् । ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति । स्तौतीत्यर्थः ॥

619 The object of the verb div, when having the above-mentioned sense of 'dealing' or 'staking takes the sixth case-affix

As शतस्य दीव्यति 'he stakes or deals in hundred' Why do we say 'when having the above-mentioned sense of dealing or staking'? Observe ब्राह्मणं दीव्यति 'he praises the Brâhmaṇa.

(kâla) when used along with a word ending with an affix having the sense of kritvasuch (V 4 17) 'so many times'

As पञ्चकृत्वोऽह्नो भोजनम् 'eating five times a day' In short, 'words meaning so many times, or the numeral adverbs of frequency, govern the genitive of time in the sense of locative' As द्विरह्नो भोजनम् 'he eats twice in a day'

Why do we say 'having the force of कृत्वसुच्?' Observe अह्नि शेते 'he sleeps in the day'

This rule will not apply when the adverb of frequency is understood, not expressed (prayoga) as in अहनि भुक्तम् Nor when the time is not meant, as द्वि कांस्यपात्र्यां भुङ्क्ते 'he eats in two brass vessels' So also when location is not meant as द्विरह्नो भुङ्क्ते

Why is शेष understood here? Observe द्विरह्न्यध्ययनम्

६२३ । कर्तृकर्मणोः कृति । २ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कृद्योगे कर्तरि कर्मणि च षष्ठी स्यात् । कृष्णस्य कृतिः । जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः ॥ गुणकर्मणि वेष्यते ॥ नेताऽश्वस्य स्रुघ्नस्य स्रुघ्नं वा । कृति किम् । तद्धिते मा भूत् । कृतपूर्वी कटम् ॥

623 The sixth case affix is employed after a word, in denoting the agent and the object, when used along with a word ending with a kṛit affix (III 1 93), the anuvritti of शेषे ceases

As कृष्णस्य कृतिः "the doing of Krishna"

जगतः कर्ता कृष्णः "Krishna is the creator of the world,"

But not in शस्त्रेण भेत्ता 'cutting with weapon' Where it is neither agent nor object

Ishti —According to Patanjali, the employment of the sixth case is optional when the word is an Indirect object (of a verb that takes two objects), as नेता अश्वस्य स्रुघ्नस्य स्रुघ्नं वा ।

Why do we say 'kṛit?' Not so when a Taddhita affix is employed as कृतपूर्वी कटम् In other words, the genitive in Sanskrit is both subjective and objective

Note —Why do we say कृत्? Because the agent or the object will take the affix of the sixth case only in connection with krit, while in connection with a conjugated verb (तिङ्) the sixth case is debarred by II 3 69 S 627 Observe कृतपूर्वी कटं ।

Here the object कट is not put in the sixth case, though it is not governed by a conjugated verb but by a Taddhita

६२४ । उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणि । २ । ३ । ६६ ॥

उभयोः प्राप्तिर्यस्मिन्कृति तत्र कर्मण्येव षष्ठी स्यात् । आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपेन ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यययोरकाकारयोर्नायं नियमः ॥

भेदिका बिभित्सा वा रुद्रस्य जगतः ॥ शेषे विभाषा * ॥ स्त्रीप्रत्यय इत्येके । विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा । केचिदविशेषेण विभाषामिच्छन्ति । शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येणाचार्यस्य वा ॥

624 When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by a kṛit-affix, are both used in a sentence, and the sixth case can be employed after EITHER, then the sixth case-affix is employed in the object only, and not in the agent (the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent)

Note —" When a primary noun is accompanied at the same time by both its agent and its object, generally only the object is put in the genitive, the agent being denoted by the Instrumental As आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपालकेन wonderful is the milking of the cows, by one who is not a cow herd " (Keil horn)

आश्चर्यो गवां दोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of a cow without a cowherd is a wonder'

Vart —' When the agent and object are both used, the agent is put in the instrumental, or genitive case, and the restriction of the present sutra regarding object does not apply when the kṛit terminations are of the feminine gender ending in अक or अ (III 3 111 and III 3 102 भेदिका बिभित्सा वा रुद्रस्य जगतः "The destruction or the desire of destroying the universe by Rudra" Here in भेदिका we have अक, and in बिभित्सा we have अ

Vârtika —There is option in the remaining affixes According to some when affixes are feminine other than अक or अ as, विचित्रा जगतः कृतिर्हरेर्हरिणा वा 'the creation of the world by Hari is wonderful' Some hold the option of this vârtika as unrestricted by any such condition , as शब्दानामनुशासनमाचार्येण आचार्यस्य वा " the dissertation on words by the âchârya " Here anuśasanam is neuter, and not feminine

६२५ । क्तस्य च वर्तमाने । २ । ३ । ६७ ॥

वर्तमानार्थस्य क्तस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । न लोकेति निषेधस्यापवादः । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो

625 The past participle ending in क्त when used in the sense of the present tense, (III 2 187 and 188) is used with the genitive

This sûtra debars sûtra 627 by which genitive is prohibited after Nishṭhâ affixes This is an exception to that sûtra

As राज्ञां पूजितः 'honored by kings,' So also राज्ञां मतो बुद्धो वा ॥

६२६ । अधिकरणवाचिनश्च । २ । ३ । ६८ ॥

क्तस्य योगे षष्ठी स्यात् । इदमेषामासितं शयितं गतं भुक्तं वा ॥

626 The past participle in क्त is used with the genitive when the former expresses location (III 4 76)

This also is an exception to the prohibition about Nishthâ contained in II 3 69 S 627 As इदमेषामासितम् 'this is their seat' इदमेषां शयितंगतं भुक्तंवा 'this is their sleeping'

६२७ । न लोकाव्ययनिष्ठाखलर्थतृनाम् । २ । ३ । ६९ ॥

एषां प्रयोगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । लादेशाः । कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरिः । उ । हरिं दिदृक्षुः । अलंकरिष्णुर्वा । उक । दैत्यान् घातुको हरिः ॥ कमेरनिषेधः * ॥ लक्ष्म्याः कामुको हरिः । अव्ययम् । जगत् सृष्ट्वा । सुखं कर्तुम् । निष्ठा । विष्णुना हता दैत्याः । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णुः । खलर्थाः । ईषत्करः प्रपञ्चो हरिणा । तृन्निति प्रत्याहारः शतृशानचाविति तृशब्दादारभ्यातृनो नकारात् । शानन् । सोमं पवमानः । चानश् । आत्मानं मण्डयमानः । शतृ । वेदमधीयन् । तृन् । कर्ता लोकान् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा * ॥ मुरस्य मुरं वा द्विषन् ॥ सर्वोऽयं कारकषष्ठ्याः प्रतिषेधः ॥ शेषे षष्ठी तु स्यादेव । ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् । नरकस्य जिष्णुः ॥

627 The sixth case-affix is not used to express the agent or the object, when the word is governed by an Active Participle which is the substitute of ल, or when the word is formed by the affix उ, or उक, or governed by an Indeclinable, or by a past Participle in क्त and क्तवतु, or by a word ending in an affix having the sense of खल् or by a noun of agency formed by तृन् ॥

After these words, the Instrumental case must be employed to denote the agent, and the Accusative case to denote the object This sûtra debars Genitive which would have come by II 3 65 The word लोक is formed by ल+उ+उक= ल+ऊक=लोक

1 The word ल means the substitutes of ल i e, the Present Participles in शतृ, शानच् (III 2 124 S 3100), कानच् (III 2 106 S 3094) क्वसु (III 2 107

S 3095) कि and किन् (III 2 172 S 3151) Thus कुर्वन् or कुर्वाणो वा सृष्टिं हरि ॥ ओदनं पचन् पचमानः, वेचान or पेचिवान्, पपि सोमम्, ददिर्गा ॥

2 The affix उ is enjoined by III 2 168 S 3148, as, हरिं दिदृक्षु "desirons of seeing Hari" The prohibition applies when a word ending in इष्णुच् (III 2 136) is the governing term, as, कन्यामलङ्करिष्णु ॥

3 The affix उक is ordained by (III 2 154 S 3134 as दैत्यान् घातुको हरि ॥

Vart —But there is no prohibition in the case of the word कामुक in secular Sanskrit, which governs the Genitive, as लक्ष्म्या कामुको हरि ।

4 Indeclinables formed by कृत् affixes, as, जगत् सृष्ट्वा सुखं कर्तुम् ॥

Vart —This prohibition, however, does not apply, to the indeclinables formed by तोसुन् (III 4. 16 S 3443) and कसुन् (III 4. 17 S 3444,) as पुरा सूर्यस्योदेतोराधेय, पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपो विरप्शिन् (I 1 40)

5 Nishṭhâ i e, क्त and क्तवतु, as विष्णुना हता दैत्या । दैत्यान् हतवान् विष्णु ॥

6 The words formed by खलर्थ affixes (III 3 126 S 3305), as, ईषत्करो प्रपञ्चो हरिणा, ईषत्पानः सोमो भवता

7 The तृन् in the aphorism is a pratyâhâra, formed by taking the तृ of शतृ (III 2 124. S 3100) and the final न of तृन् (III 2 135 S 3115), meaning the affixes शानच् (III 2 128 S 3108) As सोमं पवमान ॥ चानश् (III 2 129 S 3109) आत्मानं मण्डयमान ॥ शतृ (III 2 130 S 3110), अधीयन् and तृन् (III. 2 135 S 3115) कर्ता लोकान् ॥

Vart —Optionally so, when the root द्विष् takes the affix शतृ, as, मुरं or मुरस्य द्विषन् ॥ The rule of this sûtra is a prohibition of kâraka Shashṭhî and not of Shesha Shashṭhî That sixth-case affix will be employed As ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, नरकस्य जिष्णु ॥

६२८ । अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययो । २ । ३ । ७० ॥

भविष्यत्यकस्य भविष्यदाधमर्ण्यार्थेनश्च योगे षष्ठी न स्यात् । सतः पालकोऽवतरति । व्रजं गामी । शतं दायी ॥

628 The sixth case affix is not used when the word is governed by a verbal noun in अक denoting futurity, or in इन् denoting 'futurity' and 'indebtedness.'

The affix अक, such as ण्वुल्, वुञ् &c, denote futurity, and never denote indebtedness The affix इन् such as णिनि (III 3 3 and 170 S 3171, S 3311), denotes both Thus सतः पालकोऽवतरति "He takes birth to protect the good" ओदनं भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat rice' So also with इन्, as, व्रजं गामी 'he has to go to Braja.' शतं दायी 'he owes hundred'

६२६। कृत्यानां कर्तरि वा। २। ३। ७१॥

षष्ठी वा स्यात्। मया मम वा सेव्यो हरि। कर्तरीति किम्। गेयो माणवक साम्नाम्। भव्यगेयेति कर्तरि यद्विधानादनभिहित कर्म। अत्र योगो विभज्यते॥

629 The sixth case-affix is optionally employed in denoting the agent, (but not the object), when the word is governed by a Future Passive Participle (kṛitya)

By II 3 65, S 623 primary nouns, (kṛit-formed), always govern the Genitive in denoting agent or object The present sûtra declares an option as to agents only, in the case of those primary nouns which are Future Passive Participles Thus मया मम वा सेव्यो हरि

Why do we say 'in denoting the agent?' In denoting the object, no option is allowed, the Genitive is compulsory As गेयो माणवक साम्नाम्॥

Here by III 4. 68 S 2894, the kritya word गेय can denote the agent also, and is not *necessarily* confined to the object, like other kṛitya formed words (III 4. 70 S 2833) Hence the compulsory genitive. Of course, the objective may also be used, as गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि॥

Vart —The prohibition of the Genitive should be stated in the case of the Future Passive Participles of those verbs which govern two objects. Thus कृष्ट्या ग्राम शाखा देवदत्तेन, नेतव्या ब्रज गाव कृष्णेन

According to Patanjali the present sûtra should be divided into two rules, by the method of Yoga vibhâga. As

६२६ क॥ कृत्यानाम्॥

उभयप्राप्ताविति नेति चानुवर्तते। तेन नेतव्या ब्रज गाव कृष्णेन। ततः

629 A When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence and it is possible to employ the Genitive case after either of them, then the sixth case-affix is not used after the object

Here the words उभयप्राप्तौ of II 3 66 S 624 and न of II. 3 69 S 627 must be read into this sûtra to complete the sense. The meaning of the aphorism therefore is as given above.

As नेतव्या ब्रज गाव कृष्णेन॥ Here we cannot employ the sixth case-affix, after the word ब्रज॥

६२९ ख॥ कर्तरि वा॥

स्पष्टोऽर्थ॥

629 B When the agent and the object of the action denoted by the word formed by the kritya affix are both used in a sentence, then the sixth case affix may optionally be used in denoting the agent

As गेय माणवक साम्नाम् ॥

Patanjali —Why have we used the word "kartari" in the sûtra? So that the affix may not come in the object No, this cannot be the reason for the kritya-affixes are employed in denoting bhâva Impersonal action and karma (Passive Voice) only, and never kartâ (agent) (See III 4 70 S 2833) Thus being governed by the kritya, the object of the Passive Participle will never take the Genitive affix, but will take the first case affix To this Kâtyâyana gives the following answer —

Vârtika —The word 'Kartari" is used in the sûtra, because the kritya words of the sûtra III 4 68 S 2894 (*ans*, भव्य, गेय &c,) express agent also (are used in Active construction), and their object being not expressly taught, those kritya words do not govern any object directly As गेयो माणवक साम्ना ।

The object of the Passive Participles भव्य &c, not being taught, the "agent" of the kritya words is taken here

How do you say "the object of the Participles bhavya &c, is not taught by the kritya affixes," for do we not find them also governing an object, as in the following example? आक्रष्टव्या ग्राम शाखा The verb कृष् governs two objects, the Principal object is put in the accusative after the Participle. So it is necessary to use the word kartari in the sûtra

If this be so, we shall divide the sûtra into two First कृत्यानां and then कर्तरि च as given above

६३० । तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयाऽन्यतरस्याम् । २ । ३ । ७२ ॥

तुल्यार्थैर्योगे तृतीया वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी । तुल्य सदृश समो वा कृष्णस्य कृष्णेन वा । अतुलोपमाभ्यां किम् । तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

630 The third or the sixth case affix may optionally be employed, when the word is joined with another word meaning 'like to, or resemblance', excepting तुला and उपमा

Thus तुल्यो सदृस समोवा कृष्णस्य or कृष्णेन Why do we say "excepting तुला and उपमा." Here the Genitive must necessarily be employed Observe तुला उपमा वा कृष्णस्य नास्ति ॥

Note —Though the anuvritti of वा was understood in this sûtra from the previous sûtra, yet the repitition of अन्यतरस्याम् is for the sake of the subsequent sutra The word च in II 3 73 attracts the word अन्यतरस्याम् into that sutra, but had the word अन्यतरस्याम् not been used in this sûtra, then the word च would have attracted the word तृतीया instead, which is not desired

६३१ । चतुर्थी चाशिष्यायुष्यमद्रभद्रकुशलसुखार्थहितै । २ । ३ । ७३ ॥

एतदर्थैर्योगे चतुर्थी वा स्यात्पक्षे षष्ठी आशिषि । आयुष्य चिरंजिवित कृष्णाय कृष्णस्य वा भूयात् । एव मद्र भद्र कुशल निरामय सुख श अर्थ प्रयोजन हित पथ्य वा भूयात् । आशिषि किम् । देवदत्तस्यायुष्यमस्ति । व्याख्यानात्सर्वत्रार्थग्रहणम् । मद्रभद्रयो पर्यायत्वादन्यतरो न पठनीय ॥

631 The fourth as well as the sixth case-affix may be employed, when blessing is intended in connection with the words âyusha 'long life,' madra 'joy,' bhadra 'good fortune,' kuśala 'welfare,' sukha 'happiness,' artha 'prosperity,' and hita 'good'

The च in the sûtra makes the employment of Dative optional in the alternative we have Genitive

Vart —In the sûtra आयुष्य &c, include their synonyms also

Thus आयुष्य चिरजीवित कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य ॥ Similarly मद्र, भद्रं, कुशल, निरामय, सुख, श, अर्थो, प्रयोजन, हित पथ्य कृष्णाय or कृष्णस्य भूयात् ॥

Why do we say when 'benediction is intended'? Observe आयुष्य देवदत्तस्य तपः 'the austerity is the cause of the long life of Devadatta' Here there is no option allowed, and the Genitive case is only employed



६३२ । आधारोऽधिकरणम् । १ । ४ । ४५ ॥

कर्तृकर्मद्वारा तन्निष्ठक्रियाया आधार कारकमधिकरणसज्ञ स्यात् ॥

632 That which is related to the action as the site where the action is performed, by reason of the agent or the object being in that place, is called Adhikarana or the Location

That in which the action is supported or located is called Adhâra As कटे आस्ते 'he is seated on the mat.' कटे शेते 'he is sleeping on the mat.' स्थाल्या पचति 'he cooks in the pot' The Adhikarana takes the 7th case-affix.

६३३। सप्तम्यधिकरणे च। २। ३। ३६॥

अधिकरणे सप्तमी स्यात्। चकाराद्दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्यः। औपश्लेषिको वैषयिकोऽभिव्यापकश्चेत्याधारस्त्रिधा। कटे आस्ते। स्थाल्यां पचति। मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति। सर्वस्मिन्नात्माऽस्ति। वनस्य दूरे अन्तिके वा॥ दूरान्तिकार्थेभ्य इति विभक्तित्रयेण सह चतस्रोऽत्र विभक्तयः फलिताः॥

क्तस्येन्विषयस्य कर्मण्युपसंख्यानम् *॥ अधीती व्याकरणे। अधीतमनेनेति विग्रहे इष्टादिभ्यश्चेति कर्तरीनिः॥

साध्वसाधुप्रयोगे च *॥ साधुः कृष्णो मातरि। असाधुर्मातुले॥

निमित्तात्कर्मयोगे *॥ निमित्तमिह फलम्। योगः संयोगसमवायात्मकः॥

चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम्।
केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः॥ १॥

हेतौ तृतीयाऽत्र प्राप्ता तन्निवारणार्थमिदम्। सीमाऽण्डकोशः। पुष्कलको गन्धमृगः।
योगविशेषे किम्। वेतनेन धान्यं लुनाति॥

633. The seventh case-affix is employed when the sense is that of location, as well as after the word meaning 'distant' or 'near'

The location is of three sorts —

1 Location of contact

2. Location of object

3 Location of pervasion

As कटे आस्ते 'he sits on the mat' स्थाल्यां पचति 'he cooks in the pot' मोक्षे इच्छाऽस्ति "He desires Liberation" सर्वस्मिन्नात्माऽस्ति अन्तिके दूरे वा वनस्य 'near or distant from the forest' Thus the words दूर and अन्तिक take four case-affixes, namely, the second, third, fifth and seventh See II 3 35 S 605

Vart —Words formed by adding इन् to the past participle in क्त, govern the locative of that which forms their object —as अधीती व्याकरणे 'versed in grammar' It should be analysed as अधीतमनेन, and then is added इनि by See V 2 88 S 1888

Vart —The words साधु and असाधु govern the locative of that towards whom goodness or otherwise is shown, as साधुः कृष्णो मातरि 'Krishna is well behaved towards his mother' असाधुर्मातुले 'ill behaved towards his uncle'

Vart —The Locative is sometimes used to denote the object or purpose for which anything is done The nimitta here means "fruit", yoga means samyoga and samavâya As in the above verse —

'Man kills the tiger for his skin, the elephant for his tusks, the chamari cow for her hair, and the musk deer for its musk'

Here the third case affix would have, otherwise, come in denoting "hetu" The present vârtika prevents that The word सीमा in the above verse means "testicle" The word पुष्कलक means musk deer According to Padamanjari pushkalaka means "a spear or dart." सीम्नि पुष्कलकोहतः "a bolt or dart fixed in the ground, for the sake of demarcation or fixing the boundary"

Why do we say in this vârtika "purpose for which anything is done"? Observe वेतनेन धान्य लुनाति "by wages he cuts the paddy'

६३४ । यस्य च भावेन भावलक्षणम् । २ । ३ । ३७ ॥

यस्य क्रियया क्रियान्तर लक्ष्यते तत सप्तमी स्यात् । गोषु दुह्यमानासु गत ॥
अर्हाणा कर्तृत्वेऽनर्हाणामकर्तृत्वे तद्वैपरीत्ये च * ॥ सत्सु तरत्सु असन्त आसते । असत्सु तिष्ठत्सु सन्तस्तरन्ति । सत्सु तिष्ठत्सु असन्तस्तरन्ति । असत्सु तरत्सु सन्तस्तिष्ठन्ति ॥

634 By the action (bhâva) of what-so-ever, the time of another action is indicated, that takes the seventh case-affix

This is Locative Absolute गोषु दुह्यमानासु गत 'the cows being milked he went away' दुग्धास्वागत 'and returned when they were milked' अग्निषु हूयमानेषु गत, हुतेष्वागत

Why do we say 'by the action of whatsoever'? Observe यो जटाभि स भुङ्क्ते Why have we used the word 'action' twice? Witness यो भुङ्क्ते स देवदत्त

Vârtika —In denoting the proper action of a person competent to perform it, in the same sentence with the non-performance of the same action by the person not competent to do it, or in the non doing of the action by the person not competent to do it, in the same sentence with the performance of the action by the person competent to do it, the first part of the sentence is put in the Locative case and *vice versa*, when incompatibility of an action is denoted As सत्सु तरत्सु असन्त आसते "The good crossing over, the bad remain sitting" &c

६३५ । षष्ठी चानादरे । २ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनादराधिक्ये भावलक्षणे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्त । रुदति रुदतो वा प्राव्राजीत् । रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनादृत्य सन्यस्तवानित्यर्थ ॥

635 The sixth case-affix is employed (as well as the seventh), when disregard is to be shown, after

that by whose action the time of another action is indicated

This is Genitive Absolute रुदत रुदति वा प्राव्राजीत् 'in spite of his weeping he went away' The force of this genitive is that of the English words 'not-with standing' 'in spite of' 'for all, that' &c, रुदन्त पुत्रादिकमनादृत्य सन्यस्तवान् "disregarding the weeping sons and the rest, he became a Sanyâsi,"

६३६ । स्वामीश्वराधिपतिदायादसाक्षिप्रतिभूप्रसूतैश्च । २ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एतै सप्तभिर्योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्त । षष्ठ्यामेव प्राप्ताया पाक्षिकसप्तम्यर्थ वचनम् । गवा गोषु वा स्वामी । गवा गोषु वा प्रसूत । गा एवानुभवितु जात इत्यर्थ ॥

636 The sixth and the seventh case affixes are used after words when they are joined with svâmin 'master,' îśvar 'lord', adhipati 'ruler,' dâyâda 'an heir,' sâkshin 'witness,' pratibhû 'a surety' and prasûta 'be gotten'

Thus गवा गोषु वा स्वामी or ईश्वर 'master of cows' So also गवा गोषु वा प्रसूत "born for the cows *i e* to help the cows"

Note —These words naturally would have governed the Genitive, the present sûtra ordains Locative as well

६३७ । आयुक्तकुशलाभ्यां चासेवायाम् । २ । ३ । ४० ॥

आभ्या योगे षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्तस्तात्पर्येऽर्थे । आयुक्तो व्यापारित । आयुक्त कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा ॥ आसेवाया किम् । आयुक्तो गौ शकटे । ईषद्युक्त इत्यर्थ ॥

637 In conjunction with the words âyukta 'engaged' and kuśala skillful,' when meaning entire absorption in an engagement the sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after a word

As आयुक्त कुशलो वा हरिपूजने हरिपूजनस्य वा deeply absorbed in worship of Hari'

Why do we say 'deeply absorbed'? For when not meaning deeply absorbed' the construction is different Observe आयुक्तो गौ शकटे 'the cow is slightly yoked to the cart' Here the seventh case affix only is employed

६३८ । यतश्च निर्धारणम् । २ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जातिगुणक्रियासंज्ञाभि समुदायादेकदेशस्य पृथक्करण निर्धारण यतस्तत षष्ठीसप्तम्यौ स्त । नृणा

नृषु वा ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठ । गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा । गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावन् शीघ्र । छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्र पटु ॥

638 The sixth and the seventh case-affixes are used after those words from which specification is made, (as of an individual from the whole class)

A nirdhârana or specification is made by separating one from the many or a part from the whole, by reason of its genus, quality or action (II 2 10)

As नृणां नृषु वा ब्राह्मण श्रेष्ठ "The Spiritual man is the best among men or of men"

As गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा 'among cows the black one gives much milk' गच्छतां गच्छत्सु वा धावञ्छीघ्र "Of walkers, the runner is the fastest" छात्राणां छात्रेषु वा मैत्र पटु 'Among the pupils Maitra is most skillful"

६३९ । पञ्चमी विभक्ते । २ । ३ । ४२ ॥

विभागो विभक्तम् । निर्धार्यमाणस्य यत्र भेद एव तत्र पञ्चमी स्यात् । माथुरा पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतरा ॥

639 The fifth case-affix is employed when the thing specified is different or divided from (and not included in) that from which specification is intended

This debars the sixth and the seventh case-affixes, as, माथुराः पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतरा 'Mathuras are more rich than Pâtaliputra'

६४० । साधुनिपुणाभ्यामर्चायां सप्तम्यप्रते । २ । ३ । ४३ ॥

आभ्यां योगे सप्तमी स्यादर्चायां न तु प्रते प्रयोगे । मातरि साधुर्निपुणो वा । अर्चायां किम् । निपुणो राज्ञो भृत्य । इह तत्त्वकथनं तात्पर्यम् । अप्रत्यादिभिरिति वक्तव्यम्* ॥ साधुर्निपुणो वा मातरं प्रतिपर्यनु वा ॥

640 In conjunction with the words sâdhu 'good, and nipuna 'skillful,' when they denote respect, the seventh case affix is employed, provided that the word prati is not used

Thus, मातरि साधु or निपुण 'good behaved towards his mother'

Why do we say 'when respect is denoted ? Observe, साधुर्भृत्यो राज्ञः 'the servant is good towards the king' Here it is a bare statement of a fact

Vârtika —The exception applies not only to प्रति, but to other prepositions, like परि अनु &c, as साधुर्निपुणो वा मातरं प्रति पर्यनु वा ॥

६४१ । प्रसितोत्सुकाभ्यां तृतीया च । २ । ३ । ४४ ॥

आभ्यां योगे तृतीया स्याच्चात्सप्तमी । प्रसित उत्सुको वा हरिणा हरौ वा ॥

641 In conjunction with the words prasita 'longing for,' and utsuka 'greatly desirous of,' the third case-affix is used after a word, as well as the seventh

We read the anuvritti of सप्तमी by force of the word च "and" in the sûtra

As प्रसाति उत्सको हरिणा हरौवा

६४२ । नक्षत्रे च लुपि । २ । ३ । ४५ ॥

नक्षत्रे प्रकृत्यर्थे यो लुप्संज्ञया लुप्यमानस्य प्रत्ययस्यार्थस्तत्र वर्तमानात्तृतीयासप्तम्यौ स्तोऽधिकरणे । मूलेनावाहयेद्देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् । मूले श्रवणे इति वा । लुपि किम् । पुष्ये शनि ॥

642 When an affix declaring the time of an Asterism is elided by lup (IV 2 4), the seventh and the third case-affixes are used after the word, whose affix is so elided

Thus 'मूलेनावाहयेद्देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत्' or else मूले or श्रवणे

Note —पुष्येण पुष्ये वा पायसमश्नीयात् 'when the moon is in the Asterism of Pushya, let him drink milk' See Rules IV 2 4 and IV 2 5 So also मघाभि पललौदन मघासु पललोदनम् But not so here पंचालेषु वसति 'he lives in Panchâla.' Here the country is meant, and not a star, though here also there is elision of the Taddhita affix

Why do we say 'lup elision'? Observe पुष्ये शनि Here there is no elision

But why not in अद्यपुष्य, अद्यकृत्तिका Because they do not denote location, which is understood It is when location is expressed by such words, that we may use the third case affix in the alternative

६४३ । सप्तमीपञ्चम्यौ कारकमध्ये । २ । ३ । ७ ॥

शक्तिद्वयमध्ये यौ कालाध्वानौ ताभ्यामेते स्तः । अद्य भुक्त्वाऽयं द्व्यहे द्व्यहाद्वा भोक्ता ॥ कर्तृशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं कालः । इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशे क्रोशाद्वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् । कर्तृकर्मशक्त्योर्मध्येऽयं देशः ॥ अधिकशब्देन योगे सप्तमीपञ्चम्याविष्येते । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति यस्मादधिकमिति च सूत्रनिर्देशात् । लोके लोकाद्वाधिको हरिः ॥

643 A noun denoting time or place gets the affix of the seventh or the fifth case, when the sense implied is that the time or space is the interval between one action and ano-

ther action (or implies an interval of time and space between to kârakas)

Thus अद्य भुक्त्वा द्व्यहे or द्व्यहाद्भोक्ता 'having dined today, he will dine in or after two days' Here the 'time' is the interval between the agent and his power of eating So also इहस्थोऽयं क्रोशात् क्रोशे वा लक्ष्यं विध्येत् 'standing here, he will hit a mark at the distance of one kos' Here kos or space is the interval between the agent and the object, or the object and the ablation, or the object and the location The rule I 3 10 does not apply here

Ishti —According to Patanjali, the word अधिक governs the fifth and the seventh case affixes This is inferred from the Jnâpaka of sûtras V 2 45 S 1846, and II, 3 9 S 645 where Pânini uses the forms अस्मिन्नधिक and यस्मादधिक ॥ Thus लोके लोकाद्वा अधिको हरि ॥

६४४ । अधिरीश्वरे । १ । ४ । ९७ ॥

स्वस्वामिभावसम्बन्धेऽधि कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञः स्यात् ॥

644 The word adhi is karmapravachanîya when used in the sense of 'lord" ("being as a lord" or "having as a lord")

Note —The word ईश्वर means 'master,' and it therefore requires another correlative word denoting 'property' of which one is master The word adhi governs a Locative case Sometime locative of the person possessing, sometime locative of the property possessed as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः or अधि पञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः Brahmadatta rules over Panchalas

६४५ । यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी । २ । ३ । ९ ॥

अत्र कर्मप्रवचनीययुक्ते सप्तमी स्यात् । उपपरार्धे हरेर्गुणाः । परार्धादधिका इत्यर्थः । ऐश्वर्ये तु स्वस्वामिभ्यां पर्यायेण सप्तमी । अधिभुवि रामः । अधिरामे भूः । सप्तमी शौण्डैरिति समासपक्षे तु रामाधीना । अषडक्षेत्यादिना खः ॥

645 Where a word is governed by a karmapravachanîya in the sense of 'more than' (I 4 87) or 'lord of' (I. 4 97) there the seventh case-affix (locative) is employed

As उपपरार्धे हरेर्गुणाः 'the qualities of Hari are more than billions"

In denoting 'lordship,' the seventh case affix is used either after the word denoting the thing possessed or after the possessor, indifferently As अधि भुवि रामः or अधि रामे भूः "Râma is lord of the world' By II 1 40 S 717 there may be compounding also, as रामाधीना ॥ Here the affix ईन (technically ख) is added to the stem अधि by V 4. 7 S 207

९४६ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ९८ ॥

अधिः करोतौ प्राक्संज्ञो वा स्यादीश्वरेऽर्थे । यदत्र मामधिकरिष्यति । विनियोक्ष्यत इत्यर्थः । इह विनियोक्तुरीश्वरत्वं गम्यते । अगतित्वात्तिङि चोदात्तवतीति निघातो न ॥

946 The word adhi is optionally karmapravachaniya when the verb kri follows

As यदत्र मामधि करिष्यति Here adhikarishyati means "directs, controls &c' Here the word अधि may be treated either as a गति or a कर्मप्रवचनीय When it is a गति the accent will be regulated by VIII 1 71 S 3978 otherwise not

——— o ———

अथाव्ययीभावसमास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVII

THE AVYAYÎ BHÂVA COMPOUNDS

SECTION I

ANOMALOUS COMPOUNDS

६४७। समर्थ पदविधि । २ । १ । १ ॥

पदसबन्धी यो विधि स समर्थाश्रितो बोध्य ॥

647. A rule which relates to complete words (and not to the roots and affixe out of which the words are constructed) is to be understood to apply only to those words the senses of which are cennected

Note —This is a paribhâshâ or interpreting aphorism Whereever in this Grammar a पदविधि is found, that must be understood to apply to समर्थ words A rule relating to पद or complete words is called पदविधि ॥ The word विधि is formed by adding कि to the root धाञ्, that which is ordained (विधीयते) is called विधि ॥ What are those rules which are ordained with regard to complete words? They are as follows —(1) Rules relating to समास or compounding of words, (2) Rules relating to विभक्ति or the application of declensional and conjugational affixes, (3) and the rule by which one word is considered as if it had become a constituent member of another word (पराङ्गवद् भाव) ॥

The word समर्थ means capable, and is of two sorts vyapekshâ and ekarthi bhâva When a single word is capable of expressing the sense of a sentence, on analysis, it is called ekarthibhava Sâmarthyam, while that which depends upon the words of a sentence as connected in sense, is called vyapeksha samarthyam —Thus राजपुरुष a single compound word is an example of the first, while राज्ञ पुरुष of the second In this second case राज्ञ may be connected with other words also, as राज्ञ पुरुषाऽश्वश्च "The king's man and horse" But not so in the first case, there you cannot add any other word with राज ॥

Thus it will be taught in sûtra 24 'a word ending with the second case-affix is optionally compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत &c and forms tatpurusha compound, 'as, कष्ट श्रित =कष्टश्रित 'who has had recourse to pain' But when these words are not समर्थ or connected in sense, there can be no

compounding, as, पश्य देवदत्त कष्टं, श्रितो विष्णुमित्रो गुरुकुलम् 'see O Devadatta, the pain, Vishnumitra has taken recourse to his teacher's house. Here the words कष्ट and श्रित though read in juxtaposition are not compounded, as they are not समर्थ ॥

Why have we used the word पद 'a complete word' in the sutra? So that this समर्थ परिभाषा may not apply to वर्णविधि i. e. rules relating to letters.

Thus rules of सन्धि 'conjunction of letters' are वर्णविधि and not पदविधि and therefore, the condition of being connected in sense, does not apply there. Two words, however disconnected in sense, must be glued together by the rules of sandhi, if those rules are applicable. Thus sutra VI. 1. 77. declares 'instead of a letter denoted by the pratyahara इक् there is one denoted by the pratyahara यण्, in each instance, where one denoted by the pratyâhara अच् immediately follows,' as, दधि + अशान = दध्यशान ॥ This substitution of य for इ will take place, whether the words are in construction or not, as तिष्ठतु दध्यशान त्वं शाकेन 'let the curd remain, eat thou with the vegetable curry.' So also तिष्ठतु कुमारीच्छत्रं हर देवदत्तात् 'let the girl be, take the umbrella from Devadatta. Here the augment तुक् (त subsequently changed into च) comes between कुमारी and छत्र, though the two words are not connected in sense (VI. 1. 76.)

६४८ । प्राक्कडारात्समासः । २ । १ । ३ ॥

कडाराः कर्मधारये इत्यतः प्राक्समास इत्यधिक्रियते ॥

648. From this point up to the aphorism kadarâkarmadhâraye (II. 2. 38 S. 751), all the terms that we shall describe will get the designation of samâsa or compound.

Thus it will be stated 'The indeclinable word यथा when not meaning like unto.' Here the word समास must be read into the sûtra to complete the sense.

६४९ । सह सुपा । २ । १ । ४ ॥

सह इति योगो विभज्यते । सुबन्तं समर्थेन सह समस्यते । योगविभागस्येष्टसिद्ध्यर्थत्वात्कातिपयातिङन्तोत्तरपदोऽयं समासः । सच छन्दस्येव । पर्यभूषयत् । अनुव्यचलत् ॥

649. The words 'saha supâ' meaning 'with a word ending in a case-affix,' are to be understood in each of the succeeding aphorisms.

In this aphorism the word सुप् is understood from sutra 2, so that it consists of three words *viz*, सुप, सह, सुपा ॥ All these three words jointly and severally, one at a time or two at a time, should be understood as governing the succeeding aphorisms, as the contingency of each sutra may require.

This aphorism will constantly be applied in translating the sûtras that follow

Why have we used the word सह? Well, without it, the sûtra would have stood thus सुप् सुपा 'a noun may be compounded with another noun' But this overlooks the case of a compounding with a verb The word सह is therefore used so that we may be able to break this composite sûtra into two separate and simple sútras, namely —

649 A सह (सुप्, समस्येत समर्थेन) 'a case inflected word may be compounded with a word with which it is connected in sense' Here the word सह with the help of the three words सुप् taken from sûtra 2, समस्यते from sûtra 3, and समर्थन from sûtra 1, forms one complete aphorism, and applies to compounds like अनुव्यचलत्, अनुप्रावषत पर्यभूषत् ॥ The accent will depend upon these being considered as samâsa This is, of course, confined to Chhandas literature The words being samâsa, the udâtta accent is on the final

649 B सुपा (सह सुप् समस्यते) "a sup-inflected word is compounded with another sup-inflected word" The compound which does not fall within any of the various sorts of compounds to be treated of hereafter, will fall under this general head of compounds, as, पुनरुत्स्यूत वासा स्य पुनर्निष्कृतो स्य This also is for the sake of accent, as well as to give the designation of pratipadika to the words so formed Because they are pratipadikas, they take case-inflections &c

६५० । सुपो धातुप्रातिपदिकयो । २ । ४ । ७१ ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य सुपो लुक् स्यात् । भूतपूर्वे चरडिति निर्देशाद्भूतशब्दस्य पूर्वनिपात पूर्वं भूतो भूतपूर्व ॥

इवेन समासो विभक्त्यलोपश्च ॥ जीमूतस्येव ॥

650 There is luk-elision of the case-affix of a word when it gets the name of a root, or of a crude form

In the sûtra भूतपूर्वे चरट् (VI 3 53 S 1999), the word भूतपूर्व is a compound, and it teaches us that such compounds can be formed, in which भूत stands as the first member पूर्व भूत = भूतपूर्व and not पूर्वभूत, though both nouns are in the nominative case, and there is no express sutra of Pânini which teaches which of them should stand first in a case like this Naturally पूर्व being upasarjana would have stood first, but, the usage of Pânini is to the contrary

Vartika —There is no elision of the case affix when a word enters into composition with इव 'like"

Thus जीमूतस्येव ॥ This samâsa, like the previous, is of rare occurrence

A noun is changed into a root (धातु) when it is made a denominative verb As पुत्रीयति (III 1 8, S 2657 "he wishes for a son of his own" A noun which forms part of a compound becomes a crude form (I 2 46 S 179), as कष्टश्रित 'having recourse to pain' राजपुरुष 'king's man' In all these examples, the case affixes have been elided

Thus पुत्रम् इच्छति = पुत्रीयति, here the 2nd case affix is elided कष्टश्रितः = कष्टश्रित &c

Why do we say 'when it gets the name of धातु or प्रातिपदिक'? Because when it gets any other name such as भ &c, the case-affix is not elided Thus वृक्ष, प्लक्ष ॥

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SECTION II

AVYÂYÎBHÂVA

६५१ । अव्ययीभाव । २ । १ । ५ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

651 From this forward, whatever we shall describe, will get the name of Avyayîbhâva samâsa or adverbial compound

Note —This is also an adhikâra aphorism like the last

६५२ । अव्ययं विभक्तिसमीपसमृद्धिव्यृद्ध्यर्थाभावात्ययासम्प्रतिशब्दप्रादुर्भावपश्चाद्यथानुपूर्व्ययौगपद्यसादृश्यसम्पत्तिसाकल्यान्तवचनेषु । २ । १ । ६ ॥

अव्ययमिति योगो विभज्यते । अव्ययं समर्थेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभाव ॥

652 An indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective-affix (vibhakti) or 'of near to,' or 'prosperity,' or 'adversity,' or 'absence of the thing,' or 'departure,' or 'not now,' or 'the production of some sound,' or 'after,' or 'according to,' or 'order of arrangement,' or 'simultaneousness,' or 'likeness,' or 'possession' or 'totality' or 'termination,' is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, which is connected with

it in sense, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva,

The words सुप् and सुपा are understood in this sutra The words वचन should be read as connected with every one of the above phrases The examples of this sûtra will be found under 658

This sutra should also be divided into two, namely, the word अव्यय should form a sutra by itself

652 A अव्यय ॥

An Indeclinable is compounded with any word with which it is connected in sense

Thus the two words अप and दिशा may be compounded, when meaning दिशयोर्मध्ये ॥ In compounding, the following rules should be borne in mind, the actual compound is shown in sutra 657

६५३ । प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् । १ । २ । ४३ ॥

समासशास्त्रे प्रथमानिर्दिष्टमुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

653 In (this book, in the sûtras relating to) compound, the word that is exhibited in the first (Nominative) case, is called *upasarjana* or the secondary word

Note —This defines or rather describes the Upasarjana In the sutras referring to compounds, the words that have the case termination of the nominative, are called Upasarjanam

Thus sûtra II 1 24 (द्वितीया श्रितातीत पतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नैः) is a samâsa sûtra enjoining composition In this sutra the word द्वितीया is exhibited in the nominative case, and the remaining words are in the Instrumental case. The sûtra means, "An accusative (द्वितीया) is compounded with the words श्रित, अतीत, पतित, गत, अत्यस्त प्राप्त and आपन्न and forms Tat-purusha." Therefore, in forming accusative compounds the word having the accusative case will be called Upasarjana Thus कष्ट + श्रित = कष्टश्रित ॥ Here the word कष्ट being Upasarjana, stands first in the compound, by Rule II 2 30 S 654 उपसर्जनपूर्वम्, (In a compound the Upasarjana should be placed first). Similarly in rules relating to the formation of Instrumental Dative Ablative, Genitive and Locative Tat-purusha the words standing in those cases will be Upasarjana. Thus शङ्कुलाखण्ड, यूपदारु वृकभयम्, राजपुरुष, अक्षशौण्ड ॥

Upasarjana is, therefore, that word which either by composition or derivation loses its original independent character, while it also determines the sense of another word called प्रधान or principal.

६५४ । उपसर्जनं पूर्वम् । २ । २ । ३० ॥

समासे उपसर्जनं प्राक्प्रयोज्यम् ॥

654 The upasarjana (I 2 43 S 653) is to be placed first in a compound

Note —The word समासे is understood here The upasarjana being the word exhibited in the nominative case in the rules relating to samâsa, must stand first

६५५ । एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते । १ । २ । ४४ ॥

विग्रहे यन्नियतविभक्तिकं तदुपसर्जनसंज्ञं स्यात् न तु तस्य पूर्वनिपातः ॥

655 A word which has one fixed case, (while the word compounded with it may vary its case) is also *upasarjana*, except for the purposes of the rule which requires the *upasarjana* to stand first in a compound

Note —A word which in the analytical statement of the sense of a compound has one fixed case, whilst the word with which it is compounded may vary its case is also called upasarjana, but does not necessarily stand first

That which has one fixed case termination is called *eka vibhakti*, *i e*, a word whose case termination has been determined by a rule of samâsa i e, while the second word in composition with it may take many case-affixes, it takes only one case affix, apûrva-nipâte, such a word will be an upasarjana for all purposes, except for the purpose of the rule (II 2 30 S 654) which requires an upasarjana to stand first in a compound

Thus the prepositions निर् &c, when meaning across &c, are compounded with another word in the ablative case Though the first word may have any one of the several case terminations, the second member must always be in the fifth (ablative) case, when analytically stated As निष्क्रान्तः + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिः ॥ निष्क्रान्तं + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिम्, निष्क्रान्तेन + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बिना ॥ निष्क्रान्ताय + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बये निष्क्रान्ते + कौशाम्ब्या = निष्कौशाम्बौ

Similarly the word, निर्वाराणसिः ॥

If the word, when analytically stated, does not retain the one and the same case, it will not be called upasarjana, as the word कुमारी in the compound राजकुमारी, 'the king's daughter,' because राज्ञः + कुमारी = राजकुमारी, राज्ञः + कुमारीम् = राजकुमारीं, राज्ञः + कुमार्या, = राजकुमार्या, राज्ञः + कुमार्यै = राजकुमार्यै ॥

Had it been an upasarjana, the long ई of री would have been shortened into इ as in the previous example by I 2 48 S 656

This upasarjana, however, contrary to the general rule (II 2 30 S 654) can not stand first in the compound, because there is no such form as, कौशाम्बीनि ॥

६५६ । गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य । १ । २ । ४८ ॥

उपसर्जनं यो गोशब्दः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तं च तदन्तस्य प्रातिपदिकस्य ह्रस्वः स्यात् । अव्ययीभावश्चे-त्यव्ययत्वम् ॥

656 A short vowel is the substitute of that prâtipadika which ends with the word गो 'a cow,' and of that which ends with what has as its termination a feminine affix, when regarded as upasarjana

The word upasarjana has been defined in sûtra 654. In compounds the word गो becomes shortened, when it stands last and is an upasarjana

Thus चित्र+गो=चित्रगु 'possessed of a brindled cow' This is an example of a Bahuvrîhi or possessive compound So also शबलगु 'a spotted cow' Similarly in those prâtipadika upasarjanas which end in feminine suffixes having a final long vowel, there is a shortening Thus निर्+कौशाम्बी =निष्कौशाम्बि ॥ Here the final long ई is shortened So also निर्वाराणसि ॥

Other examples are —अति+खट्वा=अतिखट्व without a bedstead' अतिमाल 'surpassing a necklace in beauty'

If such a word is not an upasajana, there is no shortening, as, राजकुमारी 'the king's daughter' Here the word राजन् is upasarjana, and not the word कुमारी, which latter is therefore not shortened The word must be a derivative word *formed by the addition of an affix*, which makes it feminine Thus the words लक्ष्मी, श्री &c are feminine originally, and are not derived from the masculine nouns, by the addition of any feminine affix Therefore, we have अतिलक्ष्मीः 'surpassing Lakshmi in beauty' अतिश्रीः ॥

६५७ । नाव्ययीभावादतोऽम् त्वपञ्चम्याः । २ । ४ । ८३ ॥

अदन्तादव्ययीभावात्सुपो न लुक् किन्तु तस्य पञ्चमीं विना अमादेशः । दिशोर्मध्ये अपदिशम् । क्लीबेऽव्ययं त्वपदिशं दिशोर्मध्ये विदिक्स्त्रियामित्यमरः ॥

657 There is not luk-elision of the case-affix after an Avyayîbhâva compound that ends in अ, अम् is the substitute of its case-affixes, but not when it is the fifth case-affix

This debars luk-elision which was to have taken place by the sûtra 1. 4. 82 instead of luk elision, we have अम् added to the words

ending in short अ, as दिशयोर्मध्ये = अपदिशम् ॥ This is neuter and an Indeclinable. But when दिश् is consonant ending, then also we have the same form As दिशोर्मध्ये = अपदिशं ॥ The word दिश being read in the शरदादि class, takes the samâsânta टच् ॥ Another synonym of अपदिश is विदिक् which is, however, feminine It means "an intermediate quarter" See Amarakosha (Chat I Vyoma Varga verse 5)

Why do we say 'after words ending in short अ'? Because after an Avyayibhâvâ compound, ending in any other vowel, there is not अम substitution, but there is total elision of the case affixes, as अधिहरि ॥

But the ablative case affix is not elided after Avyayibhâva compound ending in short अ, nor is there the अम् substitution, as उपकुम्भादानय ॥

६५८ । तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । २ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अदन्तादव्ययीभावात्तृतीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलमम्भावः स्यात् । अपदिशम् । अपदिशेन । अपदिशम् । अपदिशे । बहुलमहणात्सुमद्रमुन्मत्तगङ्गमित्यादौ सप्तम्या नित्यमम्भाव ।

विभक्तीत्यादेरयमर्थ । विभक्त्यर्थादिषु वर्तमानमव्यय सुबन्तेन सह समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभाव । विभक्तौ तावत् । हरौ इत्यधिहरि । सप्तम्यर्थस्यैवात्र द्योतकोऽधि । हरि ङि अधि इत्यलौकिक विग्रहवाक्यम् । अत्र निपातेनाभिहिते ऽप्यधिकरणे वचनसामर्थ्यात्सप्तमी ॥

658 The change to अम् of the third and seventh case-affixes coming after an Avyayibhâva compound that ends in अ, occurs diversely

Thus Nominative and Accusative अपदिशम्, Ins अपदिशेन or अपदिशम्, Dat, Abl, and Gen अपदिशम्, Loc अपदिशे or अपदिशम् ॥

Vârt —The अम substitution is invariable and not optional in the locative case when the Avyayibhâva compound denotes prosperity (II 1 6 S 652) or a compound of rivers (II 1 20 and 21) or a compound having a numeral for its member (II 1 19 S 673), as सुमद्रम् 'well or prosperous with the Madras', सुमगधम् 'well or prosperous with the Magadhas', similarly उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । एकविंशतिभारद्वाजम् ॥ The word 'diversely' establishes all these even without the Vârtika

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The meaning of sûtra II 1 6 S 652 is now being given "An Indeclinable (avyaya) employed with the sense of an inflective affix (vibhakti) or of near to, or prosperity &c is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is connected with it in sense, and the compound so formed is Avyayibhâva"

(1) Thus विभक्तिवचन example is अधिहरि ॥ Here अधि has the force of the seventh case affix The analysis of this compound is हरि + ङि + अधि

This is the grammatical (alaukika) as opposed to syntactical analysis. Here though the location is expressed by a particle (adhi), yet there is seventh case by force of the sûtra. Because सुप् is understood and it is the rule that a सुबन्त can be compounded with a सुप्॥ Some explain अधिहरि as हरौ अधिकृत्य॥

The compound अधिहरि is Neuter by the next sûtra.

६५६। अव्ययीभावश्च। २। ४। १८

अयं नपुंसकं स्यात्॥ ह्रस्वो नपुंसके प्रातिपदिकस्य॥ गोपायतीति गा पातीति वा गोपा, तस्मिन्नित्यधिगोपम्। समीपे। कृष्णस्य समीपमुपकृष्णम्। समया ग्रामम्, निकषा लङ्काम्। आराद्वनादित्यत्र तु नाव्ययीभाव। अभित परित अन्यारादिति द्वितीयापञ्चम्योर्विधानसामर्थ्यात्। मद्राणां समृद्धिः सुमद्रम्। यवनानां व्यृद्धिर्दुर्यवनम्। विगता ऋद्धिर्व्यृद्धि। मक्षिकाणामभावो निर्मक्षिकम्। हिमस्यात्ययोऽतिहिमम्। अत्ययो ध्वंस। निद्राऽसम्प्रति न युज्यत इत्यतिनिद्रम्। हरिशब्दस्य प्रकाश इतिहरि। विष्णो पश्चादनुविष्णु। पश्चाच्छब्दस्य तु नात्र समास। तत्र पश्चात्समस्यते ध्वस्ते इति भाष्यप्रयोगात्। योग्यतावीप्सापदार्थानतिवृत्तिसादृश्यानि यथार्था। अनुरूपम्। रूपस्य योग्यमित्यर्थ। अर्थमर्थं प्रति प्रत्यर्थम्। प्रतिशब्दस्य वीप्सायां कर्मप्रवचनीयसंज्ञाविधानसामर्थ्यात्तद्योगे द्वितीयागर्भं वाक्यमपि। शक्तिमनतिक्रम्य यथाशक्ति। हरे सादृश्यं सहरि। वक्ष्यमाणेन सहस्य स। ज्येष्ठस्यानुपूर्व्येणेत्यनुज्येष्ठम्। चक्रेण युगपदिति विभेद॥

659. An Avyayîbhâva compound is also neuter gender.

Thus, अधिहरि॥

Note.—But for this rule, an Avyayîbhâva compound would have been either without any gender, if gender were to be regulated by its first member, which is generally an indeclinable, and which is the principal member in the compound, or it would have taken the gender of its subsequent member, like other compounds in which the last member is principal.

The force of च is to include cases not mentioned already.

A crude form is shortened by the rule S. 318, therefore, पा will be shortened to प when last member in a compound, as अधि + गोपा = अधिगोप which in Neuter becomes अधिगोपम्॥ The word गोपा is derived either from गोपायति (गुपु 'to protect,') or from पा 'to protect' with the noun गो, as गा पाति = गोपा "protector of cows."

The word गोपा when derived from गुपु रक्षणे is thus formed गुप् + आय (III. 1. 28. S. 2303) = गोपाय॥ Now add to this root क्विप् thus गोपाय + क्विप् = गोपा (the अ of य is dropped by VI. 4. 48 S. 2308 and the य् is elided by VI. 1. 66 S. 873) गोपा "protector". The second गोपा (गा पाति) is an upapada compound.

Now we give examples of समीपवचन &c. of S. 652.—

(2) समीपवचन, as कृष्णस्य समीप=उपकृष्णम्, 'near to Krishna' But समयाग्रामम्, निकषा लङ्काम्, आराद् वनात् there is no avyayibhâva Because the vârtika अभित परित &c (S 544) the words समया and निकषा gove Accusative case If there were compounding, there would have been necessity of that vârtika Similarly by sûtra अन्यारात् &c S 595, आर governs the Fifth case, and therefore would give rise to no compounding

3 समृद्धिवचन,—As सुमद्र 'well or prosperous with the Madras सुमगध 'well with the Magadhas'

4 व्यृद्धिवचन,—As दुर्गवादिक 'ill with the Gavadikas,' दुर्यवन 'ill wi the Yavanas' The word vyridhi means विगता ऋद्धि "want of prosperit adversity"

5 अभाववचन,—As निर्मक्षिकम् 'free from flies,' निर्मशकम् 'free fro mosquitoes'

6 अत्ययवचन,—As निर्हिमम् 'on the departure of the cold weather or अतिहिमम् ॥ Atyaya means "destruction, departure"

7 असम्प्रतिवचन,—As अतितैसृकम् 'past (not now) the time of wearir quilts,' so also अतिनिद्रम् "Past the time of sleeping," i e time to awake

8 शब्दप्रादुर्भाववचन,—As इति हरि 'the exclamation Hari' (thus वैष्णव इतिहरि वर्तते 'in the house of the Vaishnava there is the cry of Hari Hari')

9 पश्चाद्वचन,—As विष्णोः पश्चात्=अनुविष्णु "after Vishnu" The wo पश्चात् however itself cannot be so compounded, as Patanjali uses it separ tely in तत पश्चात् स्रस्यते see Mahâbhâshya on I 1 57 S 50 and II 2 24

10 यथार्थवचन,—The meaning of the word यथा is four fold, viz correspondence, 2 severalty or succession, 3 the not passing beyon something, 4 and likeness, thus (1) अनुरूपम् 'in a corresponding, becoming or suitable manner' (2) प्रत्यर्थम् 'according to each several object of signification' The word प्रति is a karmapravachaniy also when it denotes severalty, and so there will be no compoundin but a sentence optionally having an accusative case, (3) यथाशक्ति accordin to one's ability' (4) सहरि "like Hari." Here सह is changed to स, Se also example 13 further on.

11 आनुपूर्व्यवचन,—As अनुज्येष्ठ प्रविशन्तु भवन्त 'let your honors ent in the order of seniority'

12 यौगपद्यवचन,—As सचक्र धेहि 'simultaneously with the wheel'

Here सचक्र is formed from चक्रेण युगपत् or सहचक्रेण ॥ At this stag applies the next sûtra, by which सह which has the meaning of युगपत् changed to स ॥

६६० । अव्ययीभावे चाकाले । ६ । ३ । ८१ ॥

सहस्य स स्यादव्ययीभावे न तु काले । सचक्रम् । काले तु सहपूर्वाह्णम् । सदृश सख्या ससखि । यथार्थत्वेनैव सिद्धे पुन सादृश्यग्रहण गुणभूतेऽपि सादृश्ये यथा स्यादित्येवमर्थम् । क्षत्राणा सपत्ति सक्षत्रम् । ऋद्धेराधिक्य समृद्धि । अनुरूप आत्मभाव सपत्तिरिति भेद । तृणमप्यपरित्यज्य सतृणमत्ति । साकल्येनेत्यर्थ । नत्वत्र तृणभक्षणे तात्पर्यम् । अन्ते । अग्निमन्थपर्यन्तमधीते साग्नि ॥

660 स is the substitute of सह, in an Avyayîbhâva, when the second member is not a word denoting time

Thus सचक्रंधेहि, but सहपूर्वाह्णम् when the second member is a time denoting word (II 1 5)

13 सादृश्यवचन,—As ससखि 'like a friend' Though this could have been formed by example 10, as सहरि, the repetition of सादृश्य is for the sake of indicating that compounding will take place where sâdrishya is secondary even

14. सपत्तिवचन,—As सक्षत्रम् 'as warriors ought' The difference between समृद्धि and सम्पत्ति is this, that the former means "abundance of prosperity," the latter "acting according to one's nature, or befitting one's self"

15 साकल्यवचन,—As सतृणम् 'even to the grass' *i e* the whole, not leaving even a scrap, as in the sentence सतृणमत्ति 'He eats up every thing, even the straw' The sense is not that he eats the straw, but that he eats everything

16 अन्तवचन,—As साग्नि 'he studies as far as the chapter of fire' (*i e* the whole Veda)

६६१ । यथाऽसादृश्ये । २ । १ । ७ ॥

असादृश्ये एव यथाशब्द समस्यते । तेनेह न । यथा हरिस्तथा हर' । हरेरुपमानत्व यथाशब्दो द्योतयति । तेन सादृश्य इति वा यथार्थ इति वा प्राप्त निषिध्यते ॥

661 The indeclinable word yathâ, when it does not signify 'likeness', is invariably compounded, with a word ending in a case-affix, which is in construction with it, and the compound is called an Avyayîbhâva Samâsa

Thus यथावृद्धम् ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व "invite every old Brâhmana." So also यथाध्यापकम् ॥

Why do we say 'when not signifying likeness?' For there is no composition when likeness is indicated As यथाहरिस्तथा हर 'As is Hari

so is Hara' Here यथा denotes comparison with Hari Thus the compounding under cl (10) when यथा means सादृश्य or under cl (14) having the same meaning is prohibited here by

६६२ । यावदवधारणे । २ । १ । ८ ॥

यावन्त श्लोकास्तावन्तोऽच्युतप्रणामा यावच्छ्लोकम ॥

662 The indeclinable word yâvat, when it signifies limitation, is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix which is in construction with it, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva

The word अवधारण means accurate ascertainment, restriction or limitation As, यावदमत्र ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयस्व 'invite so many Brâhmanas only and not more as there are pots' i e, if there are five pots then invite five Brahmanas, if six pots, then invite six Brâmansa' यावच्छ्लोकम् प्रणामा. "Bowing the head down so many times as there are the verses," i e saluting the God with every verse

Why do we say 'when meaning limitation'? Observe यावद्दत्तं तावद् भुक्तम 'I ate so long as it was given to me,' i e I do not know for certainty how much I have eaten

६६३ । सुप् प्रतिना मात्रार्थे । २ । १ । ९ ॥

शाकस्य लेश शाकप्रति । मात्रार्थे किम् । वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् ॥

663 A word ending in a case-affix is compounded with the indeclinable word prati, when meaning 'a little' and the compound is called Avyayîbhâva

The word मात्रा means 'a drop,' 'a little, 'a wee bit,' as, शाकप्रति 'a little,' सूपप्रति 'a little of soup'

Why do we say 'when meaning a little'? Observe वृक्ष वृक्ष प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'it lightens in the direction of every tree' Here it is not compounded

Note —Though the word सुप् was, by anuvritti from sûtra II 1 2, S 3656 understood in this sûtra, its repetition in the text is for the purpose of indicating that the anuvritti of the word अव्यय which began with sûtra II 1 6 S 652 does not extend further into the subsequent sûtras

The word प्रतिना being exhibited in the 3rd case-affix is not an upasarjana (I 2 43 S 658) and therefore, it comes as the last member of the compound (II. 2 30 S 654)

६६४। अक्षशलाकासंख्याः परिणा । २ । १ । १० ॥

द्यूतव्यवहारे पराजये एवायं समासः । अक्षेण विपरीतं वृत्तं अक्षपरि । शलाकापरि । एकपरि ॥

664 The words aksha, 'a die for playing with,' śalâkâ 'an ivory piece used in gambling,' and sankhyâ 'numeral' are compounded with the word pari, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva

Note —This समास is restricted to terms applicable to gambling Thus there is a game called panchikâ, which is played with five dice or five ivory pieces When all these five pieces fall with faces turned upward, or all with faces turned downwards then the thrower wins the game But when the fall is otherwise, he loses

This compound is confined to words denoting loss in gambling Thus अक्षपरि 'an unlucky throw of dice' शलाकापरि, 'an unlucky throw of of ivory pieces'', so also एकपरि 'an unlucky throw by one over'

६६५। विभाषा । २ । १ । ११ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । एतत्सामर्थ्यादेव प्राचीनानां नित्यसमासत्वम् । सुप्सुपेति तु न नित्यसमासः । अव्ययमित्यादिसमास विधानाज्ज्ञापकात् ॥

665 The word vibhâshâ or option governs all the succeeding sûtras

This is an adhikâra sûtra All the rules of compounding given hereafter, are optional The same sense can be expressed by the uncompounded words, as by them when compounded But not so are the compounds which have been treated of, before this, for by the jñâpaka of this aphorism we infer that the compounds taught before must be *nitya* and not vibhâshâ There is, however, an exception with regard to सुप्सुपा compounding It is not nitya, because of the jnâpaka of the sûtra II 1 6 S 652, for सुपा would have covered the case of avyayas also, but the enunciation of a separate rule about avyayas, indicates that the previous rule सुप्सुपा is an anitya rule, and the compound so formed may be expressed by a sentence Compounds like सुमद्र, यथावृद्ध, अक्षपरि &c mentioned above are invariable compounds (नित्य समास), the sense conveyed by the compound term, not being capable of analysis, by taking the senses of the separate members of the compounds, or at least not capable of expressing any sense without inserting extraneous words on analysis

Note —The compounds taught previous to this sûtra, like the technical terms टि, घु भ &c, would be necessarily *nitya* because no वा is read in those sûtras But the author strengthens this inference, by clearly enunciating the present sûtra "*option*

ally" Q If so, then सुप्सुपा should also be a nitya, as that has also been taught anterior to this sûtra ? Ans Not so, the repetition of the injunction with regards to Indeclinables, as contained in II 1 6 S 652 indicates that सुप्सुपा compounding is not nitya , because the Indeclinables are also सुप् and would have been covered by the rule of सुप्सुपा &c

६६६ । अपपरिबहिरञ्चवः पञ्चम्या । २ । १ । १२ ॥

अपविष्णु संसार । अपविष्णोः । परिविष्णोः । बहिर्वनम् । बहिर्वनात् । प्राग्वनम् । प्राग्वनात् ॥

666 The words apa, pari, bahiḥ and indeclinables ending in añchu may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed will be Avyayîbhâva

As अपविष्णु संसार or अप विष्णोः संसार "The saṁsâra is outside or away from Vishnu" So also, परित्रिगर्तम् or परित्रिगर्तेभ्यः 'round about Trigarta,' बहिर्ग्रामम् or बहिर्ग्रामात् 'outside the village' प्राग् ग्रामम्' or प्राग् ग्रामात् 'east of the village'

Words formed from the verb अञ्चु 'to go,' are उदञ्च् 'north' प्राञ्च् 'east,' &c

From this sûtra we learn by inference (jñâpaka) that the word बहिः also governs the ablative case (see II 3 29 S 595) But this is not universal, as we see in करस्य करभोबहिः, here it governs the sixth case

६६७ । आङ्मर्यादाभिविध्योः । २ । १ । १३ ॥

एतयोराङ् पञ्चम्यन्तेन वा समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभावः । आमुक्ति संसार । आमुक्तेः । आबालेभ्यः ॥

667 The word आङ् when signifying limit exclusive or limit inclusive, may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the fifth case-affix, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva-

As, आपाटलिपुत्र or आपाटलिपुत्रात् वृष्टो देवः 'it rained up to Pâtaliputra' आकुमार or आकुमारेभ्यो यशः पाणिनेः the fame of Pânini extends even to the boys' So also आमुक्ति संसार or आमुक्तेः संसार , आबाल हरिभक्ति or आबालेभ्यः ॥

६६८ । लक्षणेनाभिप्रती आभिमुख्ये । २ । १ । १४ ॥

आभिमुख्यद्योतकावभिप्रती चिह्नवाचिना सह प्राग्वत् । अभ्यग्नि शलभाः पतन्ति । अग्निमभि प्रत्यग्नि अग्निप्रति ॥

668 The words abhi and prati when implying direction (towards), are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix denoting the limit, or the goal which regulates or marks the direction, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva

The word lakshana means a sign, goal See also I 4 84 and 90 S 547 and 552 for a further explanation of this word As अभ्यग्नि or अग्निमभि शलभा पतन्ति 'the moths fall in the direction of fire' So also प्रत्यग्नि or अग्निं प्रति, the sense being, that making the fire their aim (लक्ष्य) they fall towards it

६६९ । अनुर्यत्समया । २ । १ । १५ ॥

य पदार्थं समया द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानु समस्यते सोऽव्ययीभाव । अनुवनमशनिर्गत । वनस्य समीप गत इत्यर्थ ॥

669 The word anu 'near to' is optionally compounded with that word, nearness to which is indicated by the particle, and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva

As, अनुवनमशनिर्गत 'the thunder bolt fell near the forest'

Note —Though this compounding was valid even by sûtra 652, because nearness is mentioned there also it is repeated here in order to show that an Avyayibhâva compound mentioned here is an optional compound after all, and not an invariable compound like others

६७० । यस्य चायाम । २ । १ । १६ ॥

यस्य दैर्घ्यमनुना द्योत्यते तेन लक्षणभूतेनानु समस्यते । अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी । गङ्गाया अनु गङ्गादैर्घ्यसदृशदैर्घ्योपलक्षितेत्यर्थ ॥

670 The word anu 'alongside of' is optionally compounded with the word indicative of that whose length the particle expresses, and the compound so formed is called Avyayîbhâva

As, अनुगङ्गं वाराणसी 'the city of Benares extends alongside the river Ganges' अनुयमुनं मथुरा Mathura, alongside of the Yamuna, the length of Mathura being measured by that of the Yamuna'

६७१ । तिष्ठद्गु प्रभृतीनि च । २ । १ । १७ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । तिष्ठन्त्यो गावो यस्मिन्काले स तिष्ठद्गुदोहनकाल । आयतीगवम् । इह शत्रा देश पुनर्भावविरह समासान्तश्च निपात्यते ॥

671 And the words tishthadgu, 'at the time when the cows stand to be milked,' &c are Avyayîbhâva compounds

The words तिष्ठद्गु &c are all irregularly formed Avyayîbhâva com pounds Most of these words are epithets of various times The force of च in the sûtra is restrictive, that is to say these words always form the Avyayîbhâva compound and nothing else They are as follow —

तिष्ठद्गु "the time when the cows stand still, i e the milking time" वहद्गु, आयतीगवम् In आयतीगवम् there is the absence of the Present Participial affix शतृ and in आयति (which is a conjugated verb), of the masculinisation and there is added the samâsânta affix अ ॥ All these are irregularities खलेयवम् खलेबुसम्, लुनयवम्, लूयमानयवम्, पूतयवम्, पूयमानयवम्, संहृतयवम्, संह्रियमाणयवम्, संहृतबुसम्, संह्रियमाणबुसम्, समभूमि समपदाति, सुषमम् विषमम्, दुष्षमम्, निष्षमम्, अपरसमम्, आयतीसमम् प्राह्णम् प्ररथम्, प्रमृगम्, प्रदक्षिणम्, अपरदक्षिणम्, संप्रति, असंप्रति, पापसमम्, पुण्यसमम्, इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे V 4 127 e g कचाकचि ॥

६७२ । पारे मध्ये षष्ठ्या वा । २ । १ । १८ ॥

पारमध्यशब्दौ षष्ठ्यन्तेन सह वा समस्येते । एदन्तत्वं चानयोर्निपात्यते । पक्षे षष्ठीतत्पुरुष । पारेगङ्गादानय । गङ्गापारात् । मध्येगङ्गात् । गङ्गामध्यात् । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । गङ्गाया पारात् । गङ्गाया मध्यात् ॥

672 The words pâra 'across,' and madhya 'middle' may optionally be compounded with a word ending in the sixth case-affix, when they take the forms pâre and madhye, and the compound so formed is Avyayîbhâva

Ordinarily these words would have formed Possessive Tatpurusha compounds The present sûtra ordains Avyayîbhâva instead The force of वा in the text is that the Genitive Tatpurusha compounding also takes place in the alternative As, पारेगङ्गादानय or गङ्गापारात् 'bring across the Ganges' मध्येगङ्गात् or गङ्गामध्यात् 'middle of the Ganges'

Of course according to the option allowed by sûtra II 1 11 S 665 this compounding need not take place at all, the same sense being expressed by a phrase, as गङ्गायाः पारात् or गङ्गायाः मध्यात्

६७३ । संख्या वंश्येन । २ । १ । १९ ॥

वंशो द्विधा विद्यया जन्मना च । तत्र भवो वंश्यः । तद्वाचिना सह संख्या वा समस्यते । द्वौ मुनी वंश्यौ द्विमुनि । व्याकरणस्य त्रिमुनि । विद्यातद्वतामभेदविवक्षायां त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम् । एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् ॥

673 A numeral may be compounded with a word denoting 'one belonging to a family' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva

The word वंश is of two kinds and means uninterrupted descent of persons from a common source, whether through (1) birth or (2) knowledge A succession of (1) teachers and pupils, or of (2) ancestors and descendants, would constitute a वंश 'family' One born in or belonging to such a वंश is called a वंश्य or descendant

As द्विमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'of the Vyâkarana which has two sages as its principal expounders *viz*, Pânini and Pantanjali' So त्रिमुनि व्याकरणस्य 'having three representatives *viz*, Pânini, Patanjali and Sâkatâyana or Kâtyâyana'

When we desire to express their equality as regards knowledge, then both the words are put in the same case as द्विमुनि or त्रिमुनि व्याकरणम्

So also when the relationship is by birth as, एकविंशति भारद्वाजम् 'Twenty-one Bhâradwâjas.' These and the subsequent compounds are like Dvigu

६७४ । नदीभिश्च । २ । १ । २० ॥

नदीभिः सह संख्या प्राग्वत् ॥ समाहारे चायमिष्यते * ॥ सप्तगङ्गम् । द्वियमुनम् ॥

674 A numeral (sankhyâ) may be compounded with names of 'rivers' and the resulting compound is Avyayîbhâva denoting an aggregate

Ishti —According to Patanjali this refers to their Aggregate (समाहार), as सप्तगङ्गम् 'at the meeting of the seven Ganges,' द्वियमुन 'at the meeting of the two Yamunâs" See II 4 1, 17

६७५ । अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । २१ ॥

अन्यपदार्थे विद्यमानं सुबन्तं नदीभिः सह नित्यं समस्यते संज्ञायाम् ॥ विभाषाधिकारेऽपि वाक्येन संज्ञानवगमादिह नित्यसमासः ॥ उन्मत्तगङ्गं नाम देशः । लोहितगङ्गम् ॥

675. A word ending in a case affix is compounded with words denoting the names of rivers, when the compound word denotes a thing other than that expressed by the terms of the compound and is an appellative, the compound so formed being an Avyayîbhâva.

The anuvritti of the word sankhyâ does not extend to this sûtra. Though this rule is given in the subdivision relating to optional compounds, it is, however, a Nitya-samâsa rule for no name (संज्ञा) can ever be expressed by a sentence, and that being so, these compounds can never be analysed As, उन्मत्तगङ्गम् 'the country called Unmatta Gangam' So also लोहितगङ्गम् कृष्णगङ्गम्, शनैर्गङ्गम् II 4 18

६७६ । समासान्ताः । ५ । ४ । ६८ ।

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

676 The following affixes are added to the ends of compounds without changing their sense

Note —This is an adhikâra or regulating sûtra.

६७७ । अव्ययीभावे शरत्प्रभृतिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १०७ ॥

शरदादिभ्यष्टच् स्यात्समासान्तोऽव्ययीभावे । शरदः समीपमुपशरदम् । प्रतिविपाशम् । शरद् । विपाश् । अनस् । मनस् । उपानह् । दिव् । हिमवत् । अनडुह् । दिश् । दृश् । विश । चेतस् । चतुर् । त्यद् । तद् । यद् । कियत् । जराया जरस् च । उपजरसम् । प्रतिपरसमनुभ्योऽक्ष्णः ॥ पथ्येति च ॥ प्रत्यक्षम् । अक्ष्णः परमिति विग्रहे समासान्तविधानसामर्थ्यादव्ययीभावः । परोक्षे लिटिति निपातनात्परस्यौकारादेशः । परोक्षम् । परोक्षा क्रियेत्यादि तु अर्शआद्यचि । समक्षम् । अन्वक्षम् ॥

677 The affix tach comes after the words śarat &c, when forming an Avyayîbhâva compound

Thus शरदः समीपम्=उपशरदम्, प्रतिशरदम् प्रतिविपाशम् ॥

Those words of शरदादि class which end in a झय् consonant add invariably (नित्य) the ṭach, in spite of V 4 111 S 682 The anuvṛitti of avayayîbhâva extends upto V 4 113 S 852

1 शरद्, 2 विपाश्, 3 अनस, 4 मनस्, 5 उपानह्, 6 अनडुह्, 7 दिव्, 8 हिमवत्, 9 हिरुक् *, 10 विद् °, 11 सद् *, 12 दिश्, 13 दृश, 14 विश्, 15 चतुर्, 16 त्यद् *, 17 तद्, 18 यद्, 19 कियत् *, 20 जराया जरस् च (as उपजरसम्), 21 प्रतिपरसमनुभ्योऽक्ष्णः (as प्रत्यक्ष, परोक्ष, समक्षम्, and अन्वक्षम्, The second is Tatpurusha) 22 पथिन्, 23 सदृश् ॥

20 The word जरा assumes the form जरस् in the compound As उपजरसम् ॥

21 The words प्रति, पर, सम and अनु are compounded with अक्षि ॥ As, प्रत्यक्षम् ॥ It is thus formed प्रति + अक्षि + टच् = प्रति + अक्ष् + टच् (the इ is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) = प्रत्यक्षम् so also अक्ष्णः परम् = परोक्षम् ॥ Here ओ replaces the final अ of पर, because we find the form परोक्ष used by Panini himself in III 2 115 S 2171 The form परोक्षा in परोक्षाक्रिया &c takes the affix अच् by V 2 127 S 1933 so also समक्षम् and अन्वक्षम् ॥

६७८ । अनश्च । ५ । ४ । १०८ ॥

अन्नन्तादव्ययीभावाट्टच् स्यात् ॥

678 The affix tach comes after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in अन्, as the final of the compound

Thus उप+राजन्+टच् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra, by which the अन् of राजन् should be elided

६७९ । नस्तद्धिते । ६ । ४ । १४४ ॥

नान्तस्य भस्य टेर्लोपः स्यात्तद्धिते । उपराजम् । अध्यात्मम् ॥

679, Of the stem bha, the final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is elided before a Taddhita affix

Thus उपराजम्, अध्यात्मम् ॥

६८० । नपुंसकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०९ ॥

अन्नन्तं यत्क्लीबं तदन्तादव्ययीभावाट्टच् वा स्यात् । उपचर्मम् or उपचर्म ॥

680 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avyayîbhâva compound, ending with a neuter word, whose final syllable is अन्

Note—The word अन् is understood here also The word 'Neuter' qualifies, the second i e last term of the compound This allows option, where as the previous sûtra had made it compulsory

Thus उपचर्म or उपचर्मम् ॥

६८१ । नदीपौर्णमास्याग्रहायणीभ्यः । ५ । ४ । ११० ॥

वा टच् स्यात् । उपनदम् । उपनदि । उपपौर्णमासम् । उपपौर्णमासि । उपाग्रहायणम् । उपाग्रहायणि ॥

681 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avayayîbhâva ending in nadî, paurnamâsî, and âgrahâyanî

Thus नद्याः समीपम्=उपनदम् or उपनदि, उपपौर्णमासम् or उपपौर्णमासि, उपाग्रहायणम् ॥ or उपाग्रहायणि ॥

६८२ । झयः । ५ । ४ । १११ ॥

झयन्तादव्ययीभावाट्टज्वा । उपसमिधम् । उपसमित् ॥

682 The affix tach comes optionally after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in a letter of jhay class (a mute letter)

Thus उपसमिधम्, or उपसमित् ॥

Note —The झय् here means the pratyâhara झय् i e all the Mute consonants.

६८३ । गिरेश्च सेनकस्य । ५ । ४ । ११२ ॥

गिर्यन्तादव्ययीभावाट्टज्वा स्यात् । सेनकग्रहण पूजार्थम् । उपगिरम् । उपगिरि ॥

683 The affix tach comes after an Avyayîbhâva compound ending in 'giri', according to the opinion of the Grammarian Senaka

Thus उपगिरिम् or उपगिरि ॥ The name of Senaka is mentioned for the sake of respect (pujârtha), for the anuvritti of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" was understood here already

Here end the Avyayibhâva compounds.

———o———

अथ तत्पुरुष समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XVIII

THE TATPURUSHA COMPOUNDS

६८४ । तत्पुरुषः । २ । १ । २२ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । प्राग्बहुव्रीहेः ॥

684 From this aphorism as far as aphorism II 2 23, S 829 the word Tat-purusha is the governing word and is understood in all the following sûtras

Form this sûtra as far as the sûtra II 2 23 S 829 relating to Bahuvrîhi compounds, the word Tat purusha should be read into each sutra

Note:—The Karmadhâraya (Appositional Determinative Compound) and Dwigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) are also subdivisions of this class of compounds

६८५ । द्विगुश्च । २ । १ । २३ ॥

द्विगुरपि तत्पुरुषसंज्ञः स्यात् । इदं सूत्रं त्यक्तुं शक्यम् । संख्यापूर्वो द्विगुश्चेति पठित्वा चकारबलेन संज्ञाद्वयसमावेशस्य सुवचत्वात् । समासान्तः प्रयोजनम् । पञ्चराजम् ॥

685 And the kind of compound called Dvigu (Numeral Determinative Compound) is also called Tat-purusha

This sûtra could well have been dispensed with, by inserting a च in the sûtra II 1 52 S 730, and so that aphorism would mean that a compound preceded by a Numeral would get the designation of Dvigu as well as Tatpurusha The object of its being a Tatpurusha is that टच् affix of samâsânta may be added, as पञ्चराजम् ॥

Note —The object of making Dwigu a subdivision of Tat-purusha Compound is that the समासान्त affixes and rules given in V 4 68 160 S 676 &c should apply to Dwigu also Otherwise we could well have dispensed with this sutra as sutra II 1 52 S 730 already defines Dwigu Thus पञ्चराजम् V, 4 91 S 768 fem पञ्चराजी (IV 1 15, 21 S 470), an aggregate of 5 princes' According to Haradatta the feminine form is wrong, as टच् is not part of राजन् but of the whole compound

———o———

ACCUSATIVE TATPURUSHA

६८६ । द्वितीया श्रितातीतपतितगतात्यस्तप्राप्तापन्नै । २ । १ । २४ ॥

द्वितीयान्त श्रितादिप्रकृतिकै सुबन्तै सह वा समस्यते स तत्पुरुष । कृष्ण श्रित कृष्णश्रित दु खमतीतो दु खातीत ॥ गम्यादीनामुपसंख्यानम् ॰ ॥ ग्राम गमी ग्रामगमी । अन्न बुभुक्षु अन्नबुभुक्षु ॥

686 A word ending with the second case-affix is compounded with the words śrita 'who has had recourse to,' atîta 'gone by' patita 'who has fallen upon,' gata 'who has gone to' atyasta 'who has passed,' prâpta 'who has obtained,' and âpanna 'who has reached,' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha.

As कृष्ण + श्रित = कृष्णाश्रित 'who has had recourse to Krishna' So also दु:ख + अतीत = दु खातीत 'who has passed over sorrow'

Vart —The words गमी, गामी &c should also be included As ग्रामगमी, अन्न बुभुक्षु = अन्नबुभुक्षु ॥

६८७ । स्वय क्तेन । २ । १ । २५ ॥

द्वितीयेति न सबध्यते अयोग्यत्वात् । स्वयकृतस्यापत्य स्वायकृति ॥

687 The indeclinable word *swayam* 'oneself,' is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

The anuvritti of the word द्वितीया being inappropriate does not take place, though, however, it is understood in the next sûtra Because the word स्वयम् being an Indeclinable, cannot take any case affix As स्वय कृतस्यापत्य = स्वाय कृति ॥

६८८ । खट्वा क्षेपे । २ । १ । २६ ॥

खट्वाप्रकृतिक द्वितीयान्त क्तान्तप्रकृतेन सुबन्तेन समस्यते निन्दायाम् । खट्वारूढो जाल्म नित्यसमासोऽयम् । नहि वाक्येन निन्दा गम्यते ॥

688 The word *khatwâ* in the accusative case is compounded with a word ending in the affix *kta*, when *censure* is implied, and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha •

As खट्वारूढ: or खट्वाप्लुत: (literally lying on a bed), silly, stupid, going wrong or astray

Note —The word क्षेप means 'censure,' 'blame' and this sense can be connoted only by the compound word as a whole, and not by any of its constituent elements This compound is also, therefore, a Nitya Compound, though it occurs in the subdivision relating to Optional Compounds.—because it is impossible to analyse such a compound and express, by means of a sentence, the sense conveyed by the function of the compound word

There is no compounding when 'censure' is not meant As खट्वामारूढ 'lying on a bed'

Why this word should have this opprobrious meaning, will be understood from the consideration of the following facts —a person under the Aryan social polity, could only then enter the married state or the life of a house holder, as it was called, when he had completed his Brahmacharya i. e the prescribed period of bachelor studentship. All Brahmâcharis were bound to sleep on ground and not on खट्वा or cots, so long as they were Brahmachâris A person who without completing his studies, and without obtaining the permission of his teacher, entered into matrimony, was originally called, in reproach, खट्वारूढ 'who had ascended the couch in an improper way' Then the term was extended to all persons guilty of vile action

६८९ । सामि । २ । १ । २७ ॥

सामिकृतम् ॥

689 The indeclinable word sâmi meaning '*half*' is compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As सामिकृतम् 'half done'

Note —The word सामि being an avyava, and not denoting any substance, cannot take the affixes of the second or any case Therefore, the anuvritti of the word द्वितीया would be inapposite in this aphorism

६९० । काला॰ । २ । १ । २८ ॥

क्तेनेत्येव । अनत्यन्तसंयोगार्थं वचनम् । मासप्रमित प्रतिपच्चन्द्र । मास परिच्छेतुमारब्धवानि-त्यर्थः ।

690 The words denoting *time*, (but not duration thereof) being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha

As मासप्रमितश्चन्द्रमा 'the new moon, (literally, the moon that has begun to measure the month)

This rule applies when duration of time is not connoted by the compound, which is provided for, in the next aphorism The word काला does not mean here, as it would otherwise mean by Sûtra I 1 68, S 25 the word-form काल but special words denoting काल ॥

६९१ । अत्यन्तसंयोगे च । २ । १ । २९ ॥

काला इत्येव । अक्तान्तार्थं वचनम् । मुहूर्तं सुखं मुहूर्तसुखम् ॥

691 Words denoting time, being in the accusative case, are optionally compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when used in the sense of *complete connection throughout* with the time (i e, duration of time) and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

The word काल is understood in this aphorism, but not so the phrase 'ending with the affix क्त ॥'

The word अत्यन्तसंयोग means 'uninterrupted connection'

As मुहूर्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure'

INSTRUMENTAL TATPURUSHA

६९२ । तृतीया तत्कृतार्थेन गुणवचनेन । २ । १ । ३० ॥

तत्कृतेति लुप्ततृतीयाकम् । तृतीयान्तं तृतीयान्तार्थकृतगुणवचनेनार्थशब्देन च सह प्राग्वत् । शङ्कुलया खण्डः शङ्कुलाखण्डः । धान्येनार्थो धान्यार्थः । तत्कृतेति किम् । अक्ष्णा काणः ॥

692 A word ending with *the 3rd case-affix* is optionally compounded *with what denotes quality*, the quality being *that which is instrumentally caused by the thing* signified by what ends with the third case-affix and with the word artha 'wealth,' and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha

As शङ्कुलयाखण्ड = शङ्कुलाखण्ड 'cut by nipper' धान्यार्थ 'wealth acquired by grain' The word तत्कृत is an anomalous compound used only in sûtras and in which the 3rd case affix is elided It is equal to तत्कृतेन ॥ Why do we say 'when caused by the word in the instrumental case ? Observe अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' Here अक्ष्णा in the 3rd case, is not the instrumental cause, that produced blindness, and hence there is no compounding

Note —The words सुप्, सुपा are understood here and the whole of this sûtra is an epithet of those words A noun in the instrumental case is compounded with

a word expressing quality, and with the word अर्थ, provided that, the word expressing quality is itself the result produced by the sense of the word in the instrumental case

६९३ । पूर्वसदृशसमोनार्थकलहनिपुणमिश्रश्लक्ष्णैः । २ । १ । ३१ ॥

तृतीयान्तमेतैः प्राग्वत् । मासपूर्वः । मातृसदृशः । पितृसमः । ऊनार्थे । माषोनं कार्षापणम् । माषविकलम् । वाक्कलहः । आचारनिपुणः । गुडमिश्रः । आचारश्लक्ष्णः । मिश्रग्रहणे सोपसर्गस्यापि ग्रहणम् । मिश्रं चानुपसर्गमसन्धाविति्यत्रानुपसर्गग्रहणात् । गुडसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥ अवरस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ मासेनावरः मासावरः ॥

693 A word ending in the third case-affix is compounded with the words pûrva 'prior,' sadṛiśa 'like,' sama 'similar,' ûnartha 'words having the sense of less,' kalaha 'quarrel,' nipuṇa 'proficient,' miśra 'mixed,' and ślakshṇa 'polished, sleek' and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

From this sutra, we learn incidentally that the words पूर्व &c, govern the instrumental case

As, मासेन पूर्वः = मासपूर्वः 'prior by a month,' मातृसदृशः 'like the mother,' पितृसमः 'similar to the father,' माषोनम् कार्षापणं माषविकलं 'a Karshâpana coin less by a mâshâ' वाक्कलहः 'bandying words' आचार निपुणः 'proficient in the observances of sacred duties,' गुडमिश्रः 'mixed with juggery' आचारश्लक्ष्णः 'polished in behaviour'

Vart —The compounding takes place even when मिश्र is preceded by an Upasarga This we infer from VI 2 154 S 3888 "The word मिश्र is acute on the final after an Instrumental case, when it is not joined with any preposition and does not mean a compact" This shows that it takes upasarga also Thus we have गुडसंमिश्रा धानाः ॥

Vart —The word अवर should be enumerated in the list, as मासावरः 'later than a month'

६९४ । कर्तृकरणे कृता बहुलम् । २ । १ । ३२ ॥

कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृदन्तेन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । हरिणा त्रातो हरित्रातः । नखैर्भिन्नो नखभिन्नः ॥ कृद्ग्रहणे गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् * ॥ नखनिर्भिन्नः । कर्तृकरणे इति किम् । भिक्षाभिरुषितः । हेत्वावेषा तृतीया । बहुलग्रहणं सर्वोपाधिव्यभिचारार्थम् । तेन दात्रेण लूनवानित्यादौ न । कृता किम् । काष्ठैः पचतितराम् ॥

694 A word ending with the third case-affix, when it denotes *the agent* or *the instrument* (II 3 18) is compounded *diversely with* what ends with a *krit*

affix, and the compound so foimed is called Tatpuiusha

As अहिना हतः = अहिहतः 'killed by the snake' नखभिन्नः 'divided by the nails' परशुच्छिन्नः 'cut by the axe,' हरिणा त्रातः = हरित्रातः ॥

Vart —The word कृत् here includes not only simple kridantas, but words preceded by a Gati or a kârakâ even As not only नखभिन्नः but नखनिर्भिन्नः also

Why do we say 'when denoting the *agent* or the *instrument*? Observe भिक्षाभिरुषितः 'dwelt with alms" Here the force of the 3rd case is that of हेतु mentioned in sûtra II 3 21 S 566 and not that of II 3 18' S 561

The word बहुल shows that there is a general relaxation of all the rules and conditions Obseive दात्रेण लूनवान् 'cutting with the sickle' परशुना छिन्नवान् 'cutting with the axe' Here there is no compounding But there is compounding where otherwise there ought not to be, because of the word बहुल — as, पादहारकः and गलेचोपकः Why do we say with a kridanta? See काष्ठैः पचतितराम् where पचतितराम् is a verb and not a kridanta noun

Paribhasha —" A kṛit affix denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that kṛit affix has been added and which ends with the kṛit-affix, but moreover, should a Gati, or a noun such as denotes a case relation have been prefixed to that word-form then the kṛit affix must denote the same word form together with the Gati or the noun which may have been prefixed to it"

६९५ । कृत्यैरधिकार्थवचने । २ । १ । ३३ ॥

स्तुतिनिन्दाफलकमर्थवादवचनमधिकार्थवचनं तत्र कर्तरि करणे च तृतीया कृत्यैः प्राग्वत् । वातच्छेद्यं तृणम् । काकपेया नदी ॥

695 A word ending with the third case-affix when it denotes the agent or the instrument, is compounded optionally *with* a word ending in a *kritya* affix, when *an exaggerated statement* (whether of praise or of censure) is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As वातच्छेद्यं तृणं 'thin grass' (so fragile that it can be cut by wind) It is praise, denoting softness, or it may be the reverse, denoting weakness

So also काकपेया नदी 'a full river' (so full that a crow may dip his beak, into it and drink while sitting on the bank In this sense it is praise It may be censure also, and it will mean a shallow river, so shallow that a crow may dip his beak into it and touch the bottom and drink)

६९६। अन्नेन व्यञ्जनम्। २। १। ३४॥

संस्कारकद्रव्यवाचकं तृतीयान्तमन्नेन प्राग्वत्। दध्ना ओदनो दध्योदनः। इहान्तर्भूतोपसेकक्रिया-द्वारा सामर्थ्यम्॥

696 A word ending with the third case-affix and denoting *a condiment*, is optionally compounded *with* a word ending in a case affix, signifying *food*, and the resulting compound is called Tat-purusha

That which is to be prepared is called अन्न, and that which prepares is व्यञ्जन, as दध्योदन = दध्ना उपसिक्त ओदन 'rice prepared or made relishable with curd' The words 'food' and 'condiment' as represented in the above compounds, are connected in sense by a verb understood

६९७। भक्ष्येण मिश्रीकरणम्। २। १। ३५॥

गुडेन धाना गुडधाना। मिश्रणक्रियाद्वारा सामर्थ्यम्॥

697. A word, ending with the 3rd case-affix and denoting a *relish giving or refining ingredient, is* compounded *with* a word meaning *victuals* and the compound is Tatpurusha

As गुडधाना barley prepared with juggery,

Anything eatable, whether hard or soft, is called भक्ष्य, its refinement is called मिश्रिकरण॥

Note —The connection here also between the two words is established by a verb understood

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THE DATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९८। चतुर्थी तदर्थार्थबलिहितसुखरक्षितै। २। १। ३६॥

चतुर्थ्यन्तार्थाय यत्तद्वाचिनाऽर्थादिभिश्च चतुर्थ्यन्तं वा प्राग्वत्। तदर्थेन प्रकृतिविकृतिभाव एव गृह्यते। बलिरक्षितग्रहणाज्ज्ञापकात्। यूपाय दारु यूपदारु। नेह। रन्धनाय स्थाली। अश्वघासादयस्तु षष्ठीसमासाः॥ अर्थेन नित्यसमासो विशेष्यलिङ्गता चेति वक्तव्यम्*॥ द्विजायायं द्विजार्थः सूपः। द्विजार्था यवागू। द्विजार्थं पयः। भूतबलि। गोहितम्। गोसुखम्। गोरक्षितम्॥

698 A word ending with *the 4th case-affix* is compounded with what denotes that which is *for the purpose of what* ends with the 4th case-affix, and so too with the words *artha* 'on account of,' *bali* 'a sacrifice,' *hita* 'salutary,' *sukha*

'pleasure' and *rakshita* 'kept,' and the compound is called Tat-purusha

The words सुप्, सुपा are understood in this sûtra and the whole sûtra qualifies these words

By the expression तदर्थं 'for the purpose there of,' the special relation of a material and its modification alone is, by Patanjali here, held to be intended This we infer from the jnâpaka of the words *bali* and *rakshita* used in this sutra As यूपाय दारु = यूपदारु 'wood for stake' (that is wood which by modification will be changed into a stake) But not so here रन्धनाय स्थाली 'pot for cooking' So also or अवहननायोलूखलम् 'the wood mortar for threshing' The words like अश्वघास &c are Genitive compounds

From this sûtra we may also infer that the Dative case conveys also the sense of 'for the purpose there of' The word तदर्थं is taken as one word by some, meaning 'a thing serviceable there to' See VI 2 44 S 3777 For accent see VI 2 45 S 3779

Vart —With the word अर्थ the compound so formed is a Nitya compound (an invariable compound) and agrees in gender with the word which it qualifies, as, द्विजार्थः सूपः "soup for the twice born" ब्राह्मणार्थं पयः 'milk for the sake of Brahmans,' and द्विजार्था यवागूः 'gruel for the twice-born' So also भूतबलिः 'a sacrifice for bhûtas' महाराजबलिः 'a sacrifice for the great Raja' गोहितम् 'what is good for cows' गोसुखम् 'what is pleasant for cows' गोरक्षितम् 'what is kept for cows,' (as grass)

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THE ABLATIVE TATPURUSHA

६९९ । पञ्चमी भयेन । २ । १ । ३७ ॥

चोराद्भयं चोरभयम् ॥ भयभीतभीतिभीभिरिति वाच्यम् * ॥ वृकभीतः । वृकभीतिः । वृकभीः ॥

699 A word ending with *the 5th case-affix* is optionally compounded with the word *bhaya* 'fear,' and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note —The phrase सुप् सुपा is understood here, and the sûtra qualifies it

As चोराद्भयम् = चोरभयम् 'fear from thieves'

Vart —So also with the words भीत, भीति and भी as वृकभीतः, वृकभीतिः, वृकभीः ॥

Note —This sûtra is an expansion of sûtra II 1 32 S 694 and an exposition of the word बहुल there So that we may have the following compounds also ग्रामान्निर्गतः 'gone out of the village अधर्माज्जुगुप्सुः ॥

७०० । अपेतापोढमुक्तपतितापत्रस्तैरल्पशः । २ । १ । ३८ ॥

एतैः सहाल्पं पञ्चम्यन्तं समस्यते स तत्पुरुषः । सुखापेतः । कल्पनापोढः । चक्रमुक्तः । स्वर्गपतितः । तरङ्गापत्रस्तः । अल्पशः किम् । प्रासादात्पतितः ॥

700 A word ending with the 5th case-affix is compounded with the words *apeta* 'gone away,' *apodha* 'carried away,' *mukta* 'freed' *patita* 'fallen,' *apatrasta*, 'afraid of,' when the action takes place in *a gradual manner*, and the compound is called Tat-purusha

As, सुखापेतः 'gone away from pleasure' कल्पनापोढः 'carried away by imagination' चक्रमुक्तः "freed from the wheel" स्वर्गपतितः fallen from heaven' तरङ्गापत्रस्तः 'afraid of the waves' This is an expansion of II 1 32 S 694

Why do we use the word अल्पशः 'when the action is gradual'? It shows the limited range of this kind of compounds Not every ablative word can be so compounded Hence there is no compounding at all in the following case —प्रासादात् पतितः, 'fallen from the mansion' For here the fall, is violent and sudden, and not gradual and slight

७०१ । स्तोकान्तिकदूरार्थकृच्छ्राणि क्तेन । २ । १ । ३९ ॥

स्तोकान्मुक्तः । अल्पान्मुक्तः । अन्तिकादागतः । अभ्याशादागतः । दूरादागतः । विप्रकृष्टादागतः । कृच्छ्रादागतः । पञ्चम्याः स्तोकादिभ्य इत्यलुक् ॥

701 Words with the sense of *stoka* 'a little,' *antika* 'near,' *dûra* 'far,' and also the word *krichchhra* 'difficulty,' ending in the 5th case-affix are compounded *with* what ends in *kta*, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As स्तोकान् मुक्तः 'loosed from a little distance' अल्पान्मुक्तः ॥

So also अन्तिकादागतः 'come from near' अभ्याशादागतः 'come from near' दूरादागतः 'come from far,' विप्रकृष्टादागतः 'come from a distance' कृच्छ्रादागतः 'come with difficulty' कृच्छ्राल् लब्धः 'obtained with difficulty'

By rule VI 3 2 S 959 the case affix is not elided in compounds of this kind

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THE GENITIVE TATPURUSHA

७०२ । षष्ठी । २ । २ । ८ ॥

राज्ञः पुरुषो राजपुरुषः ॥

702 A word ending with *a sixth case-affix* is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As राज्ञ पुरुषो = राजपुरुष 'the king's man'

७०३ । याजकादिभिश्च । २ । २ । ९ ॥

एभि षष्ठ्यन्त समस्यते । तृजकाभ्या कर्तरीत्यस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । ब्राह्मणयाजक । देवपूजक ॥ गुणात्तरेण तरलोपश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ तरबन्त यद्गुणवाचि तेन सह समासस्तरप्प्रत्ययलोपश्च । न निर्धारणे इति पूरणगुणेति च निषेधस्य प्रतिप्रसवोऽयम् । सर्वेषा श्वेततर सर्वश्वेत । सर्वेषा महत्तर । सर्वमहान् ॥ कृद्योगा च षष्ठी समस्यत इति वाच्यम् * ॥ इध्मस्य व्रश्चन इध्मव्रश्चन ॥

703 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is compounded with the word *yâjaka* 'sacrificer' &c, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As ब्राह्मणयाजक 'a Brâhmana's sacrificer'

The compound which was ordained by the last aphorism, would have been prohibited by II 2 15 S 309 in the case of याजक &c, hence the necessity of the present aphorism to guard against such a prohibition

(याजकादि)

1 याजक ॥ 2 पूजक ॥ 3 परिचारक ॥ 4 परिवेषक ॥ 5 परिषेचक ॥ 6 स्नापक or स्नातक ॥ 7 अध्यापक ॥ 8 उत्साहक or उत्सादक ॥ 9 उद्वर्तक ॥ 10 होतृ ॥ 11 भर्तृ ॥ 12 रथगणक ॥ 13 पत्तिगणक ॥ 14 पोतृ ॥ 15 हर्तृ ॥ 16 वर्तक ॥

Vart —A word in the genitive case is compounded with a word expressing a quality which abides in the former word As ब्राह्मणवर्ण 'Brâhmana caste' चन्दनगन्ध 'sandal scent' कपित्थरसः 'the wood apple juice'

Vart —So also with an adjective in the comparative degree, and तर the sign of comparison is elided Thus सर्वेषा श्वेततर = सर्वश्वेत 'the whitest of all' सर्वेषा महत्तर = सर्वमहान् 'the greatest among all' This 'vârtika' is an exception in anticipation to the next sutra and the one after next, which prohibit composition, when the genitive has the force of specification Thus सर्वशुक्ला गौ 'a cow whitest among all'

Vart—When a word takes the genitive case, because of its connection with a word ending in a kṛit affix, that word may be compounded with such a kṛit word Rule II 3 65 S 623 states the conditions when a kṛit formed word governs the genitive case Thus इध्मव्रश्चन 'a hatchet' (a fuel cutter),

Why do we say so? The very fact that a special rule has been made for the compounding of genitive cases governed by krit-nouns, shows that other words which take genitive case by some special rule, are not so compounded Such as the genitive cases ordained by II 3 38, 51, 52 In fact, the genitive case ordained by any rule of Panini, other than II 3 50 S 606 is a 'pratipadavidhâna' genitive, and a word taking genitive case according to those rules, is incapable of composition, see Vârtika under II 2 10 S 704

७०४ । न निर्धारणे । २ । २ । १० ॥

निर्धारणे या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः ॥ प्रतिपदविधाना षष्ठी न समस्यत इति वाच्यम् ॰ ॥ सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् ॥

704 A word in the genitive case is not compounded with another, when the force of the sixth case-affix is that of specification (nirdhârana)

As नृणां द्विजः श्रेष्ठः 'The twice born is the best amongst men

Note —With this sûtra, begins a series of exceptions to the composition of words in the genitive case The separation of one from the many, on account of its genus, attribute and action, is called 'nirdhârana' This form of genitive meaning 'amongst,' is ordained by sûtra II 3 41 S 638

Vart —A word taking a genitive case by force of any rule other than sutra II 3 50 S 606 is never compounded Namely the genitives formed by rules like 612, 613, 614, &c are incapable of Samâsa Thus the following words are never compounded सर्पिषो ज्ञानम् मधुनो ज्ञानम् ॥

७०५ । पूरणगुणसुहितार्थसदव्ययतव्यसमानाधिकरणेन । २ । २ । ११ ॥

पूरणाद्यर्थैः सदादिभिश्च षष्ठी न समस्यते । पूरणे । सतां षष्ठः ।

गुणे । काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यम् । ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्लाः । यदा प्रकरणादिना दन्ता इति विशेष्यं ज्ञातं तदेदमुदाहरणम् । अनित्योऽयं गुणेन निषेधः । तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वादित्यादिनिर्देशात् । तेनार्थगौरवं बुद्धिमान्द्यमित्यादि सिद्धम् ।

सुहितार्थास्तृप्त्यर्थाः । फलानां सुहितः । तृतीयासमासस्तु स्यादेव । स्वरे विशेषः ।

सत् । द्विजस्य कुर्वन् कुर्वाणो वा । किंकर इत्यर्थः ।

अव्ययम् । ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा । पूर्वोत्तरसाहचर्यात्कृदव्ययमेव गृह्यते । तेन तदुपरीत्यादि सिद्धमिति रक्षितः ।

तव्य । ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् । तव्यता तु भवत्येव । स्वकर्तव्यम् । स्वरे भेदः ।

समानाधिकरणेन । तक्षकस्य सर्पस्य । विशेषणसमासस्त्विह बहुलग्रहणान्न । गोर्धेनोरित्यादौ तु पोटायुवतीत्यादीनां विभक्त्यन्तरे चरितार्थानां परत्वाद्बाधकं षष्ठीसमासं प्राप्तं सोऽप्यनेन वार्यते ॥

705 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word having the sense of (1) an ordinal, (2) an attribute, or (4) satisfaction, or (4) with a participle ending in the affix called 'sat' (III 2 127 S 3106) or (5) an indeclinable, or (3) ending with the affix tavya, or (7) with a word denoting the same object (i e, when they are in apposition)

The word 'artha' joins with all the first three words, as (1) सताषष्ठ 'sixth amongst the goods', (2) काकस्य कार्ष्ण्यम् 'the blackness of the crow,' ब्राह्मणस्य शुक्ला 'The Brahmana has white teeth' This illustration is to be given when by context the word दन्ता is understood

The prohibition about guṇa-compounding, is however not universal for we find Pâṇini himself making such a compound in the following sûtra तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् I 2 53 S 1295 Here the word संज्ञाप्रमाणत्व is a guna-compound, the word प्रमाणत्वम् being guna So the compounds अर्थगौरवं, बुद्धिमान्द्यम् are valid

(3) The word सुहित means तृप्त or satisfied फलानां सुहितः 'satisfied of fruits,' फलानां तृप्तः The Instrumental compound however is not prohibited As फलेन तृप्त = फलतृप्त ॥ The difference is in accent It is adyudâtta, while a genitive compound would have been final udâtta

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन् 'the servant of a Brâhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वाणः 'the servant of a Brâhmana'

(5) ब्राह्मणस्य कृत्वा 'being done of Brâhmana,' ब्राह्मणस्य हृत्वा ॥

The word avyaya in the sûtra means the Kṛdanta Indeclinables only and not every Indeclinable This we infer from the fact that the word avyaya here is associated with Kṛdanta words both before and behind Namely सत् is a Krit affix and तव्य is also a kṛit affix, therefore अव्यय which is in the middle, must refer also to a krit formed Indeclinable Therefore, we can have a compound with Indeclinables other than kridanta, as तस्य उपरि = तदुपरि ॥ This is according to the grammarian Rakshita According to others, namely Kaiyyata and Haradata, the prohibition applies to every Indeclinable But the latter opinion is not sound, as the former is supported by Patanjali, who uses the compound तदुपरि ॥

(6) ब्राह्मणस्य कर्तव्यम् ॥ When however the affix is तव्यत् having the indicatory त् (III 1 96) there is compounding, as ब्राह्मणकर्तव्य 'the Brâhmana's duty' स्वकर्तव्यम् 'One's duty' The difference is in accent (VI 1 185 S 3729

(7) राज्ञ पाटलिपुत्रकस्य 'of the king Pâtaliputraka' पाणिनेः सूत्रकारस्य 'of the sûtra composer Pânini' So also तक्षकस्य सर्पस्य We can however form a compound like the following सूत्रकारपाणिनि । Even by the general rule relating to words in apposition one qualifying the other, as contained in sûtra II 1 57 S 736 the compound cannot be affected here, because of the word bahula used in that sûtra, the difference between that sûtra and the present is as to the position of the words In the genitive compound the genitive word would have stood first if compounded, not so in the other, there the quality stands first

In the case of तव्यत् the compounding takes place The difference is in accent तव्यत् is final svarita as it has an indicatory त् ॥ Thus कर्तव्यम् formed by तव्यत्, and कर्तव्यम् by तव्य ॥ In compounding with कर्तव्यम् the svarita will be retained by कृदुत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वर but had there been compounding with the second कर्तव्यम् the udâtta would have remained in the middle

In the phrase गोर्धेनो, the गो is a jâti word, and धेनु is read in sûtra II 1 65 S 744, and so there ought to be compounding is it so? Now the compounding is ordained by II 1 65 S 744 which applies to all cases in general (including genitive) but that sûtra is set aside by the subsequent sûtra II 2 8 S 702, which specifically applies to genitive cases Therefore गोर्धेनो should be compounded by II 2 8 S 702 But this sûtra itself is set aside by the present sutra, so there is no compounding in गोर्धेनो either by II 2 8 S 702, or II 1 65 S 744 In fact, II 1 65 S 744 finds its scope in all other cases than the sixth, while the sixth case will be governed by the subsequent sûtra II 2 8 S 702, which itself is limited by the present sûtra

७०६ । क्तेन च पूजायाम् । २ । २ । १२ ॥

मतिबुद्धीति सूत्रेण विहितो यः क्तस्तदन्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । राज्ञां मतो बुद्धः पूजितो वा । राजपूजित इत्यादौ तु भूते क्तान्तेन सह तृतीयासमासः ॥

706 A word ending with a sixth case affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of 'kta' is to denote 'respect' 'inclination', and 'understanding'

The affix क्त is added in the sense of inclination, understanding or respect by sûtra III 2 188 S 3089 The present sûtra alludes to that aphorism when it uses the word पूजा and pujâ itself is used only as an illustration and includes the other two significations of 'kta' also namely mati 'inclination,' and buddhi 'understanding'

53

As राज्ञा मत —बुद्ध —पूजित 'the king wishes, understands or respects'

But in राजपूजित "honored by the king" the affix kta denotes past time, and it is an Instrumental compound and not a genitive compound

७०७ । अधिकरणवाचिना च । २ । २ । १३ ॥

क्तेन षष्ठी न समस्यते । इदमेषामासित गत भुक्त वा ॥

707 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with the affix 'kta,' when the force of the latter is to denote 'locality' in which something has happened

As इदमेषा मासित गत भुक्तवा 'here they have sat, gone or eaten'

Note —When the affix क्त is attached to roots denoting 'fixedness, motion or eating,' it gives the sense of agent and of location in connection with the action denoted by the roots i e, that the action is located by the agent in this or that site (III 4 76 S 3087)

७०८ । कर्मणि च । २ । २ । १४ ॥

उभयप्राप्तौ कर्मणीति या षष्ठी सा न समस्यते । आश्चर्यो गवा दोहोऽगोपेन ॥

708 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with another, when the force of the genitive case is that of the accusative under II 3 66 S 624

As आश्चर्यो गवा दोहोऽगोपेन 'the milking of cows without a cowherd is a wonder'

Note —The anuvritti of क्त does not extend to this aphorism The word karma qualifies shashthi Sutra II 3 66 S 624 declares the conditions when, instead of the accusative, the genitive may be employed i e, when the agent and the object of the action denoted by the nouns formed by krit affixes, are both used in a sentence, the object is put in the genitive case and not the agent

७०९ । तृजकाभ्या कर्तरि । २ । २ । १५ ॥

कर्त्रर्थतृजकाभ्या षष्ठ्या न समास । अपा स्रष्टा । वज्रस्य भर्ता । ओदनस्य पाचक । कर्तरि किम् । इक्षूणा भक्षणमिक्षुभक्षिका । पत्युर्भर्तृशब्दस्य तु याजकादित्वात्समास । भूभर्ता । कथ तर्हि घटाना निर्मातुस्त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलह इति । शेषषष्ठ्या समास इति कैयट ॥

709 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'trich' or 'aka' when

the force of the affixes is that of an agent

As अपां स्रष्टा the creator of waters वज्रस्य भर्त्ता 'the holder of thunder bolt'

Note —The word 'kartari' qualifies the affixes trich and aka The affix तृच् is taught in sûtra III 1 133, and the affix अक is not a single affix, all affixes that have an element क are अक, such as ण्वुल् or वुञ् or वुन् (sutra VII 1 1)

It might be suggested that the word भर्तृ being read in the class of याजक (II 2 9 S 703) ought to be compounded The word भर्तृ there means 'husband or lord' while in the example we have given, it means 'holder' Thus भुवभर्त्ता "the lord of world How do you explain the compound त्रिभुवनविधातु in the sentence घटानांनिर्मातुस् त्रिभुवनविधातुश्च कलहः "The quarrel of the maker of pots and the ruler of the Three worlds" According to Kaiyyata it is compounded as shesha shashthi and it is not a pratipada vidhâna shashthi

The above are examples of words formed by तृच् Now we shall give examples of words formed by अक, thus ओदनस्य पाचक 'the cooker of rice'

Why do we say 'when it denotes agont'? Observe इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि

७१० । कर्तरि च । २ । २ । १६ ॥

कर्तरि षष्ठ्या अकेन न समास । भवत शायिका । नेह तृजनुवर्तते । तद्योगे कर्तुरभिहितत्वेन कर्तृषष्ठ्या अभावात् ॥

710 A word ending with the sixth case-affix is not compounded with a word ending with 'aka' affix when the force of the genitive case is that of an agent

As भवत शायिका 'vour honors' repose'

The word 'kartari' qualifies the Genitive case The Genitive case has the force of an agent under II 3 65 S 623 The anuvritti of तृच् is not to be read into this sutra Because a तृच् formed word always denotes an agent and so a Genitive case used along with such a word can never denote an agent Thus स्रष्टा is a word formed with तृच् affix It means "creator," and in अपां स्रष्टा हरि the agent हरि can never take the Genitive case in connection with स्रष्टा denoting the agent But with अक (ण्वुच् III 3 111 S 3288) we have सर्जिका where हरि can take the Genitive case, as हरेः सर्जिका "Hari's turn of creating"

७११ । नित्य क्रीडाजीविकयो । २ । २ । १७ ॥

एतयारथयोरकन नित्य षष्ठी समस्यते । उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका । क्रीडाविशेषस्य संज्ञा । संज्ञायामिति भावे ण्वुल् । जीविकायाम् । दन्तलेखक । तत्र क्रीडाया विकल्पे जीविकाया तृजकाभ्यां कर्तरीति निषेध प्राप्त वचनम् ॥

711 A word ending with a sixth case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending with aka, when this affix denotes a sport or a livelihood, and the compound is Tat-purusha

Thus उद्दालकपुष्पभञ्जिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddâlaka (lasorâ vernacular) flowers are broken or crushed' Here ण्वुल् denotes mere action by III 3 109 S 3286 and forms a Name As an example of livelihood we have दन्तलेखक "one who earns his bread by painting or marking the teeth' नखलेखक 'a nail painter by profession'

Note —This is a Nitya-samâsa incapable of analysis The anuvritti of the word 'na' which began with II 2 10 S 704 does not extend further The affix तृच् never has the sense of sporting or livelihood the only examples possible are of 'aka'

Why do we say 'when meaning sporting or livelihood' Observe ओदनस्य भोजक

उद्दालक पुष्पाणा भञ्जिका" Here neither the ण्वुल् denotes the agent nor the genitive पुष्पाणा is a कर्तरि षष्ठी ॥ Therefore both the preceding two sutras can not apply Now the compounding will be the usual genitive compound by sûtra II 2 8 S 702 which is optional, and to set aside that usual *optional* compounding, the present sutra is ordained which makes the compounding *compulsory* Similarly दन्तलेखक ॥ In this the *aka* अक denoting the agent could not have been compounded with a genitive, by virtue of the prohibition of the preceding sûtra, therefore, to accomplish both these objects in view, the sûtra-kâra has made this present sutra, and so the compounding by this is *invariable* In other words, the present sûtra sets aside the *option* of II 2 8 S 702 in the case of उद्दालकपुष्प भञ्जिका, and the *prohibition* of II 2 15 S 709 in the case of दन्तलेखक ।

७१२ । पूर्वापराधरोत्तरमेकदेशिनैकाधिकरणे । २ । २ । १ ॥

अवयविना सह पूर्वादय समस्यन्ते एकत्वसंख्याविशिष्टश्चेदवयवी । षष्ठीसमासापवाद । पूर्वं कायस्य पूर्वकाय । अपरकाय ॥

एकदेशिना किम् । पूर्व नाभे कायस्य । एकाधिकरणे किम् । पूर्वश्छात्राणाम् ।

सर्वोऽप्येकदेशोऽह्ना समस्यते संख्याविसायेति ज्ञापकात् । मध्याह्नः । सायाह्नः । केचित्तु सर्वोऽप्येकदेशः कालेन समस्यते न त्वह्नैव । ज्ञापकस्य सामान्यापेक्षत्वात् । तेन मध्यरात्रः । उपरता पश्चिम रात्रगोचरा इत्यादि सिद्धमित्याहुः ॥

712 The words pûrva 'front,' apara 'near,' adhara 'lower,' and uttara 'upper, are compounded when in construction with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity, and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note —The word ekâdhikarana' (the unity of substance) is the attribute of or qualifies the word 'ekadesin' This debars the Genitive Tat-purusha compound ordained by II 2 9 S 702 which would have placed the words 'pûrva' &c last in the compound whereas being here exhibited in the nominative case (I 2 43 and II 2 30), they take the precedence

This is an apavâda or exception to Genitive compounding under II 2 8 S 702 Thus **पूर्वं+कायस्य=पूर्वकायः** 'the front of the body', **अपरकायः** 'the back of the body',

Why do we say 'what signifies a thing that has parts'? Observe **पूर्वं नाभेः कायस्य** ॥ Why do we say 'distinguished numerically by unity'? Observe **पूर्वश्छात्राणाम्** 'the fore most of the pupils' because here the substratum (adhikarana) is not unity (eka) But the compounds like **मध्याह्नः** noon, **सायाह्नः** 'evening are correct, because the word 'ahna' is compounded with every word signifying its parts, as we learn this by inference from sûtra VI 3 110 S 238

Some say the rule which we have inferred from the jñâpaka of sûtra VI 3 110 S 238 is not confined to **अहन्** only but applies to all words denoting *time* as the jñapaka is general, and not merely limited to a particular word As a result we get compounds like **मध्य रात्र** and **पश्चिमरात्र** in the examples given in the text above

७१३ । अर्धं नपुंसकम् । २ । २ । २ ॥

समांशवाच्यर्धशब्दो नित्यं क्लीबे स प्राग्वत् ॥ एकविभक्तावषष्ठ्यन्तवचनम् * ॥ एकदेशिसमासविषयेऽप्युपसर्जनसंज्ञाप्रतिषेधः । तेन पञ्चखट्वी इत्यादि सिध्यति । अर्धं पिप्पल्या अर्धपिप्पली । क्लीबे किम् । ग्रामार्धः । द्रव्यैक्य एव । अर्धं पिप्पलीनाम् ॥

713 The word **अर्ध** when it signifies 'exactly equal parts i e halves,' is always neuter, and is compounded

with a word signifying a thing that has parts, provided that the thing halved is numerically one; and the compound is Tat-purusha

Vârt —A word which has one fixed case, while the word compounded with it may vary its case is an upasarjana, except when the case is a Genitive one This is an exception to sûtra I 2 44 S 655 Therefore a Genitive noun denoting part, though fixed, will not be upasarjana This prohibition of upasarjana relates to एकदेशिसमास that is, to compounds denoting *parts* of a substance, and not to a Genitive case in general Therefore in पञ्चानां खट्वानां समाहारः = पञ्चखट्वी ॥ Here खट्वा though in the Genitive case, gets upasarjana designation, and consequently it is shortened by गोस्त्रियोः &c I 2 48 S 656 The result of which is that the compound gets क्लीब ॥

But in अर्धं पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली the word पिप्पली in the Genitive does not get upasarjana designation, as the present vârtika applies to it, because it is ekadesî, and so we have no shortening

The word अर्धं is neuter when it means exactly equal parts or bisection.

The word एकदेशिन् and एकाधिकरण are understood here This sûtra also debars II 2 9, as अर्धं पिप्पल्याः = अर्धपिप्पली 'a half of the pepper', अर्धकोशातकी 'a half of the Kośâtakî.'

Why do we say 'when it is neuter'? Otherwise we have ग्रामार्धः 'half the village' नगरार्धः 'half the city'

The word 'ekadesin' must also be taken here Thus in the sentence अर्धं पशोर्देवदत्तस्य 'a half of the animal is of Devadatta', we cannnot compound the word 'ardha' with 'Devadatta'

The word 'ekâdhikarana' must also be taken here So we cannot compound अर्धं पिप्पलीनाम् 'the half of the peppers'

७१४ । द्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थतुर्याण्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । ३ ॥

एतान्येकदेशिना सह प्राग्वत् । द्वितीयं भिक्षाया द्वितीयभिक्षा । एकदेशिना किम् । द्वितीयं भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणसामर्थ्यात्पूरणगुणेति निषेधं बाधित्वा पक्षे षष्ठीसमासः ॥ भिक्षाद्वितीयम् ॥

714 The word dvitîya, 'second,' tritîya 'third,' chaturtha 'fourth,' and turya 'fourth,' are optionally compounded with that word which signifies a thing that has

parts, provided that the thing having parts is distinguished numerically by unity The compound so formed is called Tat-purusha

Note —This also debars II 2 9 By the force of the word 'optionally' used here, II 2 9 S 703 also applies The prohibition contained in II 2 11. 705 as to the compounding of a genitive with an ordinal, does not apply here, for that rule can find its scope in other ordinals than those mentioned here

As द्वितीयभिक्षाया = द्वितीयभिक्षा 'second begging' When we apply sûtra II 2 9 S 703 we have भिक्षाद्वितीय

Why do we say " which signifies a thing that has parts ?"

But we cannot form compounds, for reasons given in the last sûtra, of the phrases द्वितीय भिक्षाया भिक्षुकस्य

By force of the word अन्यतरस्याम् "optionally" read in this sûtra, though it was not necessary, as the same effect could have been got by the the great option (Mahâvibhâsa of sutra II 1 11 S 665), we infer that the sûtra II 2 11 S 705 is set aside in the case of these words and so we can form usual compounds also under sûtra II 2 8 S 702 For these words are all ordinals, and so would have come under the prohibition of II 2 11 S 705 Thus we have द्वितीय भिक्षाया = भिक्षाद्वितीयम् by II 2 8 S 702 and by the present sûtra द्वितीयभिक्षा ॥ Thus there are two forms

७१५ । प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया । २ । २ । ४ ॥

पक्षे द्वितीयाश्रितेति समास । प्राप्तो जीविका प्राप्तजीविक । जीविकाप्राप्त । आपन्नजीविक । जीविकापन्न । इह सूत्रे द्वितीयया अ इति छित्त्वा अकारोऽपि विधीयते । तत्र जीविका प्राप्ता स्त्री प्राप्तजीविका । आपन्नजीविका ।

715 The words prâpta 'obtained,' and âpanna 'obtained' are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case-affix and form Tat-purusha compound

The anuvṛitti of the words 'ekadesin' and 'ekâdhikarana' does not exist here This aphorism states an alternative course to rule II 1 24 S 686 Thus we have प्राप्तजीविक (प्राप्तो जीविका) or जीविकाप्राप्त 'obtained his livelihood' So also आपन्नजीविक or जीविकापन्न

In this sutra, the word द्वितीयया is a compound of द्वितीयया + अ, and the sûtra ordains अ substitution also, in case of feminine gender Namely प्राप्ता and आपन्ना are shortened to प्राप्त and आपन्न ॥ In other words the sûtra

should be translated thus —"The words प्राप्त and आपन्न are optionally compounded with words ending in a second case affix, and form Tat-purusha compound, and there is the substitution of short अ for long आ if these words are in the feminine" Thus जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = प्राप्तजीविका Here प्राप्ता is not upasarjana, and no sûtra would have shortened this Similarly आपन्नजीविका ॥ But if we compound it under sûtra II 1 24 S 686, then we have जीविकां प्राप्ता स्त्री = जीविकाप्राप्ता ॥

७१६ । कालाः परिमाणिना । २ । २ । ५ ॥

परिच्छेद्यवाचिना सुबन्तेन सह कालाः समस्यन्ते । मासो जातस्य यस्य स मासजातः । द्व्यहजातः । द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारो द्व्यहः । द्व्यहो जातस्य यस्य स इति विग्रहः ॥ उत्तरपदेन परिमाणिना द्विगोः सिद्धये बहूनां तत्पुरुषस्योपसंख्यानम् * ॥ द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य स द्व्यह्नजातः । अह्नोऽह्न इति वक्ष्यमाणोऽह्नादेशः । पूर्वत्र तु न संख्यादेः समाहार इति निषेधः ॥

716 Words denoting time are compounded when in construction, with words denoting the object whose duration is measured by the time, and the compound is Tat-purusha

This is also a kind of genitive compound As मासो जातस्य = मासजात 'month old' (born a month ago) So also संवत्सरजात a year old and द्व्यहजात 'Two days old" This is a compound of two words द्व्यह and जात, as द्व्यहो जातस्य यस्य = द्व्यहजात ॥ The word द्व्यह itself is a Dvigu Aggregate Compound, and is thus formed द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारः = द्व्यह ॥ Thus द्वि + अहन् + टच् (V 4 91 S 788) = द्वि + अह् + अ (अन् is elided by VI 4 145 S 789) द्व्यह ॥ Now this द्व्यह is *one* word and so is compounded with जातस्य ॥

But if the analysis be द्वे अहनी जातस्य यस्य स, then the form will be द्व्यह्नजात, and here arises the difficulty of compounding more than *two* nouns at a time For the rule is that *one* noun is compounded with *another* noun, and not that *three* nouns can be compounded simultaneously To obviate this difficulty we have the following

Vartika —Enumeration should be made of a Tat purusha compound of more than two words, for the sake of accomplishing a Dvigu, with the third or last word denoting the thing measured So we can compound द्वे अहनी जातस्य into द्व्यह्नजात ॥ The अहन् is changed to अह्न by V 4 88 S 790 But in the first case, we form a Samâhara compound, and so V 4 89 S 793 applies, and we have no अह्न substitution

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THE LOCATIVE TATPURUSHA

७१७ । सप्तमी शौण्डैः । २ । १ । ४० ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं शौण्डादिभिः प्राग्वत् । अक्षेषु शौण्डः अक्षशौण्डः । अधिशब्दोऽत्र पठ्यते । अध्युत्तरपदादिति खः । ईश्वराधीनः ॥

717 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words śaunḍa 'skilled' &c and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note —The word शौण्डैः in the sûtra being in the plural number indicates a class of words beginning with śaunda

As अक्षेषु शौण्डः = अक्षशौण्डः 'skilled in dice' A word ending with अधि will take the affix ख (ईन by V 4 7 S 2079) and will be a तत्पुरुष compound Thus ईश्वराधीन

The following is the list of शौण्डादि words —1 शौण्ड, 2 धूर्त 3 कितव, 4 व्याड 5 प्रवीण, 6 संवीत, 7 अन्तर when meaning place, 8 अधि, 9 पटु, (or अधिपटु) 10 पण्डित, 11 कुशल, 12 चपल, 13 निपुण, 14 सव्याड' 15 भन्व, and 16 समीर

७१८ । सिद्धशुष्कपक्वबन्धैश्च । २ । १ । ४१ ॥

एतैः सप्तम्यन्तं प्राग्वत् । सांकाश्यसिद्धः । आतपशुष्कः । स्थालीपक्वः । चक्रबन्धः ॥

718 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with the words siddha 'perfected,' śushka 'dried,' pakva 'cooked' and bandha 'bound,' and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As, सांकाश्यसिद्ध 'perfect in sânkâsya' आतपशुष्क 'dried in the sun' स्थालीपक्व 'cooked in pot' चक्रबन्ध 'bound on the wheel'

७१९ । ध्वाङ्क्षेण क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४२ ॥

ध्वाङ्क्षवाचिना सह सप्तम्यन्तं समस्यते निन्दायाम् । तीर्थे ध्वाङ्क्ष इव तीर्थध्वाङ्क्षः । तीर्थकाक इत्यर्थः ॥

719 A word ending with the 7th case affix is compounded with the word dhvânksha, 'a crow,' (and with synonyms of crow) when contempt is implied, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As, तीर्थध्वाङ्क्ष 'a crow at the sacred bathing place' *i e*, a very greedy person, as a crow in a bathing place does not remain long anywhere, so

a person who goes to his teacher's house and does not tarry there long, is called a तीर्थकाक or a तीर्थवायस

Note —When it has not this meaning, there is no compounding as तीर्थेध्वाङ्क्षस्तिष्ठति 'There is a crow in the sacred bathing place'

७२० । कृत्यैर्ऋणे । २ । १ । ४३ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं कृत्यप्रत्ययान्तैः सह प्राग्वदावश्यके । मासदेयम् ऋणम् । पूर्वाह्णेगेयं साम ॥

720 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is compounded with words ending with a kritya-affix (a fut pass Participle) and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha, when 'debt' is implied

Note —This compound is confined to the words formed by the kritya affix यत् and not to every kritya formed word

As, मासेदेय 'a debt repayable within a month' The case-affix is not elided optionally by VI 3 14 S 972 Otherwise we have मासदेय ॥

By using the word ऋण we indicate by implication any appointed time in general, and not merely a time for the payment of a debt Therefore we get compounds in the following case also — पूर्वाह्णेगेयं साम 'the Sâma that should be sung in the morning'

७२१ । संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ४४ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं सुपा प्राग्वत् संज्ञायाम् । वाक्येन संज्ञानवगमान्नित्यसमासोऽयम् । अरण्येतिलकाः । वनेकसेरुकाः । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या इत्यलुक् ॥

721 A word ending with the 7th case-affix is invariably compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, when the compound thus formed is used as an appellative, and it is called Tat-purusha samâsa

A sanjñâ is expressed by the complete word, hence it is an invariable (nitya) compound, for we cannot express an appellative by a sentence

As, अरण्ये तिलकाः 'wild sesamum' yielding no oil, any thing which does not answer to one's expectation So also वने कसेरुकाः 'anything found unexpectedly'

The case-affix is not elided, in this case, in accordance with sûtra

VI 3 9 S 966 The 7th case affix is not elided after words ending in consonants or in short अ when the compound denotes appellative

७२२ । क्तेनाहोरात्रावयवा । २ । १ । ४५ ॥

अह्नो रात्रेश्चावयवाः सप्तम्यन्ताः क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । पूर्वाह्णकृतम् । अपररात्रकृतम् । अवयव-ग्रहणं किम् । अह्नि दृष्टम् ॥

722 The names of divisions of day or night ending with a 7th case-affix are compounded with words ending with the affix kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

As, पूर्वाह्णकृतम् 'done in the morning' अपररात्रकृत 'done in the last part of the night'

Why do we say 'members or divisions of day and night?' Observe अह्नि दृष्टम् 'seen in day'

७२३ । तत्र । २ । १ । ४६ ॥

तत्रेत्येतत्सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन सह प्राग्वत् । तत्रभुक्तम् ॥

723 The word tatra 'there,' which is a word ending with the 7th case-affix, (V 3 10S 1957) is compounded with a word ending in kta, and the resulting compound is Tat-purusha

Thus तत्रभुक्तम् 'eaten there'

Note —By making this a compound, the same purpose is served as in sûtra II 1 25 S 687 namely, these two words form one word and get one accent

७२४ । क्षेपे । २ । १ । ४७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तं क्तान्तेन प्राग्वन्निन्दायाम् । अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् ॥

724 A word ending with a 7th case-affix is compounded with a word ending with the affix kta, when 'censure' is implied, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As, अवतप्तेनकुलस्थितं त एतत् 'thy this work is as if an ichneumon standing on hot ground", (metaphorically said of the inconstancy of man) चापलम् ॥

Note —The 7th case affix is not elided in the case of this sûtra also See sûtra VI 3 14

७२५ । पात्रेसमितादयश्च । २ । १ । ४८ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते क्षेपे । पात्रेसमिता । भोजनसमय एव सगता । नतु कार्ये । गेहेशूर । गेहेनर्दी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । चकारोऽवधारणार्थ । तनैषां समासान्तरे घटकतया प्रवेशो न । परमा पात्रे-समिता ॥

725 The words like pâtre-samita 'a dish-companion' (a parasite), &c , are Tat-purusha compounds, when contempt is implied

Note —All these are irregular compounds Some of the words contained in this list are compounds formed with the past-participle (क्त) , they could have been formed by the previous aphorism also Their inclusion in this list is for the purpose that their first member should have udâtta on the beginning , because all the words belonging to this class, are a subdivision of a larger class called ' युक्तारोह्यादि Class ' treated of in sûtra VI 2 81

Thus the following is the list of the words —पात्रेसमिता , 2 पात्रेबहुला 'a parasite' (constant at meals or dinner (time) 3 उदुम्बरमशक , 4 उदुम्बरकृमि , 5 उदरकृमि , 6 कूपकच्छप , 7 अवटकच्छप , 8 कूपमण्डूक , 9 कुम्भमण्डूक , 10 उदपानमण्डूक , 11 नगरकाक , 12 नगरवायस , 13 मातरिपुरुष , 14 पिण्डीशूर , 15 पितरिशूर , 16 गेहेशूर , 17 गेहेनर्दी , 18 गेहेक्ष्वेडी, 19 गेहेविजिती, 20 गेहेव्याड , 21 गेहेमेही, 22 गेहेदाही, 23 गेहेदृप्त , 24 गेहेधृष्टः, 25 गर्भेतृप्त , 26 आखनिकबकः, 27 गोष्ठेशूर , 28 गोष्ठेविजिती, 29 गोष्ठेक्ष्वेडी 30 गोष्ठेपटु , 31 गोष्ठेपण्डित , 32 गोष्ठेप्रगल्भ , 33 कर्णेटिरिटिरा, 34 कर्णेचुरचुरा ॥ The force of च in the sûtra is to restrict it to these very words Therefore, we cannot compound परमा पात्रेसमिता , and it cannot form part of another compound

७२६ । पूर्वकालैकसर्वजरत्पुराणनवकेवलाः समानाधिकरणेन । २ । १ । ४९ ॥

विशेषणं विशेष्येणेति सिद्धे पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । एकशब्दस्य दिक्सङ्ख्ये संज्ञायामिति नियमबाधनार्थं च । पूर्वं स्नात पश्चादनुलिप्त स्नातानुलिप्त । एकनाथ । सर्वयाज्ञिका । जरन्नैयायिका पुराणमीमांसका । नवपाठका । केवलवैयाकरणा ॥

726 A case-inflected word denoting an action which naturally precedes in time (pûrvakâla), and the words eka 'one,' sarva 'all,' jarat 'old,' purâna 'ancient,' nava 'new,' and kevala 'only,' are compounded with their co-relative case-inflected words which are in the same case with them , and the compound so formed is Tat-purusha

Note —These compounds could have been formed by the rule II 1 57 S 736 but their especial enumeration here is for the sake of placing these words first in the compound In the case of the word एक there is further object of precluding the prohibition of Sûtra II 1 50 S 727

The phrase सुप सुपा is understood here, the whole sutra qualifying it

Words which separately can be applied to many distinct and different objects, when they apply to one common object, are said to be in apposition (समानाधिकरण) or abiding in a common substratum

In the present sûtra the word-form pûrva kâla is not to be taken (I 1 68 S 25) but its significates, while of the rest एक &c the very word form is to be taken A word denoting action which naturally precedes in time, is compounded with a word denoting action which naturally succeeds it

As, स्नातानुलिप्त 'bathed and perfumed' कृष्टसमीकृतम् 'ploughed and levelled' दग्धप्ररूढम् 'burnt and healed' एकनाथ 'having one master एकभिक्षा 'begging once in a day' सर्वयाज्ञिका "all the members of a sacrifice" सर्वमनुष्या all men' जरद्धस्ती 'old elephant' जरन्नैयायिका 'old logician' जरद्वृत्ति 'old occupation' पुराणमीमांसका old Mimânsakas पुराणावसथम् 'an old habitation' So नवपाठका "New students' नवावसथम् ॥ केवल वैयाकरणाः " Only grammarians "

Why do we say 'when they are in the same case?' Observe एकस्याः शाटी 'one's petticoat.'

These and the subsequent compounds are Karmadhâraya Compounds (I 2 42)

७२७ । दिक्संख्ये संज्ञायाम् । २ । १ । ५० ॥

समानाधिकरणेनेत्यापादपरिसमाप्तेरधिकार । संज्ञायामेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम । पूर्वेषुकामशमी । सप्तर्षय । नेह । उत्तरा वृक्षा । पञ्च ब्राह्मणा ॥

727 The words expressing a point of the compass, or a number (sankhyâ) enter into composition with the words correlated to them by being in the same case, when the sense of the compound is that of an appellative, and it is a Tat purusha

The phrase 'being in apposition,' is understood in every one of these sûtras up to the end of the chapter This sûtra makes a niyama, namely these words are compounded only then, when the whole is a Name and Tat-purusha

As, पूर्वेषुकामशमी 'the town of Ishukâmasamî in the east' सप्तर्षय 'the seven sages' (the constellation of the Great Bear)

But not in उत्तरा वृक्षा 'northern trees,' and पञ्च ब्राह्मणा 'five Brahmanas,' because here the sense of the compounds is not that of an appellative See IV 2 107

७२८। तद्धितार्थोत्तरपदसमाहारे च। २। १। ५१॥

तद्धितार्थे विषये उत्तरपदे च परत समाहारे च वाच्ये दिक्सङ्ख्ये प्राग्वत्। पूर्वस्या शालाया भवः पौर्वशाल। समास कृत दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञाया ञ इति ञ॥ सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुंवद्भाव *॥ आपरशाल। पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ कृत प्रियाशब्दे उत्तरपदे पूर्वयोस्तत्पुरुष। तेन शालाशब्दे आकार उदात्त। पूर्वशालाप्रिय। दिक्षु समाहारो नास्त्यनभिधानात्। सङ्ख्यायास्तद्धितार्थे। षण्णा मातॄणामपत्यं षाण्मातुर। पञ्च गावा धन यस्येति त्रिपद बहुव्रीहाववान्तरतत्पुरुषस्य विकल्पे प्राप्ते॥ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयो उत्तरपदे नित्यसमासवचनम् *॥

728 In a case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix, or when an additional member comes after the compound, or when an aggregate is to be expressed, then a word signifying a point of the compass or a number, enters into composition with a case-inflected word which is in agreement with it by being in the same case, and the compound so formed is called Tat-purusha

First let us take the case where the sense is that of a Taddhita-affix Thus when a compound is formed out of the words पूर्वस्या शालाया भव 'that which is in the eastern hall' (in which analytical exposition of the compound in question, the word भव (IV 2 107 S 1328) serves to represent the force of the Taddhita affix ञ) the compound having reached the form of पूर्वा + शाला, the feminine termination of the पूर्वा is rejected, because Patanjali declares that the masculine state belongs to a pronominal when exercising any of the five functions belonging to a word, we have —पूर्व + शाला + ञ (IV 2 107 S 1328) = पौर्वशाल (VII 2 117 S 1075 and VI 4 148 S 311) 'who is in the eastern hall'

Vart —The sarvnâmans become Masculine when parts of a compound or a Taddhita The vrittis are of five kinds, Krit, Taddhita, Samâsa, Ekshesha and Sanâdyanta Here two Vrittis only are to be taken Similarly आपरशाल॥

So also when an additional member comes after the compound (uttarpade) As, पूर्वशालाप्रिय or अपरशालाप्रिय 'loving the eastern or western hall' These Uttarapada Compounds are invariable (Nitya) compounds, so that they can not be resolved into their component elements

If we make a Bahuvrîhi compound of the three words पूर्वा शाला प्रिया यस्य, where the word प्रिया is the uttarapada then the first two words (पूर्वा शाला) form a Tatpurusha पूर्वशालाॅ ॥ Here the आॅ of शाला is udâtta by VI 1 223 S 3734, and this udâtta will be retained in the Bahuvrîhi also, As पूर्वशालाॅप्रिय ॥ Had the शाला and प्रिया been compounded first, and then the compound शालाप्रिय further compounded with पूर्व as a Bahuvrîhi, then by VI 2 1 S 3735, पूॅर्व would have retained its accent, and the compound would have been पूॅर्वशालाप्रिय ॥

When a समाहार 'aggregate' is to be expressed, it is impossible to use a word expressing points of the compass (दिक् words) because the usage is against it

The following compounds are formed with numbers (संख्या), when employed with the force of a Taddhita affix, as षाण्मातुर "a son of six mothers," a name of Kârtikeya Here the Taddhita affix अण is added by IV 1 115 S 1118 In compounding पञ्चगावोधन यस्य as a Bahuvrihi of three words, when we take the intermediate Tatpurusha stage, as optional by the great option II 1 11 S 665, and may so consider that the Tatpurusha compound need not take place, then the following vârtika applies —

Vart —The compounding is nitya when a Dvandva or a Tatpurusha is to be compounded with an uttarapada of more than two words Therefore पञ्च and गाव must be *necessarily* compounded first as a samâhâra, there being no option possible here, and then the compound so formed, further compounded as a Bahuvrîhi with धन ॥ The compound of पञ्च + गो gets the affix टच् by the following —

७२९ । गोरतद्धितलुकि । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गोन्तात्तत्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात् समासान्तो न तद्धितलुकि । पञ्चगवधन ॥

729 The affix tach comes after गो standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when no elision of a Taddhita affix has taken place in forming such compound

Thus पञ्च + गो + टच् = पञ्चगव ॥ पञ्चगवधन ॥ The meaning is 'whose wealth consists of five cows'

Note —Why do we say "when no Taddhita affix has been elided in forming the compound"? Observe, पञ्चभिर्गोभि क्रीत = पञ्चगु ॥ (Here the affix ठक् V 1 37 S 1702 is elided by V 1 28 S 1693 and hence the samasanta affix टच् is not added) So also दशगु ॥

Why do we say 'when there is elision'? Merely adding a Taddhita affix in forming a Tatpurusha, will not debar the samâsânta affix as पञ्चभ्यो गोभ्य आगत = पञ्चगो + टच् + रूप्य (the tach is added by this sutra, and the taddhita रूप्य to denote तत आगत by IV 3 81 S 1461) = पञ्चगारूप्यम्, पञ्चगोमयम्, or दशगवरूप्यम्, दशगवमयम् ॥

Thus we get above पञ्चगवधन ॥ But if the option of II 1 11 S 665 be applied, and पञ्च + गो be not compounded as a Tatpurusha, then there will be no samâsânta टच्, and the Bahuvrihi will be पञ्चगोधन ॥ This is on the view that the vârtika above given is not to be applied Similarly with a द्वन्द्व compound, as वाक् च दृषच्च च प्रिये अस्य = वाग्दृषदप्रिय ॥ So also छत्रोपानहप्रिय ॥ Here वाक and दृषद् are *invariably* compounded as a Dvandva, before becoming the first member of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore it takes *always* the samasânta टच् by V 4 106 S 930

o

THE DVIGU COMPOUND

७३० । सङ्ख्यापूर्वो द्विगु । २ । १ । ५२ ॥

तद्धितार्थेत्यत्रोक्त सङ्ख्यापूर्वोद्विगु स्यात् ॥

730 In a case where the sense is that of a taddhita affix (तद्धितार्थे) or when an additional member comes after the compound (उत्तरपदे) or when an aggregate (समाहारे) is to be expressed, the compound, the first member of which is numeral, is called Dvigu or a Numeral Determinative compound

The word taddhitârtha of sutra II 1 51 S 728 is understood here also This defines a Dvigu compound, which is a class of Tatpurusha, where the first member is a numeral The examples of it will be given below They are of three sorts, namely (1) Tadditârtha dvigu, as दशकपाल, "an offering prepared in ten cups formed by the affix अण् of IV 2 16 which is elided by IV 1 88 S 1217 1080 (2) upapada dvigu, as, पञ्चनावप्रिय, and (3) samâhara dvigu, as, पञ्चपली ॥ The feminine is formed by IV 1 21

७३१ । द्विगुरेकवचनम् । २ । ४ । १ ॥

द्विग्वर्थ समाहार एकवत्स्यात् । स नपुसकमिति नपुसकत्वम् । पञ्चाना गवा समाहार पञ्चगवम् ॥

731 The compound Dvigu (II 1 52 S 730) is singular in number

The word एकवचन is a genitive Tat purusha compound meaning 'the expression for one,' that is to say it expresses the sense of unity The rule therefore, enjoins that the sense inherent in a Dvigu compound is that of unity

This is confined to Samâhâra Dvigu i e, an aggregate compound taken in a collective sense This Samâhara Dvigu is always Neuter by II 4. 17 S 821 As, पञ्चगव 'an aggregate of five cows, (IV 1 21)

Why do we say "a *Samâhâra* Dvigu is singular"? When it is a Taddhitârtha Dvigu it is not singular As पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृता = पञ्चकपाला, similarly पञ्चभि गोभि क्रीता' = पञ्चगव पटा ॥

७३२ । कुत्सितानि कुत्सनै । २ । १ । ५३ ॥

कुत्स्यमानानि कुत्सनै सह प्राग्वत् । वैयाकरणखसूचि । मीमांसकदुर्दुरूढ ॥

732 Case inflected words expressing vileness are compounded with case-inflected words expressing contempt, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha

As वैयाकरणखसूचि "A bad grammarian, who does not know grammar, but contemplates the heaven (ख) when asked any question" So also मीमांसकदुर्दुरूढ "an evil conducted mimânsaka," From √तुल उत्क्षेपे with the prefix दुर् and the Unâdi कूट ॥

Another example of such compounds is याज्ञिककितव 'one who hankers after performing sacrifices for persons for whom one ought not to perform sacrifices'

No compound can be formed under this aphorism if both the words are not used in an opprobatory signification as such Therefore, it is not in the following case कुत्सितोब्राह्मणा 'the bad Brâhmana' &c

७३३ । पापाणके कुत्सितै । २ । १ । ५४ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रापवाद । पापनापित । अणककुलाल ॥

733 The case inflected words pâpa 'sin,' and aṇaka 'insignificant,' are compounded with words expressive of vileness, and the compound is Tat-purusha

Both the words पाप and अणक are words of contempt (कुत्सन) by the last sutra, they would have stood as second members in the compound, the present sutra, however, is so framed with regard to sûtra I 2 43 S 653 and II 2 30, S 654 that they will stand as first As पापनापित or अणकनापित 'a contemptible barber' पाप or अणककुलाल 'a contemptible potter'

७३४ । उपमानानि सामान्यवचनै । २ । १ । ५५ ॥

घन इव श्यामो घनश्याम । इह पूर्वपद तत्सदृशे लाक्षणिकमिति ज्ञापयितु लौकिकविग्रहे इवशब्द प्रयुज्यते । पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् ॥

734 Case inflected words denoting objects of comparison, are compounded with words denoting what is likened to them, by reason of the latter possessing qualities in common with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha

That by or to which a thing is compared is 'upamâna, and the 'upameya' (the thing compared) is called सामान्य or 'common' Thus घनश्याम कृष्ण 'cloud black Kṛishna' (Krishṇa black as a cloud) Here श्याम is a quality common to Krishna and cloud therefore 'cloud' which is the उपमान is compounded with it. So also कुमुदश्येनी 'lily-white,' हंसगद्गदा 'Swan sounding,' न्यग्रोधपरिमण्डला 'globular as Nyagrodha tree' For accent see VI 2 2

But not so in देवदत्ता श्यामा 'black Devadattâ' or फला इव तण्डुला 'the rice are like fruits,' पर्वता इव बलाहका 'clouds like mountains'

In analysing the above compound घनश्याम we must use the word इव, as घन इव श्याम, and this shows that it is merely a simile or metaphorical use of the word This sûtra is made in order to declare a niyama rule, so that the upamâna word should stand *first*

७३५ । उपमित व्याघ्रादिभि सामान्याप्रयोगे । २ । १ । ५६ ॥

उपमेय व्याघ्रादिभि सह प्राग्वत्साधारणधर्मस्याप्रयोगे सति । विशेष्यस्य पूर्वनिपातार्थं सूत्रम् । पुरुषव्याघ्र । नृसोम । व्याघ्रादिराकृतिगण । सामान्याप्रयोगे किम् । पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूर ॥

735 A case-inflected word denoting subject of comparison is compounded with the words vyâghra 'tiger,' &c, the latter being the standard of comparison, and in construction with the former, and the compound is Tat-purusha, provided that, any word expressing the common characteristic (सामान्य) as explained above, is not employed

This is a modification of last sûtra 734 by which the substantive (upamâna) would have stood first, by the present, the upameya or the qualified stands first As पुरुषोऽय व्याघ्रइव = पुरुषव्याघ्र 'a person tiger' (in strength)

The words व्याघ्र &c are आकृतिगण *i e*, this is a class of compound words, the fact of a word belonging to which, is known by its form, *a*

posteriori and is not discoverable by any consideration of its constituent parts *a priori*

In the last sûtra, the compounding was between the उपमान and the common quality In the present, the compounding is between the उपमित and certain उपमान words, but never with सामान्य वचन ॥ Therefore we can not form this kind of compound from the following sentence —पुरुषो व्याघ्र इव शूर 'a man strong as a tiger' Similarly मुखपद्मम्, मुखकमल, करकिसलयम्, पार्थिवचन्द्रम् ॥

The following is the list of such words —

1 व्याघ्र = A tiger 2 सिंह = A lion 3 ऋक्ष = A bear 4 ऋषभ = A bull 5 चन्दन = Sandal 6 वृक = A wolf 7 वृष = A bull 8 वराह = A boar, hog 9 हस्तिन् = An elephant 10 तरु = A tree. 11 कुञ्जर = An elephant 12 रुरु = A kind of deer 13 पृषत = The spotted antelope 14 पुण्डरीक = A lotus flower 15 पलाश = A tree, Butea Frondosa 16 कितव = A rogue, cheat

आकृतिगणोऽयम्

1 मुखपद्मम्, 2 मुखकमलम् } A lotus-like face

3 करकिसलयम् = Sprout-like hand, a tender hand 4 पार्थिवचन्द्र ॥

७३६ । विशेषणं विशेष्येण बहुलम् । २ । १ । ५७ ॥

भेदकं समानाधिकरणेन भेद्येन बहुलं प्राग्वत् । नीलमुत्पलं नीलोत्पलम् । बहुलग्रहणात्क्वचिन्नित्यम् । कृष्णसर्पः । क्वचिन्न । रामो जामदग्न्यः ॥

736 A case-inflected word denoting the qualifier (the Adjective), is compounded diversely with a case-inflected word denoting the thing there by qualified, (the Substantive) the latter being in agreement (same case) with the former; and the compound is Tat-purusha

Note—The 'discriminator' is called विशेषण and the 'discriminated' is called विशेष्य as नीलोत्पल 'a blue lotus,' रक्तोत्पल 'a red lotus'

By using in the rule the expression बहुल 'diversely', it is meant that in some ceses it is imperative to make a compound (नित्यसमास) as कृष्णसर्प 'a black snake,' and sometimes it is forbidden; as, रामो जामदग्न्य 'Rama called also Jâmadagnya' ('as being the son of Jamadagni) अर्जुन कार्त्तवीर्य —and in some cases it is optional नीलमुत्पल or नीलोत्पल ॥

Why do we say 'qualifier?' Observe तक्षक सर्प 'the Takshaka snake' Why do we say 'qualified' Observe लोहितस्तक्षक 'the red Takshaka,

७३७ । पूर्वापरप्रथमचरमजघन्यसमानमध्यमध्यमवीराश्च । २ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थमिदम् । पूर्ववैयाकरण । अपराध्यापक ॥ अपरस्यार्धे पश्चभावो वक्तव्य * ॥ अपरश्चासावर्धश्च पश्चार्ध । कथमेकवीर इति । पूर्वकालैकेति बाधित्वा परत्वादनेन समासे वीरैक इति हि स्यात् । बहुलग्रहणाद्भविष्यति ॥

737 The case-inflected words pûrva 'prior,' apara 'other,' prathama 'first,' charama 'last,' jaghanya 'hindmost samâna 'equal,' madhya 'middle,' madhyama 'middle,' and vîra 'hero,' are compounded with words ending with a case-affix and which are in agreement (same case) with them, and the compound is Tat-puruhsa

This sûtra is also a niyama rule, and made for the purpose of declaring that these words must stand first in the compound Thus पूर्ववैयाकरण ॥ अपराध्यापक ॥

Vart—The word पश्च is used for अपर when it is compounded with अर्ध ॥ As अपर+अर्ध =पश्चार्ध ॥ How do you explain the word एकवीर where vira stands not first, for II 1 49 S 726 with regard to eka is superseded by the present sûtra with regard to vira, and the compound ought to be वीरैक ॥ This is an illustration of the diversity of II 1 57 S 736

७३८ । श्रेण्यादय कृतादिभि । २ । १ । ५९ ॥

श्रेण्यादिषु च्व्यर्थवचन कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अश्रेणय श्रेणय कृता श्रेणीकृता ॥

738 The case-inflected words śreṇî 'class' &c, are compounded with words krita 'made' &c, which are in agreement (same case), with them, and the compound is Tat-purusha

Vart—The words श्रेणि &c, for the purposes of this sutra, are supposed to have the force of the affix च्वि (chvi) Thus अश्रेणय श्रेणय कृता = श्रेणिकृता 'made into classes' (those who were not classified before)

Note—The class of words called कृतादि are akriti gana and cannot be known a priori This Samâsa is also an invariable Samasa by reason of sutra II 2 18, since all words that end in chvi (च्वि) are called gati (I 4 61)

The aggregate of those who earn their livelihood by one art, or by selling one particular kind of commodity is called sreni or guild The samasa is nitya श्रेणीकृताः The lengthening here is by VII 4 26 S 2120

७३९ । क्तेन नञ्विशिष्टेनानञ् । २ । १ । ६० ॥

नञ्विशिष्टेन क्तान्तेनानञ् क्तान्तं समस्यते । कृतं च तदकृतं च कृताकृतम् ॥ शाकपार्थिवादीनां सिद्धये उत्तरपदलोपस्योपसंख्यानम् ॥ शाकप्रियः पार्थिवः शाकपार्थिवः । देवब्राह्मणः ॥

739 A word ending with the affix kta, and not having the negative augment nañ, is compounded with t' same word ending with the affix kta, but which is distin uished from the former, by having the augment nañ, and t compound is Tat-purusha

Thus कृताकृतम् 'done and not done' i e partly done and partly n done

Note —The negative Past participle is compounded with the simple past participle, even when there is a slight difference in the forms, caused by नुट् and इट् augments

As अशित + अनशित = अशितानशितम् ॥ So also क्लिष्टाक्लिशितम् ॥

Vart —The compounds like शाकपार्थिव should also be enumerated, and there is elision of the second member in these compounds As शाकप्रिय पार्थिव = शाकपार्थिव 'the king beloved by the people of his era' i e an era making king So also देवब्राह्मण = देवपूजको ब्राह्मण "A Brâhmana who worships any deva"

७४० । सन्महत्परमोत्तमोत्कृष्टाः पूज्यमानैः । २ । १ । ६१ ॥

सद्वैद्यः । वक्ष्यमाणेन महत आकारः । महावैयाकरणः । पूज्यमानैः किम् । उत्कृष्टो गौः । पङ्कादुद्धृत इत्यर्थः ॥

740 The words sat 'good,' mahat 'great,' parama 'highest,' uttama 'best,' and utkrishta 'exeellent,' are compounded with the words denoting the person deserving of respect, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As सद्वैद्य 'a good physician The महत् becomes महा as will be taught later on, as महापुरुष 'a great man,' परमपुरुष the highest person, उत्तमपुरुष 'the best person,' उत्कृष्टपुरुष the excellent person'

Why do we say 'with words denoting the person deserving of respect? Observe उत्कृष्टो गौ कर्दमात् 'the ox was pulled out of the mud' Here उत्कृष्ट does not mean "excellent," but "pulled out'

७४१ । वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् । २ । १ । ६२ ॥

गोवृन्दारकः ॥ व्याघ्रादेराकृतिगणत्वादेव सिद्धे सामान्यप्रयोगार्थं वचनम् ॥

741 A case-inflected word denoting object deserving of respect is compounded with the words vṛndâraka 'eminent,' nâga 'serpent or elephant,' kuñjara 'elephant,' and the compound is Tat-purusha

As गोवृन्दारक 'an excellent bull or cow' The Vyâghrâdi class (II 1 56 S 735) being an Akritigana, the forms like go-vrindâraka could well have been obtained under that sûtra, the making of it a separate sûtra is for the sake of making these general compounds, and not restricted by the conditions of II 1 56 S 735

७४२ । कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने । २ । १ । ६३ ॥

कतरकठ । कतमकलाप । गोत्रं च चरणैः सहेति जातित्वम् ॥

742 The words katara 'which or who of two' and katama 'which' or who, of many,' when used in asking questions about the jâti (IV 1 63 S 518) are compounded with other case-inflected words with which they are in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha.

As कतरकठ and कतमकलाप 'which of the two is katha, and which of these kâlâpa?' Here Gotra and charana, are jâti, as defined previously in IV 1 63 S 518

It might be objected, 'what is the use of employing the word जातिपरिप्रश्न in the aphorism, since the word कतम is especially employed in asking such questions, (see V 3 93) and the word कतर will get the same signification, by being read along with it?' The very use of this phrase in the aphorism, shows that the word कतम has other meanings, besides that of an interrogative pronoun, of determining jâti, as कतरो भवतोर्देवदत्तः 'which of you two, Sirs is Devadatta' and कतमो भवतां देवदत्तः 'which of you, Sirs, is Devadatta' Here there is no questioning about jâti, all belonging to the same genus, hence there is no compounding (Accent VI 2. 57)

७४३ । किं क्षेपे । २ । १ । ६४ ॥

कुत्सितो राजा किंराजा । यो न रक्षति ॥

743 The word kim 'what,' when implying 'contempt,' is compounded with a word ending in a case-affix, and the compound is Tat-purusha.

As किं राजा यो न रक्षति 'he is a bad king who does not protect his sub-

jects' किं सखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति 'he is a bad friend who hates' किं गौ यो न वहति 'it is a bad ox that does not carry'

The affix टच् (V 4 91 S 788) does not come after this compound as in महाराज, मद्राज &c, by force of Rule V 4 70 S 955 Otherwise the form would have been किंराज and not किंराजा ॥

Why do we say 'when censure is implied?' Observe कस्यराजा = किंराज 'whose king,' किंसख ॥ Or को राजा पाटलिपुत्रे "who is king in Pataliputra?"

७४४ । पोटायुवतिस्तोककतिपयगृष्टिधेनुवशावेहद्बष्कयणीप्रवक्तृश्रोत्रियाध्यापकधूर्तैर्जातिः । २ । १ । ६५ ॥

744 A case-inflected word denoting a jâti, is compounded with the words poṭâ 'a hermaphrodite,' yuvati, 'a young female,' stoka 'a little,' katipaya 'a few,' grishti 'a cow which has had only one calf,' dhenu 'milch-cow i e a cow which has calved recently,' vaśâ 'a barren female,' vehad, 'a cow that miscarries,' bashkayanî 'a cow that has a full grown calf,' pravaktri 'an expounder,' śrotriya 'a learned Brâhmana,' adhyâpaka 'a teacher,' and dhûrta 'a cunning fellow', and the resulting compound is called Tatpurusha

For examples see under sûtra 746

७४५ । तत्पुरुषः समानाधिकरणः कर्मधारयः । १ । २ । ४२ ॥

745 A Tat-purusha compound, the case of each member of which is the same, is called *karmadhâraya* or Appositional Determinative compound

Note —" Karmadhâraya or Appositional Determinative compounds form a sub-division of the determinative compounds (Tat purusha) In them the first portion stands as the predicate of the second portion, such as in black beetle, sky blue," (Max Muller)

The compounds like नीलोत्पल 'the blue lotus' परमात्मा 'the supreme spirit' &c are examples of karmadhâraya compounds "The component words if dissolved, would stand in the same case, (samânâdhikaraṇa), whereas in other Tat-purushas, the preceding word is governed by the last"

As परमराज्यम्, is a karamadharava compound meaning "the best Government' Had it not been a karmadharava compound, the *udatta* accent would have fallen on the syllable रा by rule VI 2 130, S 3864 (the word राज्यम् has udatta on the first syllable in Tat-purusha compounds, except in karmadhâraya)

Similarly पाचिका + वृन्दारिका = पाचकवृन्दारिका ॥ (VI 3 42 S 746 the feminine adjective is changed into masculine in the karmadharaya) by the next sûtra —

Note —Each member of a compound may have the same case, but if it is not a Tat-purusha compound it won't be karmadhâraya As पचिका + भार्या = पाचिकाभार्य ॥ 'He who has a wife for a cook' This is an example of a Bahuvrihi compound, and therefore the word पाचिका retains its gender sign

७४६ । पुंवत्कर्मधारयजातीयदेशीयेषु । ६ । ३ । ४२ ॥

746 The feminine (unless it ends in ऊ), having an equivalent and uniform masculine, becomes masculine in a Karmadhâraya, and before जातीय and देशीय ॥

कर्मधारये जातीयदेशीययोश्च परतो भाषितपुंस्कात्पर ऊङभावो यस्मिंस्तथाभूतं पूर्वं पुंवत् । पूरणीप्रियादिष्वप्राप्तः पुंवद्भावोऽनेन विधीयते । महानवमी । कृष्णाचतुर्दशी । महाप्रिया । तथा कोपधादेः प्रतिषिद्धः पुंवद्भावः कर्मधारयादौ प्रतिप्रसूयते । पाचकस्त्री । दत्तभार्या । पञ्चमभार्या । सौघ्नभार्या । सुकेशभार्या । ब्राह्मणभार्या । एवं पाचकजातीया । पाचकदेशीयेत्यादि । इभपोटा । पोटा स्त्रीपुंसलक्षणा । इभयुवति । अग्निस्तोकं । उदश्वित्कतिपयम् । गृष्टि सकृत्प्रसूता, गोगृष्टि । धेनुर्नवप्रसूतिका गोधेनु । वशा वन्ध्या, गोवशा । वेहत् गर्भघातिनी, गोवेहत् । बष्कयणी तरुणवत्सा, गोबष्कयणी । कठप्रवक्ता । कठश्रोत्रिय । कठाध्यापक । कठधूर्त ॥

This sutra is enunciated as a prohibition to the preceding sûtras (VI 3 40 S 841 &c) Thus it applies even to words having a penultimate क (VI 3 37 S 838) Thus पाचकवृन्दारिका, पाचकजातीया, पाचकदेशीया ॥ It applies even to Names and the feminines which are ordinals in opposition to VI 3 38 S 839 Thus दत्तवृन्दारिका, दत्तजातीया, दत्तदेशीया, पञ्चमवृन्दारिका, पञ्चमजातीया, पञ्चमदेशीया ॥ It applies even in opposition to VI 3 39 S 840 सौघ्नवृन्दारिका, सौघ्नजातीया, सौघ्नदेशिया ॥ So also in opposition to VI 3 40, S 841 as श्लक्ष्णमुखवृन्दारिका, श्लक्ष्णमुखजातीया and श्लक्ष्णमुखदेशीया ॥ So also in opposition to VI 3, 41, S 842 as कठवृन्दारिका, कठजातीया, कठदेशीया ॥

The feminine must have a corresponding masculine (भाषितपुंस्क), So the rule does not apply to खट्वावृन्दारिका, as खट्वा has no corresponding masculine The feminine should not end in ऊ, as ब्रह्मबन्धूवृन्दारिका ॥

This sûtra ordains masculisation, in cases where there would not have been this change because of the prohibition of the sûtras VI 3 34 S. 831 &c (e g if the second word is an ordinal, प्रिय, &c) Thus the ordinal नवम becomes in the feminine नवमी ॥ महती चासौ नवमी = महानवमी ॥ Here महती has become masculine, inspite of the prohibition of VI 3 34 so also कृष्णचतुर्दशी ॥ Similarly महाप्रिया ॥

Similarly VI 3 37 S 838 declares "a feminine word having a penultimate क does not assume the Masculine form" The present sûtra is an exception to this prohibition also Thus पाचकस्त्री ॥

Similarly VI 3 38 S 839 teaches "the feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a name or an ordinal numeral" The present sûtra makes an exception to this also As दत्तभार्या, पञ्चमभार्या and not दत्ताभार्या &c पंचमीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 39 S 840 ordains "the feminine is not changed into masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the vṛiddhi of the first syllable" The present sûtra is an exception to this also As सौघ्नभार्या and not सौघ्नीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 40 S 841 states "a feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of the body, does not become masculine" This sûtra makes exception to this also As सुकेशभार्या and not सुकेशीभार्या ॥

Similarly VI 3 41 S 842 says "a feminine word expressing jâti does not become masculine" This sûtra makes exception to it also As ब्राह्मणभार्या ॥

Similarly with the words जातीय and देशीय ॥ As, पाचकजातीया and पाचकदेशीया ॥

Now we shall give examples of sûtra II 1 65 S 744

As इभपोटा 'a young female elephant' पोटा is a female, having the marks of a male, such as whiskers &c इभयुवति 'a female elephant' So अग्निस्तोक 'a little fire' उदश्वित् कतिपयम् 'a little butter milk' गोगृष्टि, गोधेनु गोवेहत, गोवष्कयणी, कठप्रवक्ता 'an expounder of Katha,' कठश्रोत्रिय, 'a Brâhmana who has mastered the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda' कठाध्यापक 'a teacher of the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda'

Why do we say 'when denoting a genus or a common noun?' Observe देवदत्त प्रवक्ता 'Devadatta expounder'

The word धूर्त has not a bad signification here Hence कठधूर्त means 'a Brahmana well versed in the Katha branch of the Yajur Veda'

७४७ । प्रशंसावचनैश्च । २ । १ । ६६ ॥

एते सह जातिः प्राग्वत् । गोमतल्लिका । गोमचर्चिका । गोप्रकाण्डम् । गोउद्घः । गोतल्लजः । प्रशस्ता गौरित्यर्थः । मतल्लिकादयो नियतलिङ्गा न तु विशेष्यलिङ्गाः । जातिः किम् । कुमारी मतल्लिका ॥

747 A case-inflected word, denoting a jâti, is compounded with a word, denoting praise, and the compound is Tat-purusha

The words denoting praise should be rûḍhi (रूढी) words like मतल्लिका &c, which retain their specific gender, though used along with words of other genders, in apposition with them, as गोप्रकाण्डम् 'an excellent cow.' गोमतल्लिका 'an excellent cow' गोमचर्चिका 'an excellent cow' गवोद्ध and गोतल्लज ॥ These words are generally used at the end of a compound, to denote 'excellence' or 'the best of its kind' Words like प्रशस्त, शोभन, रमणीय &c, which etymologically denote praise, or specific praise words like शुचि, पटु &c, are not to be taken here In गो + उद्ध there is अवङ् ' by VI 1 123

Why do we say 'when denoting genus?' Observe कुमारी मतल्लिका 'an excellent virgin' Here there is no compounding "मतल्लिका, मचर्चिका, प्रकाण्ड उद्ध तल्लज are praise denoting words" (Amarakosha)

७४८ । युवा खलतिपलितवलिनजरतीभिः । २ । १ । ६७ ॥

पूर्वनिपातनियमार्थं सूत्रम् । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया युवतिशब्दोऽपि समस्यते । युवा खलतिः युवखलतिः । युवतिः खलती युवखलती । युवजरती । युवत्यामत्र जरतीधर्मोपलम्भेन तद्रूपारोपात्सामानाधिकरण्यम् ॥

748 The word yuvá 'young,' is compounded with the words khalati, 'bald headed,' palita 'grey-haired' valina 'wrinkled,' jarati 'decayed,' when they are in agreement (same case), and the compound is Tat-purusha

The sûtra is made in order to declare a niyama, that these words should stand first in the compound

Note —The word जरतीभिः is exhibited in the feminine gender, in the aphorism, with the object of indicating the existence of the following maxim of interpretation प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

'A Pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender'

As, युवा + खलति = युवखलति ॥ So also युवति खलती = युवखलती in the feminine 'bald in youth' So युवपलित fem युवपलिता, 'grey-haired in youth' युववलिन fem, युववलिना 'wrinkled in youth' युवजरत् fem युवजरती 'appearing old in youth,' (prematurely old)

७४९ । कृत्यतुल्याख्या अजात्या । २ । १ । ६८ ॥

भोज्योष्णम् । तुल्यश्वेत । सदृश्वेत । अजात्या किम् । भोज्य ओदन । प्रतिषेधसामर्थ्याद्विशेषणसमासोऽपि न ॥

749 Words ending with a kritya affix, and the word tulya 'equal,' and its synonyms, are compounded

with words which do not denote jâti, being in the same case with them, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As, भोज्योष्णम् 'hot food,' तुल्यश्वेत 'equally white,' सदृशश्वेत 'equally white'

Why do we say 'when not denoting a jâti'? Observe भोज्य भाक्त 'eatable rice' Here the word भोज्य is used as an Adjective and not as a common noun Hence there is no compounding even under II 1 57 S 736

७५० । वर्णो वर्णेन । २ । १ । ६९ ॥

समानाधिकरणेन सह प्राग्वत् । कृष्णसारङ्ग ॥

750 A case-inflected word denoting colour' is compounded with another case-inflected word which is in agreement with the former, and also denotes colour, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As कृष्णसारङ्ग 'spotted antelope'

७५१ । कडारा कर्मधारये । २ । २ । ३८ ॥

कडारादय शब्दा कर्मधारये वा पूर्वं प्रयोज्या । कडारजैमिनि । जैमिनिकडार ॥

The words kadârah and the like, are optionally placed first in the karma-dhâraya

Thus कडारजैमिनि or जैमिनिकडार Kaḍârjaiminiḥ or Jaiminikaḍâraḥ, 'The tawny Jaimini' So also गडुलशाण्डिल्य or शाण्डिल्यगडुल ॥

७५२ । कुमार श्रमणादिभि । २ । १ । ७० ॥

कुमारी श्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा । इह गणे श्रमणा प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणीत्यादय स्त्रीलिङ्गा पठ्यन्ते । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया एतदेव ज्ञापकं बोध्यम् ॥

752 The word kumâra 'a boy' is compounded with co-ordinate words śramanâ 'an ascetic,' &c, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As, कुमारीश्रमणा कुमारश्रमणा "a virgin ascetic"

In this list of श्रमणा and the rest, with the words which are feminine such as श्रमणा, प्रव्रजिता गर्भिणी, the word कुमार must also be in the feminine gender, with the words which appear as masculine, e g अध्यापक, अभिरूपक, पाटव

the word कुमार must also be masculine, because 'a Prâtipadika denotes, whenever it is employed also such a crude form as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender' In fact, this is the sûtra from which we infer the existence (jñâpaka) of the above paribhâshâ of लिङ्गविशिष्ट &c

श्रमणादिः ।

1 श्रमणा = Lobouring, toiling 2 प्रव्रजिता = Gone abroad or into exile 3 कुलटा = An unchaste woman 4 गर्भिणी = A pregnant female 5 तापसी = A hermit, "devotee 6 दासी = A female servant 7 बन्धकी = An unchaste woman 8 अध्यापक = A teacher 9 अभिरूपक = Handsome 10 पण्डित = Learned, wise 11 मृदु = Soft 12 कुशल = Right, proper, good 13 चपल = Shaking, trembling 14 निपुण = Clever, sharp, skillful

७५३ । चतुष्पादो गर्भिण्या । २ । १ । ७१ ॥

चतुष्पाज्जातिवाचिनो गर्भिणीशब्देन सह प्राग्वत् ॥ गोगर्भिणी ॥ * चतुष्पाज्जातिरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी ॥

753 A case-inflected word denoting a quadruped is compounded with the co-ordinate word garbhinî, and the compound is Tat-purusha

As गोगर्भिणी 'a pregnant cow' अजागर्भिणी 'a pregnant she-goat'

Vart —It should be stated that the rule is confined to the words denoting genus of quadrupeds So not here —कालाक्षि गर्भिणी or स्वस्तिमती गर्भिणी 'the pregnant cow called Kâlâkshî or Svastimatî'

Note —Why do we say 'quadrupeds ?' Observe ब्राह्मणीगर्भिणी ॥

७५४ । मयूरव्यंसकादयश्च । २ । १ । ७२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । मयूरो व्यंसकः मयूरव्यंसकः । व्यंसको धूर्तः । उच्चाश्चावचाश्च उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रचितं च निश्चप्रचम् । नास्ति किंचन यस्य स अकिंचनः ॥ नास्ति कुतो भयं यस्य सोऽकुतोभयः । अन्यो राजा राजान्तरं । चिदेव चिन्मात्रम् ॥

आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये * ॥ अश्नीत पिबतेत्येवं सततं यत्राभिधीयते सा अश्नीतपिबता । पचतभृज्जता । खादतमोदता ॥

एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे * ॥ एहीड इति यस्मिन्कर्मणि तदेहीडम् । एहिपचम् । उद्धर कोष्ठादुत्सृज देहीति यस्यां क्रियायां सा उद्धरोत्सृजा । उद्धमविधमा । असातत्यार्थमिह पाठः ॥

जहि कर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति । * ॥ जहीत्येतत्कर्मणा बहुलं समस्यते आभीक्ष्ण्ये गम्ये समासेन चेत्कर्ताऽभिधीयत इत्यर्थः ॥ जहिजोडः । जहिस्तम्बः ॥

754 And the words mayûra-vyamsakâ 'cunning like a peacock,' &c , are Tat-purusha compounds

These are irregularly formed Tat purusha compounds The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of restriction For though the compound like मयूरव्यंसक is allowable, we cannot form a compound like परम मयूरव्यंसक ॥ So also उदक् चावाक्च = उच्चावचम् । निश्चितं च प्रचितं च = निश्चप्रचम् । नास्ति किंचन यस्य = अकिंचन ॥

The following is the list of such compounds —

मयूरव्यंसकादय ॥

1 मयूरव्यंसक ॥ 2 छात्र व्यंसक ॥ 3 कम्बोजमुण्ड ॥ 4 यवनमुण्ड ॥ 5 हस्तेगृह्य or हस्तगृह्य in the Vedas 6 पादेगृह्य or पादगृह्य ॥ 7 लाङ्गूलेगृह्य or लाङ्गूलगृह्य ॥ 8 पुनर्दाय ॥

GANA SÛTRA एहीडादयो ऽन्यपदार्थे ॥

As, 1 एहीड वर्तते ॥ 2 एहियव वर्तते ॥ 3 एहिवाणिजा (क्रिया) ॥ 4 अपेहिवाणिजा ॥ 5 प्रेहिवाणिजा ॥ 6 एहिस्वागता ॥ 7 अपेहिस्वागता ॥ 8 एहिद्वितीया ॥ 9 अपेहिद्वितीया ॥ 10 प्रेहिद्वितीया ॥ 11 एहिकटा ॥ 12 अपेहिकटा or अपोहकटा ॥ 13 प्रेहिकटा or प्रोहकटा ॥ 14 आहरकटा ॥ 15 प्रेहिकर्दमा ॥ 16 प्रोहकर्दमा ॥ 17 विधमचूड़ा ॥ उद्धमचूड़ा ॥ 18 उद्धरचूड़ा ॥ 19 आहरचेला ॥ 20 आहर वसना ॥ 21 (आहरसेना) ॥ 22 आहरवनिता ॥ 23 (आहरवितना) ॥ 24 कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ 25 उद्धरोत्सृजा ॥ 26 उद्धरावसृजा ॥ 27 उद्धमविधमा ॥ 28 उत्पचनिपचा or विपचा ॥ 29 उत्पतनिपता ॥ 30 उच्चावचम् ॥ 31 उच्चनीचम् ॥ 32 आचोपचम् ॥ 33 आचपराचम् ॥ 34 नखप्रचम् ॥ 35 निश्चप्रचम् ॥ 36 अकिंचन ॥ 37 स्नात्वाकालक ॥ 38 पीत्वास्थिरक ॥ 39 भुक्त्वासुहित ॥ 40 प्रोष्यपापीयान् । 41 उत्पत्यपाकला or व्याकुला ॥ 42 निपत्यरोहिणी ॥ 43 निषण्णश्यामा ॥ 44 अपेहिप्रघसा ॥ 45 एहिविघसा ॥ 46 इहपञ्चमी ॥ 47 इहद्वितीया ॥

G S जहिकर्मणा बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये कर्तारं चाभिदधाति ॥

1 जहिजोड ॥ 2 जहिजोडम् ॥ 3 जहिस्तम्बम् ॥ 4 (जहिस्तम्ब) ॥ 5 उज्जहिस्तम्बम् or म्ब ॥

G S आख्यातमाख्यातेन क्रियासातत्ये ॥

1 अश्नीतपिबता ॥ 2 पचभृज्जता ॥ 3 खादतमोदता ॥ 4 खादतवमता ॥ 5 खादताचमता ॥ 6 आहरनिवपा ॥ 7 आहरनिष्किरा ॥ 8 आवपनिष्किरा ॥ 9. उत्पचविपचा ॥ 10. भिन्धिलवणा ॥ 11 कृन्धिविचक्षणा ॥ 12 पचलवणा ॥ 13 पचप्रकूटा ॥

आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1 अकुतोऽभय ॥ 2 कान्दिश्णक ॥ 3 कन्दिशीक ॥ 4 आहोपुरुषिका ॥ 5 अहमहमिका ॥ 6 यदृच्छा ॥ 7 एहिरेयाहिरा ॥ 8 अन्मृजावमृजा ॥ 9 द्रव्यान्तरम् ॥ 10 अवश्यकार्यम् ॥

Gana-sûtra —A finite verb is compounded with another finite verb, when the continuity of the action denoted by the verbs is meant As अश्नीतपिबता " the place where constantly is heard the cry " *eat ye* ", " *drink ye* "—a feast where people are called to eat and drink Similarly पचतभृज्जता " cook roast "—a kitchen खादतमोदता ॥

Gana-sûtra —The compounds एहीड &c are formed when they refer to some other object Thus एहीड is the name of the sacrifice in which the words एहीड are used So also एहिपचम् ॥ So also उद्धरोत्सृजा meaning " उद्धरकाष्ठानुत्सृजेति " इति यस्यां क्रियायां ॥ So also उद्धमविधमा ॥ These are words which do not denote " constant action "

Gana sûtra —The finite verb जहि is diversely compounded with its object, when repetition is denoted, and the whole compound refers to the agent As जहिजोड " He who constantly repeats jahi-joḍa " Similarly जहिस्तम्ब ॥

He who has fear from no one is अकुतोभय, another kingship is राजान्तरम्, that which is purely Intelligence is called चिन्मात्रम् ॥

७५५ । ईषदकृता । २ । २ । ७ ॥

ईषत्पिङ्गल ॥ ईषद्गुणवचनेनेति वाच्यम् * ॥

755 The word îshat 'a little,' is compounded with a case-inflected word which does not end with a kṛit-affix, and the compound is Tatpurusha

Vart —It should be stated that the word ईषत् is only compounded with words expressing qualities (adjectives), as ईषत्कडारः ' a somewhat proud ' ईषत्पिङ्गल ' a little brownish ' ईषद्विकट ' a little hideous ' ईषदुन्नत ' a little raised ' ईषत् पीतम् ' a little yellow ' ईषद्रक्तम् a little red '

Note —Why do we say ' with words expressing qualities ' ? Observe ईषद्गार्ग्य ,"there is no compounding here

७५६ । नञ् । २ । २ । ६ ॥

756 The negative word nañ is compounded with a case-inflected word with which it is in construction, and the compound is Tatpurusha

As ब्राह्मणः=अब्राह्मणः 'who is not a Brâhmana,' (though a man) The न् of न is elided by VI 3 73 which is given below

७५७ । नलोपो नञः । ६ । ३ । ७३ ।

नञो नस्य लोपः स्यादुत्तरपदे । न ब्राह्मणः अब्राह्मणः ॥

757 The न् of the Negative particle नञ्, is elided, when it is the first member of a compound

Thus अब्राह्मणः ॥ But if the second term begins with a vowel, then a न् is inserted after अ by the following —

७५८ । तस्मान्नुडचि । ६ । ३ । ७४ ॥

लुप्तनकारान्नञ उत्तरपदस्याजादेर्नुडागमः स्यात् । अनश्वः । अर्थाभावेऽव्ययीभावेन सहायं विकल्प्यते । रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनमिति अतृतीयासहितमिति च भाष्यवार्तिकप्रयोगात् । तेनानुपलब्धिरविवादोऽविघ्नमित्यादि सिद्धम् ॥ नञो नलोपस्तिङि क्षेपे * ॥ अपचसि त्वं जाल्म ॥ नैकधेत्यादौ तु नशब्देन सह सुप्सुपेति समासः ॥

758 After the above न्-elided नञ (i e after अ) is added the augment नुट्, to a word beginning with a vowel

Thus अनश्वः 'an animal which is not a horse' Why do we use तस्मात् "after such a नञ्"? Otherwise नुट् would have been the augment of नञ् and not of the subsequent word, for the sûtra would have read thus नुडचि ॥ Adding नुट् to नञ् or rather to अ, we have अन् (granting that नुट् is not to be added *before* अ but *after* it, against I 1, 46) Now अन्+अज will be अन्नज and not अनज for VIII 3 32 S 134 will cause the doubling of the final न of अन् ॥ Hence to prevent this contingency, नुट् is ordained with the second member and not with regard to अ or नञ् ॥

When the force of नञ् is that of "absence," i e it expresses the "absence of the object denoted by the second term," then the compound resembles Avyayî bhâva For in an Avyayibhâva, the sense of the first term is prominent, in a Tatpurusha the sense of the second member is predominant. Thus in the Mahâbhâshya, we find the compound असन्देहाः in the sentence रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहाः प्रयोजनम् where he gives the reasons for studying grammar, similarly असहित in अतृतीयासहित a vârtika On the analogy of these, we can form compounds like अनुपलब्धि, अविवाद, अविघ्न &c

Vart —The न् of न is also elided even when the second member is a verb, provided that reproach is implied, as अपचसि त्वं जाल्म 'thou cookest very badly O knave'

In the expression नैकधा &c 'not at one time,' there is composition with the word न in accordance with II 1 4 S 649

७५९ । नभ्राण्नपान्नवेदानासत्यानमुचिनकुलनखनपुंसकनक्षत्रनक्रनाकेषु प्रकृत्या । ६ । ३ । ७५ ॥

पादिति शत्रन्त । वेदा इत्यसुन्नन्त । न सत्या असत्या न असत्या नासत्या । न मुञ्चतीति नमुचि । न कुलमस्य नकुलम् । न खमस्य नखम् । न स्त्री पुमान् नपुंसकम् स्त्री पुंसयो पुंसकभावो निपातनात् । न क्षरतीति नक्षत्रम् । क्षीयते क्षरतेर्वा क्षत्रमिति निपात्यते । न क्रामतीति नक्र । क्रमेर्ड । न अकमस्मिन्निति नाक ॥

759 The Negative particle remains unchanged in **नभ्राज्, नपात्, नवेदस्, नासत्या** (dual), **नमुचि, नकुल, नख, नपुंसक, नक्षत्र, नक्र** and **नाक** ॥

Upto नासत्या the words are exhibited in the Nominative case in the sûtra, the rest are exhibited in the Locative । नभ्राजते = नभ्राट् "a dark cloud,' formed by क्विप् and नञ् composition न पाति = नपात् "a grand son" Formed by शतृ affix न वेत्ति = नवेदा, formed by असुन् ॥ सत्सु साधवः = सत्या, न सत्या = असत्या, न असत्या = नासत्या 'Ashvins" न मुञ्चति = न मुचि "a demon slain by Indra" formed by कित् इन् affix (Unadi) नास्य कुलमस्ति = नकुलं ॥ नास्य खमस्ति = नखम् ॥ न स्त्री न पुमान् = नपुंसकम् ॥ नक्षरते क्षीयते वा = नक्षत्रम् ॥ न क्रामति = नक्र by ड affix न अस्मिन् अकम् = नाकम् ॥

७६० । नगोऽप्राणिष्वन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ७७ ॥

नग इत्यत्र नञ् प्रकृत्या वा । नगा अगा पर्वता । अप्राणिष्विति किम् । अगो वृषल शीतेन । नित्य क्रीडेत्यता नित्यमित्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

760 The Negative particle is optionally retained unchanged in **नग**, when it does not mean a living animate being

Thus नगा or अगा 'trees', or 'mountains', literally 'what do not move' The affix ड is added to गम् ॥ Why do we say when not referring to animate being Observe अगो वृषल शीतेन ॥ No alternative form is allowed here See II 1 17, S 711

In the next sûtra, the word *nitya* should be read as understood Its anuvritti comes from II 2 17 S 711

७६१ । कुगतिप्रादय । २ । २ । १८ ॥

एते समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यन्ते । कुत्सित पुरुष कुपुरुष । गतिश्चेत्यनुवर्तमाने ॥

761 The indeclinable word ku 'bad,' the particles called gati, and the prepositions pra, &c are *invariably* compounded with other words with which they are in construction, and the resulting compound is Tatpurusha

The word ku means 'badness or sin', as, कुपुरुष 'a sinful man', (2) Gati (I 4 60 S 23) as, उररीकृत 'having asserted', (I 4 61) ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च ॥

Note —So also with the words प्र &c, when they are mere particles and not used as 'upasargas,' or 'gati', as दुर् meaning 'bad,' in दुष्पुरुष 'a bad man', so also सु and अति meaning 'respect' in सुपुरुष 'honorable man', अतिपुरुष 'excellent man', आ means a 'little' as आपिङ्गल 'brownish

Generally these are attributive words but they are found elsewhere also, as कोष्ण or कदुष्णम्, कवोष्णम् 'tepid' So also दुष्कृतम्, अतिस्तुतम् and आबद्धम् ॥

७६२ । ऊर्यादिच्विडाचश्च । १ । ४ । ६१ ॥

एते क्रियायोगे गतिसंज्ञा स्यु । ऊरीकृत्य । उररीकृत्य । शुक्लीकृत्य । पटपटाकृत्य ॥ कारिका शब्दस्योपसंख्यानम् ° । कारिका क्रिया । कारिकाकृत्य ॥

762 The words uri, assent, &c, and those that end with chvi (V 4 50), and those that end with dâch (V 4 57), (when in composition with the verb bhû, kṛi or अस्) are called Gati

In this sûtra the word gati is understood from I 4. 60 S 23

The affixes chvi and dâch are ordained when the verb in composition is either कृ, भू or अस् (V 4 50 and 57 S 2117 and 2128), ûri &c, being read along with chvi and dâch shows that the verb in composition with them must also be any one of the above three verbs, and none else, in order to entitle ऊरी to the name of gati

The word ऊरी and उररी mean 'to assent and spread'. As ऊरीकृत्य (II 2. 18 S. 761 and VII 1 37 S 3332)

The words ending in chvi are also gati. As शुक्लीकृत्य "having made white what was not white."

So also the words ending in डाच् as पटपटाकृत्य "having made the sound pat."

Vârtika —The word कारिका should also be included in the list of गति।

Thus कारिकाकृत्य ॥ Here kârikâ means "action"

७६३ । अनुकरणं चानितिपरम् । १ । ४ । ६२ ॥

खाट्कृत्य । अनितिपरं किम् । खाडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत ॥

763 A word imitative of a sound is also called Gati, when it is not followed by the word iti

Note —The phrase अनितिपरम् is a Bahuvrihi compound, अन् इति परम् = 'that which has not the word इति after it'

As खाट्कृत्य "having made the sound khâṭ" खाट्कृतम् (VI 2 49 S. 3783), खत्खाट्करोति (VIII 2 71)

Why do we say 'when it has not the word इति after it?' Observe खाडिति कृत्वा निरष्ठीवत्

७६४ । आदरानादरयोः सदसती । १ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सत्कृत्य । असत्कृत्य ॥

764 The words sat and asat, when in composition with a verb, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'respect or love,' and 'disrespect or indifference'

As सत्कृत्य 'having honored' (II 2 18 and VII 1 37 S 761 and 3332) असत्कृत्य, सत्कृतम or असत्कृतम् (VI 2, 49 S 3783)

Note —Why do we say when meaning 'respect or disrespect'? Observe सत्कृत्वा काण्डं गतः ॥

७६५ । भूषणेऽलम् । १ । ४ । ६४ ॥

अलंकृत्य । भूषणे किम् । अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः । पर्याप्तमित्यर्थः । अनुकरणमित्यादि त्रिसूत्री स्वभावात्कृञ्विषया ॥

765. The word alam, in composition with a verb, is called gati, when used in the sense of 'ornament'

As अलंकृत्य (II 2 18, VII 1 37 S 761 and 3332) Why do we say 'when अलं means ornament'? Observe अलं कृत्वौदनं गतः 'he goes having eaten enough'

This sutra, with the two sûtras preceding it, naturally takes the auxiliary verb कृ after the words mentioned therein

Note —The word अलम् is an indeclinable and has four meanings — prohibition, competent, enough and ornament' The term अलम् is gati when it means ornament

७६६ । अन्तरपरिग्रहे । १ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अन्तर्हत्य । मध्ये हत्वेत्यर्थ । अपरिग्रहे किम् । अन्तर्हत्वा गत । हत परिगृह्य गत इत्यर्थः ॥

766 The word antar is called gati, when used in the sense of 'non-accepting,' in composition with a verb

As अन्तर्हत्य गृहगत "he went away having abandoned home"

Note —The word परिग्रह means 'taking' or 'accepting,' अपरिग्रह means, therefore, the opposite of this, namely 'rejecting,' 'abandoning'

Why do we say 'when meaning to abandon'? Observe अन्तर्हत्वा मूषिका श्येनोगत "the hawk went away taking hold of the mouse'

७६७ । कणेमनसी श्रद्धाप्रतीघाते । १ । ४ । ६६ ॥

कणेहत्य पय पिबति । मनोहत्य । कणेशब्द सप्तमीप्रतिरूपको निपातोऽभिलाषातिशये वर्तते । मन शब्दोऽप्यत्रैव ॥

767 The words kane and manas are gati, when in composition with a verb and used in the sense of 'reaction by satiation'

The word श्रद्धा-प्रतीघात means 'satisfaction of desire' As कणेहत्य पय पिबति "he drinks milk to his heart's content or till he is satisfied" So also मनोहत्य पय पिबति That is to say, he drinks so much till his desire (श्रद्धा) is satisfied by revulsion of feeling When not having this sense, we have कणे or मनोहत्वागत "he went away with food or mind satisfied" Here the word कण means the small particles of rice The word कणे an apparently locative inflected noun, is really a particle, and denotes 'eager desire' So also मन ॥

७६८ । पुरोऽव्ययम् । १ । ४ । ६७ ॥

पुरस्कृत्य ॥

768 The word purah "in front of," when indeclinable, and in composition with a verb, is called gati

As पुरस्कृत्य, पुरस्कृतम् and यत् पुरस्करोति ॥ When not an indeclinable, we have पूः पुरौ, पुरः कृत्वा काण्डगतः

Note —The pronoun पूर्व 'front' with the affix असि forms पुरस्, and by I 1 38 S 448 it becomes an Avyaya (See V 3 39 pur being substituted for pûrva) The object of making it gati is threefold (1) compounding by II 2 18 S 761 (2) accent by VI 2 49 S 3783 (3) to change the ḥ into स् by VIII 3 40 S 154

७६९ । अस्तं च । १ । ४ । ६८ ॥

अस्तमिति मान्तमव्ययं गतिसंज्ञं स्यात् । अस्तगत्य ॥

769 And the indeclinable word astam 'at home,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb

The word अस्तम् is an indeclinable as it ends in म् (I 1 39 S 449), and means 'not visible' As अस्तगत्य सविता पुनरुदेति '(the sun) having set, rises again', अस्तगतानि धनानि 'riches that have vanished' अस्तं गच्छति, When not an indeclinable it is not gati, as अस्तं काण्डम् 'the arrow has been thrown'

७७० । अच्छ गत्यर्थवदेषु । १ । ४ । ६९ ॥

अव्ययमित्येव । अच्छगत्य । अच्छोद्य । अभिमुखं गत्वा उक्त्वा चेत्यर्थः । अव्ययं किम् । जलमच्छं गच्छति ॥

770 The indeclinable word achchha, meaning 'before, in the presence of,' is called gati, when used in composition with verbs denoting 'motion' or with the verb 'vad' to speak

The word अच्छ is an indeclinable and has the force of the word अभि As अच्छगत्य, and अच्छोद्य । Why do we say when an Avyaya? Observe जलमच्छं गच्छति

७७१ । अदोऽनुपदेशे । १ । ४ । ७० ॥

अदः कृत्य अदः कृतम् । पर प्रत्युपदेशे प्रत्युदाहरणम । अदः कृत्वा । अदः कुरु ॥

771 The word adas 'that' is called gati, when in composition with a verb and not implying a direction to another

As अदः कृत्य, अदः कृतम ॥ When used as a demonstrative pronoun, we have, अदः कृत्वा, अदः कुरु

Note —The word upadesa means a direction to another When a person cogitates within himself and does not address another, that is anupadesa That is, when it is not a demonstrative pronoun

७७२ । तिरोऽन्तर्द्धौ। १ । ४ । ७१ ॥

तिरोभूय ॥

772 The word tiras when used in the sense of 'disappearance,' is called gati, when in composition with a verb

As तिरोभूय

Note —Why do we say when meaning disappearance? Observe तिरो भूत्वास्थित i e, standing apart

७७३ । विभाषा कृञि । १ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तिर कृत्य । तिरस्कृत्य । तिर कृत्वा ॥

773 The word tiras meaning 'disappearance,' is optionally called gati, when the verb kṛi follows

This is an example of प्राप्त-विभाषा As तिर कृत्य or तिरस्कृत्य (VIII 3 42 S 156) तिर कृत्वा or तिरस्कृत्वा (VIII 3 42 S 156)

Note —The change of visarga into स is optional VIII 3 42 S 156 When not meaning disappearance, we have तिर कृत्वा काष्ठं तिष्ठति 'he stands having laid aside the stick'

७७४ । उपाजेऽन्वाजे । १ । ४ । ७३ ॥

एतौ कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञौ स्त । उपाजेकृत्य । उपाजे कृत्वा । अन्वाजेकृत्य । अन्वाजे कृत्वा । दुर्बलस्य बलमाधायेत्यर्थ ॥

774 The words upâje and anvâje both meaning 'supporting or assisting the weak,' are optionally called gati when used along with the verb kṛi

As उपाजे कृत्य or उपाजे कृत्वा 'having given support' अन्वाजे कृत्य or अन्वाजे कृत्वा

७७५ । साक्षात्प्रभृतीनि च । १ । ४ । ७४ ॥

कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञानि स्यु ॥ च्व्यर्थ इति वाच्यम् * ॥ साक्षात्कृत्य । साक्षात्कृत्वा । लवणकृत्य ।

775 The words sâkshât, 'in the presence of' &c, are optionally called gati, when used along with the verb kri

Vârt —In the words साक्षात् &c the force of the affix च्वि is understood, namely, making a thing what it was not before As साक्षात् कृत्य or कृत्वा, लवणकृत्य or लवणकृत्वा "making evident what was concealed before" The म in लवण &c is an anomaly or nipâtana

७७६ । अनत्याधान उरसिमनसी । १ । ४ । ७५ ॥

उरसिकृत्य । उरसि कृत्वा । अभ्युपगम्येत्यर्थ । मनसिकृत्य । मनसि कृत्वा । निश्चित्येर्थ । अत्याधानमुपश्लेषणं तत्र न । उरसि कृत्वा पाणिं शेते ॥

776 The word urasi, 'in the breast,' and manasi 'in the mind are optionally gati, when the verb kri follows, provided that, they are not used in the sense of 'placing'

As उरसिकृत्य or उरसिकृत्वा "having realised in the heart," मनसिकृत्य or मनसिकृत्वा That is "having so determined in his mind" When it has the sense of "placing," we have उरसिकृत्वा पाणिं शेते "he lies down having clasped the hand on the breast," मनसिकृत्वा वचनं ध्यायति 'he ponders having placed the word in his mind"

७७७ । मध्ये पदे निवचने च । १ । ४ । ७६ ॥

एते कृञि वा गतिसंज्ञा, स्युरनत्याधाने । मध्येकृत्य । मध्ये कृत्वा । पदेकृत्य । पदे कृत्वा । निवचनेकृत्य । निवचने कृत्वा । वाचं नियम्येत्यर्थ ॥

777 And the words madhye 'in the middle,' pade 'in the foot' and nivachane 'speechless' are optionally gati, when kṛi follows, the sense not being of 'placing'

As मध्ये कृत्य or कृत्वा, पदे कृत्य or कृत्वा ॥ निवचने कृत्य or कृत्वा "Having controlled the speech"

Note —But when it has the meaning of 'placing' we have हस्तिन पदे कृत्वा शिर शेते 'he lies down having put his head under the foot of the elephant'

७७८ । नित्यं हस्ते पाणावुपयमने । १ । ४ । ७७ ॥

कृञि । उपयमनं विवाह । स्वाकारमात्रमित्यन्ये । हस्तेकृत्य । पाणौकृत्य ॥

778 The word हस्ते 'in the hand,' pânau 'in the

hands' are always and necessarily called gati when used with the verb kri,' in the sense of 'marriage'

As पाणौ कृत्य or हस्ते कृत्य 'having married'

Note —But हस्ते कृत्वा कार्षापण गत 'he went out having taken in his hand a karshâpana (a coin)

The word उपयमन means 'marriage" According to others it means "merely acceptance"

७७९ । प्राध्वबन्धने । १ । ४ । ७८ ॥

प्राध्वमित्यव्ययम् । प्राध्वकृत्य । बन्धनेनानुकूल कृत्वेत्यर्थ । प्रार्थनादिना त्वानुकूल्यकरणे । प्राध्व कृत्वा ॥

779 The indeclinable word prâdhvam, followed by the verb kri, is always called gati, when used in the sense of "binding"

The word प्राध्वम् ends in म and means 'favourably suitably' When however it means 'bound' it is a gati as, प्राध्वकृत्य "having bound properly and so made agreeable" But when not meaning to bind, we have —प्राध्व कृत्वा "having made agreeable, by prayer &c"

७८० । जीविकोपनिषदावौपम्ये । १ । ४ । ७९ ॥

जीविकामिव कृत्वा जीविकाकृत्य । उपनिषदमिव कृत्वा उपनिषत्कृत्य । औपम्ये किम् । जीविका कृत्वा ।

प्रादिग्रहणमगत्यर्थम् । सुपुरुष । अत्र वार्तिकानि ॥

प्रादयो गताद्यर्थे प्रथमया* ॥ प्रगत आचार्य ॥ प्राचार्य ॥

अत्यादय क्रान्ताद्यर्थे द्वितीयया* ॥ अतिक्रान्तो मालामतिमाल ॥

अवादय क्रुष्टाद्यर्थे तृतीयया* ॥ अवक्रुष्ट कोकिलया अवकोकिल ॥

पर्यादयो ग्लानाद्यर्थे चतुर्थ्या* ॥ परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय पर्यध्ययन ॥

निरादय क्रान्ताद्यर्थे पञ्चम्या* ॥ निष्क्रान्त कौशाम्ब्या निष्कौशाम्बि ॥

कर्मप्रवचनीयाना प्रतिषेध* ॥ वृक्ष प्रति ॥

780 The words jîvikâ and upanishad, followed by the verb kri, are called gati, when used in the sense of 'likeness or resemblance'

As जीविकाकृत्य "having made it, as if it was a means of living", उपनिषत्कृत्य—"having made it like an upanishad" Why do we say in the sense of likeness or resemblance? Observe जीविका कृत्वा "having made his livelihood."

PRÂDI SAMÂSA

Having given above illustrations of gati-samâsas, we now take up compounds formed with the upasargas प्र &c by II 2 18 S 761 The प्र &c, as used in these examples are not gati Thus सुपुरुष ॥ Here सु is not gati, as it is not joined with any verb We give the following vârtikas, which treat of Prâdi Samasa —

Vart —The word प्र &c, when the sense is that of 'gone' or the like, combine with what ends with the first case affix Thus प्राचार्य 'a former teacher' so also प्रपितामह 'who precedes the grand-father *i e* a great-grand father" प्रमातामह ॥

Vart —The words अति &c, when the thing denoted has the sense of 'gone beyond' or the like, combine with what ends with the seecond case affix As अतिक्रान्त खट्वाम् = अतिखट्व (I 2 44 and 48 S 655 and 656) 'without a bed-stead,' अतिमाल 'exceeding the necklace in beauty' So also अभिमुख (= अभिगतो मुखम्), उद्वेल, प्रत्यक्ष ॥

Vart —The words अव &c when the thing denoted is cried out' &c, are compounded with what ends with third case affix, as अवक्रुष्ट कोकिलया = अवकोकिल 'what is anounced by the cuckoo' *i e*, the Spring So also परिवीरुत् (= परिवृतो वीरुधा), संवर्म (संनद्धो वर्मणा)

Vart —The words परि &c, when the thing denoted is 'weary' &c, are compounded with what ends with the fourth case-affix, as परिग्लानोऽध्ययनाय = पर्यध्ययन 'weary of study' अलंकुमारि 'wealth' (sufficient to support a maiden).

Vart —The words निर् &c, when the thing denoted is 'gone beyond' &c, are compounded with what ends with the fifth case-affix, as निष्कौशाम्बि 'who has gone beyond Kausâmbi', So also निर्वाराणसि ॥ So also उत्कुल (= उत्क्रान्तः कुलात्) and निरङ्गुलम् (निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यः) ॥

Vart —A word enters into composition with इव 'like', and there is no elision of the case affix, and the first member of the compound retains its natural accent, as वागर्थाविव 'like a word and its meaning,' वाससीइव 'like two garments'

Vart —Prohibition must be stated of प्र &c, when they are 'Karma-pravachaniya', as वृक्षं प्रति विद्योतते विद्युत् 'the lightening flashes in the direction of the tree' साधुर्देवदत्तो मातरं प्रति 'Devadatta is good towards his mother'

———o———

UPAPADA-SAMÂSAS

UPAPADA DEFINED

७८१ । तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् । ३ । १ । ९२ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते पदे कर्मणीत्यादौ वाच्यत्वेन स्थितं कुम्भादि तद्वाचकं पदमुपपदसंज्ञं स्यात्तस्मिंश्च सत्येव वक्ष्यमाणः प्रत्ययः ॥

Here (in this Third Book of Pâṇini's Grammar referring to verbal roots), the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sûtra III 2 1 S 2913 कर्मण्यण् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case, therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद (Thus कुम्भम्+कृ+अण् =कुम्भकार 'a potter', here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada)

७८२ । उपपदमतिङ् । २ । २ । १९ ॥

उपपदं सुबन्तं समर्थेन नित्यं समस्यते । अतिङन्तश्चायं समासः । कुम्भं करोतीति कुम्भकारः । इह कुम्भ अस् कार इत्यलौकिकं प्रक्रियावाक्यम् । अतिङ् किम् । मा भवान् भूत् । माङि लुङिति सप्तमीनिर्देशान्माङुपपदम् । अतिङ्ग्रहणं ज्ञापयति सुपेत्येतदिहानुवर्तत इति । पूर्वसूत्रेऽपि गतिग्रहणं पृथक्कृत्या- तिङ्ग्रहणं तत्रापकृष्यते । सुपेति च निवृत्तम् । तथा च ॥ गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक्सुबुत्पत्तेरिति सिद्धम् ॥ व्याघ्री । अश्वक्रीती । कच्छपी ॥

782 An upapada or attendant word (III 1 92 S 781), which ends with a case-affix (III 4 78) is invariably compounded with that with which it is in construction, and this compound is not one which ends with a tense-affix The compound thus formed is Tat-purusha

Thus कुम्भकार 'one who makes pots,' नगरकार 'one who makes cities' The grammatical analysis will be कुम्भ+अस् (genitive) +कार 'the maker of pot " for krit words govern Genitive This is, of course, an analysis which cannot be used in actual speech

Why do we say 'which does not end with a tense-affix'? Observe मा भवान् भूत् ॥ Here the word मा is an upapada, as it is exhibited in the locative case in III 3 175 S 2219, by which rule it is added to the Aorist Had there been compounding, भवान् could not have been placed between it and its second member भूत् ॥

58

It might be objected, that the question of compounding with a word ending in a tense-affix is irrelevant, since the anuvritti of the words सुप् सुपा is understood here, so that तिङ् will find no scope. To this we reply, that we should infer that the words सुप् सुपा should not be read into this and the aphorism II 2 18 S 761. The following Paribhâsha also arises from this sûtra

गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

"It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas, are compounded with bases that end with krit-affixes, before a case termination or feminine-affix has been added to the latter"

The result is that Upapadas and Gatis are not compounded by sûtras III 2 18 and 19 S 2932 with case inflected nouns, but they are compounded with primary nouns, before a case termination or feminine affix is added to the latter. The same considerations apply to kârakas also. Thus व्याघ्री ॥ The word व्याघ्र is formed by the affix क added under III 1 136 S 2898 as qualified by the vârtika under III 1 137 S 2899. The compounding of वि+आङ्+घ्रा is a Gati samâsa, for वि and आ are Gati with regard to the verb घ्रा ॥ Had this compounding taken place after घ्रा had become a noun घ्र and taken case-affixes, then on the parity of reasoning, the compounding would be suspended till घ्र had taken the feminine affix टाप् also, and it would not have taken ङीष् ॥ Because the word घ्र by itself does not denote any jâti. So the feminine घ्रा will be used in the compound and as it does not end in short अ, it will not take jâti ङीष् ॥ Though this result could have been obtained by the word उपपद alone in the above Paribhâshâ, yet the use of gati in it is not redundant. For when आ is compounded with the noun घ्र, we get आघ्र, then for the compounding of आघ्र with वि, the employment of Gati is necessary. The affix क being added to the घ्रा when preceded by आ, the word आ may be treated as an *upapada* (and not *gati*), but the word वि cannot be treated as an upapada by any rule. So the word *gati* is properly used in the above Paribhâshâ.

So also अश्वक्रीती 'a female bought in exchange for a horse,' is formed correctly. अश्वेन क्रीयते सा=अश्वक्रीती, add ङीष् (IV 1 50 S 506) and we have अश्वक्रीती. If on the other hand, the feminine affix टाप् had been added to क्रीत previous to its composition with अश्व the form would have been अश्वक्रीता, and we should have had no base ending with short अ and in that case ङीष् could not have been added by IV 1 50.

This word अश्वक्रीती is an example of kâraka. The compounding takes place by कर्तृकरणे कृता &c, (II 1. 32 S. 694).

As an example of Upapada, we have कच्छपी ॥ कच्छेन पिबति = कच्छपी ॥ The affix क is added by III 2, 4 S 2916, by Yoga-vibhâga Here also, had the compounding depended upon the noun प taking the case-affixes, the feminine would have taken टाप् and not ङीष् , similarly as in व्याघ्री ॥

७८३ । अमैवाव्ययेन । २ । २ । २० ॥

अमैव तुल्यविधान यदुपपद तदेवाव्ययेन सह समस्यते । स्वादुङ्कारम् । नेह । कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् । काल समयो वेला वा भोक्तुम् । अमैवेति किम् । अग्रे भोजम् । अग्रे भुक्त्वा । विभाषाग्रे प्रथमपूर्वेष्विति क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ अमा चान्येन च तुल्यविधानमेतत् ॥

783 When an upapada is compounded with an indeclinable, then it is compounded only with those avyayas which end in the affix अम् (णमुल and खमुञ्)

This makes a restriction to the general compounding of upapadas with avyayas as ordained by the last rule As स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats having made his food sweet' So also लवणकार 'having seasoned' The avyayas ending in अम् are formed by the affix णमुल् (III 4 26) &c,

Why do we say 'with avyayas ending in अम्'? Observe कालो भोक्तुम् 'the time of eating' Here the avyaya ends in उम् of the affix तुमुन् added by rule III 3 167 S 3179 (the affix tumun may be applied, when the word in construction is not a verb, but काल, समय, or वेला 'time')

The force of the word "*only*" is to indicate that this composition takes place in those cases where a rule ordains अम् only, after any root, with regard to any upapada, so that no composition will take place where the affix अम्, as well as another affix, is ordained after a root with certain upapadas Thus sûtra III 4 24, S 3345 declares "the affixes क्त्वा and णमुल् come after a verb when the words अग्रे, प्रथम and पूर्व are upapadas" Here the अम् (affix णमुल्) is not the sole affix ordained, but there is a co-ordinate affix with it, namely क्त्वा Therefore in अग्रेभोजम् 'having first eaten' there is no composition, because अग्रेभोजम् is not the only form we can have, for, अग्रेभुक्त्वा is also used in the same sense

७८४ । तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्यन्यतरस्याम् । २ । २ । २१ ॥

उपदंशस्तृतीयायामित्यादीन्युपपदान्यमन्तेनाव्ययेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । मूलकेनोपदंश भुङ्क्ते । मूलकोपदंशम् ॥

784 An upapada ending with a third case-affix (III 4 47 S. 3368 &c,) is compounded optionally with an indeclinable formed by the affix अम् and the compound is Tatpurusha

The term अम् is understood here The upapadas ending with a third case affix &c, are given in sutra III 4 47 S 3368 and the sûtras that follow As मूलकोपदंश भुङ्क्ते or मूलकेनोपदंश भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish

Note —For upapadas ending with other cases, see sutra III 4 52 &c S 3373 This being an optional rule, it is not necessary that the upapada should be tulya vidhâna with the अम्, so that this optional compounding may take place even under rule III 4 59 S 3381 where अम् is not the only affix enjoined, but there is क्त्वा as well This vibhâsha may therefore be called both प्राप्त and अप्राप्त vibhâshâ It is प्राप्त with regard to those rules where अम् is the only affix employed, and it is अप्राप्त with regard to those where अम् is not the only affix

७८५ । क्त्वा च । २ । २ । २२ ॥

तृतीयाप्रभृतीन्युपपदानि क्त्वान्तेन सह वा समस्यन्ते । उच्चैः कृत्य उच्चैः कृत्वा । अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेतेति क्त्वा । तृतीयाप्रभृतीनीति किम् । अलं कृत्वा । खलु कृत्वा ॥

785 An upapada ending with a third case-affix or any other of the remaining four cases, is optionally compounded with a word ending with the affix ktvâ, and the compound is Tat-purusha

This rule provides for avyayas ending in क्त्वा which the last two rules did not provide Thus we have उच्चैः कृत्य or उच्चैः कृत्वा Here the affix क्त्वा is added by sûtra III 4 59 S 3381. In the case when there is composition, the क्त्वा is replaced by the substitute ल्यप्, other wise not, See VII 1 37.

Why do we say 'an upapada ending in the 3rd case-affix'? Observe &c ? अलं कृत्वा, or खलु कृत्वा Where there is no composition

७८६ । तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेः संख्याव्ययादेः । ५ । ४ । ८६ ॥

संख्याव्ययादेरङ्गुल्यन्तस्य तत्पुरुषस्य समासान्तोऽच् स्यात् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य द्व्यङ्गुलम् दारु । निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो निरङ्गुलम् ॥

786 The affix ach comes after a Tatpurusha compound ending in the word anguli, when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes it

Thus द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्य = द्व्यङ्गुलम् दारु ॥ So also, when an Indeclinable precedes it as निर्गतमङ्गुलिभ्यो = निरङ्गुलम्, अत्यङ्गुलम् ॥

Note —This compounding takes place by II 1 51 This is a Taddhitârtha compound, the taddhita affix मात्रच् being elided by the Vartika प्रमाणे लो द्विगोर्नित्यम्

"there is always the elision of the affix मात्रच् denoting measure when a Dvigu compound is formed" See V 2 37 Vârt)

७८७ । अहःसर्वैकदेशसंख्यातपुण्याच्च रात्रेः । ५ । ४ । ८७ ॥

एभ्यो रात्रेरच् स्याच्चात्संख्याव्ययादेः । अहर्ग्रहणं द्वन्द्वार्थम् । अहश्च रात्रिश्चाहोरात्रः । सर्वा रात्रिः सर्वरात्रः । पूर्वं रात्रेः पूर्वरात्रः । संख्यातरात्रः । पुण्यरात्रः । द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारो द्विरात्रम् । अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिमतिरात्रः ॥

787 The affix अच् comes after the word râtri, when preceded by ahan, or sarva, or a word denoting a portion of night, or sankhyâta or punya, when the compound is Tatpurusha, as well as when a Numeral or an Indeclinable precedes the word râtri

The anuvritti of संख्याव्ययादेः is drawn in to this sûtra by force of the word च् "and" of the sutra The word अहन् forms a Dvandva compound, as अहश्च रात्रिश्च = अहोरात्रः "day and night" So also सर्वरात्रः, पूर्वरात्रः 'the first part of night' These are formed by II 2 1 S 712 So also संख्याता रात्रिः = संख्यातरात्रः ॥ This compound is formed by II 1 57 S 736 So also पुण्यारात्रिः = पुण्यरात्रः ॥ So also when compounded with a Numeral or an Indeclinable as, द्वयो रात्र्योः समाहारः = द्विरात्रः, अतिक्रान्तो रात्रिम् = अतिरात्रः ॥

७८८ । राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् । ५ । ४ । ९१ ॥

एतदन्तात्तत्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात् । परमराजः । अतिराजी । कृष्णसखः ॥

788 The affix tach is added to the words râjan, ahan, and sakhi, when standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound

Thus परमराजः, अतिराजी, कृष्णस्य सखा = कृष्णसखः, ॥

Note —Why not so here मद्राणां राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी instead of मद्रराजी ॥ For according to the maxim "a pratipadika denotes, whenever it is employed in Grammar, also such a nominal stem, as is derived from it by the addition of an affix denoting gender" (प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम्), the stem राजन् would denote the feminine also To this we reply, that the construction of the sûtra shows that the feminine राज्ञी is not to be taken Because अहन् being a prosodially lighter word than राजन् ought to have been placed first in the compound Its not being so placed indicates that that form राजन् only is to be taken, whose final vowel becomes lengthened into आ in compounding with अहन्, i e राजा + अहन्, and not राज्ञी + अहन् ॥

In fact, the above Parıbhâshâ ıs anıtya, not of unıversal applıcatıon, and so we have मद्रराज्ञी ॥ See also the next sutra

७८९ । अह्नष्टखोरेव । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एतयोरेवपरतोऽह्नष्टि लोप स्यान्नान्यत्र । उत्तमाह । द्वे अहनी भृतो द्व्याहीन क्रतु । तद्धितार्थेद्विगु । तमधीष्टइत्याधिकारे द्विगोर्वेत्यनुवृत्तौ रात्र्यह संवत्सराच्चेति ख । लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषाया अनित्यत्वान्नेह । मद्राणा राज्ञी मद्रराज्ञी ॥

789 The अन् of अहन् ıs elıded only before the affixes ट and ख ॥

Thus उत्तमाह (V 4 91 S 794 with टच्) ॥ द्वे अहनी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा = द्व्याहीन क्रतु (with ख V 1 87 S 1751)

Vart —ख ıs added to अहन् ın the sense of तस्य समूह , when referrıng to a sacrıfice अह्ना समूह क्रतु = अहीन (IV 2 42)

Though the अन् of अहन् would have been elıded by the last aphorısm also, before the affixes ट and ख, the present sûtra makes a restrıctıve rule अहन् does not lose ıts final अन् before any other Taddhıta affix, thus अह्ना निर्वृत्तम् = आह्निकम् (with ठञ् V 1 79 S 1743) The word एव 'only' ıs for the sake of perspıc uıty अहन् alone does not lose ıts final अन् before ट and ख, other stems also do the same Thıs we ınfer, from the exceptıon made ın the case of âtman and adhvan, before ख ın VI 4 169 S 1671

In the sub dıvısıon of तमधीष्ट (V 1 80 S 1744) readıng the anuvrıttı of द्विगोर्वा (V 1 86 S 1750) ın the sûtra रात्र्यह संवत्सराच्च (V 1 87 S 1751), we get the affix ख ॥ The Parıbhâshâ relatıng to gender beıng anıtya, (see 788 above) we have no टच् here ın मद्राणा राज्ञी = मद्रराज्ञी ॥

७९० । अह्नोऽह्न एतेभ्य । ५ । ४ । ८८ ॥

सर्वादिभ्य परस्याहन्शब्दस्याह्नादेश स्यात्समासान्ते परे ॥

790 Foı ahan ıs substıtuted ahna, when pıeceded by the woıds, mentıoned ın V 4 87 S 787 (and takıng the affix tach mentıoned ın V 4 91 S 788)

Note —When the affix टच् follows अहन्, and the latter ıs pıeceded by the words सर्व &c, then अह्न ıs substıtuted for अहन् ॥ By the teım एतेभ्य "these woıds", ıs meant the numerals (wıth the exceptıon of एक V 4 90 S 794) the Indeclınables, the words सर्व, संख्यात and words denotıng a paıt of a day, for these are the woıds mentıoned ın the sûtra V 4 87 S 787 The word अहन् ıs also mentioned thereın, but ıt ıs not taken here, for there can be no Tatpurusha

compound of अहन् with अहर् ॥ The word पुण्य is also excluded by V 4 90, S 794 Thus द्वयोरह्नोर्भव = द्व्यह्न , त्र्यह्न अहरतिक्रान्त = अत्यह्न , निरह्न ॥ So also सर्वाह्ण , (VIII 4 7 S 791) पूर्वाह्ण , अपराह्ण , सख्याताह्न (according to some सख्याताह्न V 4 90)

७९१ । अह्नोऽदन्तात् । ८ । ४ । ७ ।

अदन्तपूर्वपदस्थाद्रेफात्परस्याऽह्नादेशस्य नस्य णः स्यात् । सर्वाह्णः । पूर्वाह्णः । सख्याताह्नः । द्वयोरह्नोर्भव । कालाट्ठञ् । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्य इति ठञो लुक् । द्व्यह्नः । स्त्रियामदन्तत्वाट्टाप् । द्व्यह्ना । द्व्यह्नप्रिय । अत्यह्न

791 The ण is the substitute of न of अह्न when it is preceded by a word ending in अ, having in it a letter capable of producing the change (i e the letter र)

Thus सर्वाह्ण पूर्वाह्ण "fore noon", अपराह्ण "after noon" But in सख्याताह्न no change

Why do we say "ending in अ"? Observe, निरह्न , दुरह्न ॥

The word अह्न is sustituted for अहन् by V 4 88 S 790 The word अह्न being used in the sutra as ending in अ, the rule does not apply to other words Thus दीर्घाह्नी शरत् ॥ The word अह्न in the sûtra in the the nominative case, and should not be construed as the genitive of अहन्, because all sthânins are exhibited in Nominatives as, वन (VIII 4 4 S 1039), वाहन (VIII 4 8 S 1052), पान &c The compounding takes place by II 2 1, then is added the samâsânta affix टच् (V 4 91 S 788), and अह्न substitution by V 4 88

The word दीर्घाह्नी is a Bahuvrîhi compound and not a Tatpurusha, and hence the affix टच् does not apply to it The feminine ङीप् is added by IV I 28, S 462 there is elision of अ of अहन् by VI 4 134 S 234

Why do we say "when meaning a collective noun"? Observe द्वयोरह्नोर्भवो = द्व्यह्न , ॥ This is a Taddhitârtha Dvigu compound formed by II 1 51, S 728 the affix ठञ् of कालाट् ठञ् (IV 3 11, S 1381) is elided by IV 1 88 S 1080 and the final अन् of अहन् is elided by VI 4 145 S 789

In the Feminine, there will be टाप् as the base ends in short अ ॥ As द्व्यह्ना ॥ So also द्व्यह्नप्रिय and अत्यह्न ॥

७९२ । क्षुभ्नादिषु च । ८ । ४ । ३९ ॥

एषु णत्वं न स्यात् । दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृट् । एवं चैतदर्थमह्न इत्यदन्तानुकरणक्लेशो न कर्तव्य । प्रातिपदिकान्तेति णत्ववारणाय क्षुभ्नादिषु पाठस्यावश्यकत्वात् । अदन्तादिति तपरकरणान्नेह । परागतमहः पराह्न ॥

792 The ण is not the substitute of न in the words kshubhna &c

Note —The 'not' of sutra VIII 4 34 S 2840 is to be read into this Thus क्षुभ्नाति, so also in क्षुभ्नीत, क्षुभ्नन्ति, the substitutes of श्ना being like the principal I 1 57 S 50 So नृनमन where the change was called for by VIII 4 3, S 857 and VIII 4 26 S 3648 नन्दिन्, नन्दन and नगर when second members in a compound, denoting a name, as, हरिनन्दी, हरिनन्दन, गिरिनगर ॥ The word नृत् when taking the Intensive affix यङ्, as, नरीनृत्यते ॥ तृप्नु, तृप्नोति also belongs to this class नर्तन, गहन, नन्दन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि and अनूप when used as second terms in a compound As, परिनर्त्तनम्, परिगहनम्, which required change by VIII 4 3 S 857 So परिनन्दनम् contrary to VIII 4 14 S 2287 शरनिवेश, शरनिवास, शराग्नि, दर्भानूप ॥ All these are Names After the word आचार्य there is no change, as, आचार्यभोगीन आचार्यानी ॥ इरिका, तिमिर, समीर, कुबेर and हरि and कर्मार followed by वन do not cause change in the न of वन when the compound is a Name This is an आकृतिगण ॥

1 क्षुभ्ना (क्षुभ्नाति), 2 नृनमन, 3 नन्दिन्, 4 नन्दन, 5 नगर, एतान्युत्तरपदानि संज्ञायां प्रयोजयन्ति, 6 हरिनन्दी, 7 हरिनन्दन 8 गिरिनगरम्, 9 नृतिर्यङि प्रयोजयति, नरीनृत्यते, 10 नर्तन, 11 गहन, 12 नन्दन, 13 निवेश 14 निवास, 15 अग्नि, 16 अनूप, एतान्युत्तरपदानि प्रयोजयन्ति, 17 परिनर्तनम्, 18 परिगहनम्, 19 परिनन्दनम्, 20 शरनिवेश, 21 शरनिवास, 22 शराग्नि 23 दर्भानूप, 24 आचार्यादणत्वं च आचार्यभोगीन (आचार्यानी) ॥ क्षुभ्ना, 25 तृप्नु, नृनमन, 26 नरनगर, नन्दन यङ् नृती, 27 गिरिनदी, 28 गृहनमन, निवेश, निवास, अग्नि, अनूप, आचार्य भोगीन, 29 चतुर्हायन, 30 इरिकादीनि वनोत्तरपदानि संज्ञायाम् । इरिका, तिमिर समीर, कुबेर, हरि कर्मार, आकृतिगण ॥

Thus दीर्घाह्नी प्रावृट् ॥

This being so, there is no necessity of taking the trouble of making the substitute अह्न *ahna* end in short अ for the purpose of this case Because of the necessity of reading such examples in kshubhnâdi class, in order to prevent the ण change required by VIII 4 11 S 1055

In the sûtra VIII 4 7 S 791 we read " when preceded by a word ending in short अ", therefore, when the preceding word ends in long आ, we have no ण change, as पराह्न (परागतमहः) ॥

७९३ । न संख्यादेः समाहारे । ५ । ४ । ८९ ॥

समाहारे वर्तमानस्य संख्यादेरह्नादेशो न स्यात् । संख्यादेरिति स्पष्टार्थम् । द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारो द्व्यहः । त्र्यहः ॥

793 This substitution of ahna for ahan, does not take place after a Numeral, when it forms a Collective noun, meaning a number of days taken as a unity

This substitution is prohibited in the case of Samâhâra-Tatpurusha. Thus द्वयोरह्नोः समाहारः = द्व्यहः, so also त्र्यहः ॥ Here rule V 4 91 applies.

There can be no samahâra Tatpurusha compound, unless it is a Numeral compound So the use of the word सङ्ख्यादे in the sûtra is not absolutely necessary, but it is employed merely for the sake of clearness

७९४ । उत्तमैकाभ्यां च । ५ । ४ । ९० ॥

आभ्यामह्नादेशो न । उत्तमशब्दोऽन्त्यार्थः । पुण्यशब्दमाह । पुण्यैकाभ्यामित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् । सुदिनशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । एकाहः । उत्तमग्रहणमुपान्त्यस्यापि संग्रहार्थमित्येके । सङ्ख्याताहः ॥

794 And also after the word that stands last in the above list (i. e पुण्य) and eka this substitution does not take place

The word उत्तम means 'last', and refers to पुण्य which is the last word in V 4 87 S 787 The word उत्तम 'last' is used instead of पुण्य as a वैचित्र्य, the better draft would have been पुण्यैकाभ्याम् ॥ Thus पुण्याहम्, सुदिनाहम् ॥ The word सुदिन is a term of praise एकाहः ॥ Some include the penultimate word सङ्ख्यात also in the prohibition According to them सङ्ख्याताहः is the proper form and not सङ्ख्याताह्नः ॥

७९५ । अग्राख्यायामुरसः । ५ । ४ । ९३ ॥

टच् स्यात् । अश्वानामुर इव अश्वोरसम्, मुख्योऽश्व इत्यर्थः ॥

795 The affix tach comes after the word 'uras,' standing at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, when it has the sense of 'the most excellent of its kind'

Thus अश्वानां उरः = अश्वोरसम् 'the most excellent of horses

Note —The word अग्र means 'the principal as the word उरस् is the principal member of an animal, so by metonomy it has come to mean 'the principal'

Why do we say "when meaning the most excellent" Observe देवदत्तस्योरः = देवदत्तोरः "the breast of Devadatta"

७९६ । अनोऽश्मायःसरसां जातिसंज्ञयोः । ५ । ४ । ९४ ॥

टच् स्याज्जातौ संज्ञायां च । उपानसम् । अमृताश्मः । कालायसम् । मण्डूकसरसमिति जातिः । महानसम् । पिण्डाश्मः । लोहितायसम् । जलसरसमिति संज्ञा ॥

796 The affix tach comes after anas, aśman, ayas, and saras, when at the end of a Tatpurusha compound, it denotes a jâti or a name

Thus उपानसम्, अमृताश्म, कालायसम्, and मण्डूकसरसम्, are examples of जाति words, while महानसम्, पिण्डाश्म, लोहितायसम्, and जलसरसम् are examples of सञ्ज्ञा ॥

Note—Why do we say 'when meaning a jati or a sañjña'? Observe सद्दन सद्दमा, सत्सर ॥

७९७ । ग्रामकौटाभ्यां च तक्ष्णः । ५ । ४ । ९५ ॥

ग्रामस्य तक्षा ग्रामतक्ष । साधारण इत्यर्थ । कुत्था भव कौट स्वतन्त्र । सचासौ तक्षा च कौटतक्ष ॥

797 The affix tach comes after taksna, when preceded by grâma and kauta, in a Tatpurusha compound

The anuvritti of jâti and sanjñâ does not run into this sûtra Thus ग्रामस्य तक्षा = ग्रामतक्ष, बहूना साधारण 'the public carpenter of all कुत्था भव = कौट "independent" कौट तक्षा = कौटतक्ष meaning स्वतन्त्र कर्मजीवी, न कस्यचित्प्रतिबद्ध 'and independent artisan, not particularly bound under engagement to any one'

७९८ । अते शुन । ५ । ४ । ९६ ॥

अतिश्वो वराह । अतिश्वी सेना ॥

798 The affix tach comes after the word śvan preceded by ati, in a Tatpurusha compound

Thus अतिक्रान्त श्वानम् = अतिश्वो वराह "the boar that surpasses the dog" i e अवबान् "very swift" So अतिश्वी सेना "the dog-surpassing soldier i e more devoted to his master than a dog" or 'a servile army, as mean as a dog"

७९९ । उपमानादप्राणिषु । ५ । ४ । ९७ ॥

अप्राणिविषयकोपमानवाचिन शुनष्टच्स्यात् । आकर्ष श्वेव आकर्षश्व । अप्राणिषु किम् । वानर श्वेव वानरश्वा ॥

799 The affix tach comes after the word śvan ending in a Tatpurusha compound, when another thing not being a living object is compared with it

Thus आकर्ष श्वेव = आकर्षश्व 'a dog-like bow' This compounding takes place by II 1 56 S 735

Why do we say "when the thing compared is not a living being"? Observe वानर श्वेव = वानरश्वा 'a dog-like monkey"

८०० । उत्तरमृगपूर्वाच्च सक्थ्न । ५ । ४ । ९८ ॥

चादुपमानात् । उत्तरसक्थम् । मृगसक्थम् । पूर्वसक्थम् । फलकमिव सक्थि फलकसक्थम् ॥

800 The affix tach comes after sakthi, when preceded by uttara, mriga, and pûrva, in a Tatpurusha compound, as well as when a thing is compared with it

By the force of the word च in the sutra, we read in the word उपमानात् also Thus उत्तरसक्थम्, मृगसक्थम्, पूर्वसक्थम् ॥ So also in फलकमिव सक्थि=फलकसक्थम् ॥

८०१ । नावो द्विगोः । ५ । ४ । ९९ ॥

नौशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोष्टच् स्यान्न तु तद्धितलुकि । द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतं द्विनावरूप्यं । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये इत्यत्र अचीत्यस्यापकर्षणाद्धलादेर्न लुक् । पञ्चनावप्रियं । द्विनावम् । त्रिनावम् । अतद्धितलुकीति किम् । पञ्चभिर्नौभिः क्रीतः पञ्चनौः ॥

801 The affix tach comes after the word nau, when at the end of a Dvigu compound, but not so when the Taddhita affix is elided

Thus द्वाभ्यां नौभ्यामागतं=द्विनावरूप्यम्, द्विनावमयम् (IV 3 81 S 1461) The elision of IV 1 88 S 1080 does not apply here, as that rule is restricted by the word अचि of IV 1 89 S 1081 and so it does not apply to affixes beginning with a consonant

So also द्वे नावौ समाहृते=द्विनावम्, so also त्रिनावम् ॥ Thus द्विनावधनम् , पञ्चनावप्रियं are also formed

Why do we say 'when in a Dvigu compound'? Observe राजनौः "the king's ship" The phrase अतद्धितलुकि "when a Taddhita affix is not elided" of sûtra V 4 92 S 729 applies here also Therefore टच् does not apply in पञ्चभिर् नौभिः क्रीतः =पञ्चनौः, दशनौः ॥

८०२ । अर्धाच्च । ५ । ४ । १०० ॥

अर्धान्नावष्टच् स्यात् । नावोऽर्धम् । अर्धनावम् । क्लीबत्वं लोकात् ॥

802 The affix tach comes after the word nau, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound

Thus नावो अर्द्धं=अर्द्धनावम् ॥ The compounding takes place by II 2 S 713 The compound is of neuter gender, and does not take the gender of the term, as required by II 4 26 S 812 , for gender is regulated by usage, more than any grammatical rules (लोकाश्रयत्वं लिंगस्य) ॥

८०३ । खार्याः प्राचाम् । ५ । ४ । १०१ ॥

द्विगोर्धाच्च खार्याष्टज्वा स्यात् । द्विखारम् । द्विखारि । अर्धखारम् । अर्धखारि ॥

803 To the word khâri, at the end of a Dvigu compound, and to the same, when preceded by the word ardha, in a Tatpurusha compound, the affix tach is added, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians

The words द्विगो and अर्धात् are both understood here Thus द्वे खार्यौ समाहृते = द्विखारम् or द्विखारि ॥ So also अर्धं खार्याः = अर्धखारम् or अर्धखारि ॥

८०४ । द्वित्रिभ्यामञ्जलेः । ५ । ४ । १०२ ॥

टज्वा स्यात् द्विगौ । द्व्यञ्जलम् । द्व्यञ्जलि । अतद्धितलुकीत्येव । द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीतो द्व्यञ्जलि ॥

804 The affix tach is added to the word añjali, when preceded by dvi or tri, in a Dvigu Tatpurusha compound

Thus द्वावञ्जली समाहृतौ = द्व्यञ्जलम्, so also त्र्यञ्जलम् ॥ The word द्विगो is understood here also, so that when the compound is not a Dvigu, the rule does not apply Thus द्वयोरञ्जलि = द्व्यञ्जलि ॥ The phrase "when a Taddhita is not elided (V 4 92 S 729)" is understood here also Therefore the affix टच् does not apply here द्वाभ्यामञ्जलिभ्यां क्रीत = द्व्यञ्जलि ॥ (V I 28)

Note —The phrase "according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians" V 4 101 S 803 is to be read into this sutra Thus in the alternative we have द्व्यञ्जलिप्रिय ॥

८०५ । ब्रह्मणो जानपदाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १०४ ॥

ब्रह्मान्तात्तत्पुरुषाट्टच् स्यात्समासेन जानपदत्वमाख्यायते चेत् । सुराष्ट्रे ब्रह्मा सुराष्ट्रब्रह्म ॥

805 The affix tach comes after the word brahmana in a Tatpurusha compound, when the compound denotes a person belonging to a certain country

The word जानपद is equivalent to जनपदेषु भव 'belonging to a country' This affix comes after that Tatpurusha, the first member of which is a word denoting a country Thus सुराष्ट्रेषु ब्रह्मा = सुराष्ट्रब्रह्म, and अवन्तिब्रह्म "a Brâhmana of Surashṭra or Avanti" This is an example of Locative Tatpurusha compound.

Note —Why do we say "when referring to the name of a country"? Observe देवब्रह्मा नारद 'Narada the bard of the gods.'

८०६ । कुमहद्‌भ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १०५ ॥

आभ्यां ब्रह्मणो वा टच् स्यात् तत्पुरुषे । कुत्सितो ब्रह्मा कुब्रह्म । कुब्रह्मा ॥

806 The affix tach comes optionally after the word brahman preceded by the words कु and महत्, in a Tatpurusha compound

Thus कुब्रह्म or कुब्रह्मा, 'a bad Brahmana' The word ब्रह्मन् is a synonym of ब्राह्मण "a Brâhmana"

८०७ ।आन्महत समानाधिकरणजातीययो । ६ । ३ । ४६ ॥

महत आकारोऽन्तादेश स्यात्समानाधिकरणे उत्तरपदे जातीये च परे । महाब्रह्म । महाब्रह्मा । महादेव । महाजातीय । समानाधिकरणे किम् । महत सेवा महत्सेवा । लाक्षणिक विहाय प्रतिपदोक्त सन्महदिति समासो ग्रहीष्यते इति चेत् महाबाहुर्न स्यात् । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैति परिभाषा नेह प्रवर्तते । समानाधिकरणग्रहणसामर्थ्यात् ।

आदिति योगविभागादात्वम् । प्रागेकादशभ्य इति निर्देशाद्वा । एकादश । महतीशब्दस्य पुवत्कर्मधारयेति पुवद्भावे कृते आत्वम् । महाजातीय ॥

महदात्वे घासकरविशिष्टेषूपसख्यान पुवद्भावश्च * ॥ असामानाधिकरण्यार्थमिदम् । महतो महत्या वा घासो महाघास । महाकर । महाविशिष्ट ॥

अष्टन कपाले हविषि * ॥ अष्टाकपाल ॥

गवि च युक्ते * ॥ गोशब्दे परे युक्त इत्यर्थे गम्येऽष्टन आत्व वक्तव्यमित्यर्थ ॥ अष्टागव शकटम् । अच्प्रत्ययन्त्ववेत्यत्राजिति योगविभागाद्बहुव्रीहावप्यच् । अष्टाना गवा समाहार अष्टगवम् । तद्युक्तत्वा च्छकटमष्टागवामीति वा ॥

807 For the final of महत् is substituted आत् (आ) before a word which is in apposition with it and before जातीय ॥

As महाब्रह्म or महाब्रह्मा, महादेव, महाजातीय ॥ Why do we say 'before a word which is in apposition with it'? Observe महत सवा=महत्सवा "the service of the great man" the two words are not in apposition Obj We shall explain the compound महत्सेवा by saying that the rule of आ substitution applies to those compounds only of महत् which are ordained specially by II 1 61 S 740 and not to the general compounding of महत् with any noun.

And as महत सेवा can not be compounded under II 1 61 S 740 so there will be no आ substitution here

Ans—Not so, for how then you explain the आ in महाबाहु which is also not a compound under II 1 61 S 740 but a Buhuvrîhî, and which according to your explanation ought to be महद्बाहु ॥

Therefore, we come to this conclusion that the Pratipadokta Paribhâshâ does not apply here, and this because the word समानाधिकरण is employed in the sûtra Therefore, the present sûtra applies to all compounds of महत्, where it is in apposition with the second word

How do you explain the lengthening in एकादश? Either by yoga vibhâga, taking आत् as a separate sutra, or because Pânini himself uses it in V 3 49 S 1995

In महती + जातीया, the feminine महती is first changed into the masculine महत् by VI 3 42 S 746, and then the त् is changed to आ by the present sûtra, and thus we get महाजातीया ॥

The compounding with महत् takes place under II 1 61 S 740 This rule applies to compounds under that rule, as well as to Bahuvrihis, when also the two words are in apposition, as in महाबाहु ॥ In fact, this is the object of using the word samânâdhikaraṇa in this sutra Had it not been used, then by the maxim of pratipadokta, the rule would have applied only to the Tatpurusha compounds of mahat, taught under II 1 61 S 740, but not to Bahuvrihis like महाबाहु ॥ In महद्भूतश्चन्द्रमा = अमहान् महान् सपन्न, the long आ is not substituted, as the sense of महत् is here secondary

Vârt—आ is substituted for the final महत् before घास, कर and विशिष्ट, the feminine महती being changed to masculine, though the words may not be in apposition As महत्या घास = महाघास, महत्या कर = महाकर, महत्याविशिष्ट = महाविशिष्ट ॥

Vârt - आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before कपाल, when a sacrificial offering is meant As अष्टाकपाल चरु निर्वपेत ॥ Why do we say when meaning a sacrificial offering? Observe अष्टकपाल ब्राह्मणस्य ॥

Vârt—आ is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before गो, when the meaning is that of 'yoked' As, अष्टागवेन शकटेन ॥ But अष्टगव ब्राह्मणस्य, where 'yoking' is not meant. The त् in आत् is for the sake of distinctness

The affix अच् of V 4 75 S 943 is made applicable here by the method of yoga-vibhâga though the compound is Bahuvrîhi, अष्टन् + गो = अष्टा + गो + अच् ॥ The aggregate of eight cows is अष्टगवम् (Samâhâra Dvandva). The chariot is also called अष्टगवम् because they are yoked thereto

८०८ । द्व्यष्टनः संख्यायामबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः । ६ । ३ । ४७ ॥

आत्स्यात् । द्वौ च दश च द्वादश । द्व्यधिका दशेति वा । द्वाविंशतिः । अष्टादश । अष्टाविंशतिः । अबहुव्रीह्यशीत्योः किम् । द्वित्राः । द्व्यशीतिः ॥ प्राक्शतादिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । द्विशतम् । द्विसहस्रम् ॥

808 आ is substituted for the final of द्वि and अष्टन् when another Numeral follows but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीति ॥

Thus द्वादश (=द्वौ च दश च or द्व्यधिका दश) द्वाविंशति द्वात्रिंशत्, अष्टादश अष्टाविंशति, अष्टात्रिंशत् ॥

Why do we say 'not when the compound is a Bahuvrihi, or the word अशीति follows'? Observe द्वित्रा, द्व्यशीति ॥

Vârt —This rule applies upto one hundred Therefore not here, द्विशतम्, द्विसहस्रम्, अष्टशतम् अष्टसहस्रम् ॥

८०९ । त्रेस्त्रयः । ६ । ३ । ४८ ॥

त्रिशब्दस्य त्रयस् स्यात्पूर्वविषये । त्रयोदश । त्रयोविंशतिः । बहुव्रीहौ तु त्रिदश त्रिदशाः । सुजर्थे बहुव्रीहिः । अशीतौ तु त्र्यशीतिः । प्राक् शतादित्येव । त्रिशतम् । त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

809 For त्रि is substituted त्रयस् when another Numeral follows, but not in a Bahuvrîhi or before अशीति ॥

As, त्रयोदश, त्रयोविंशति, त्रयस्त्रिंशत् ॥ But not in त्रिदशा which is a Bahuvrîhi (II 2 25 S 843) त्र्यशीति ॥ This substitution takes place upto hundred not here, त्रिशतम्, त्रिसहस्रम् ॥

८१० । विभाषा चत्वारिंशत्प्रभृतौ सर्वेषाम् । ६ । ३ । ४९ ॥

द्व्यष्टनोस्त्रेश्च प्रागुक्तं वा स्याच्चत्वारिंशदादौ परे । द्विचत्वारिंशत् । द्वाचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टचत्वारिंशत् । अष्टाचत्वारिंशत् । त्रिचत्वारिंशत् । त्रयश्चत्वारिंशत् । एवं पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्ततिनवतिषु ॥

810 The above substitution in the case of all (द्वि, त्रि and अष्टन्), is optional, when the word चत्वारिंशत् and the numerals which follow it are the second member

Thus द्विचत्वारिंशत or द्वाचत्वारिंशत् त्रिपञ्चाशत् or त्रय पञ्चाशत अष्टपञ्चाशत् अष्टापञ्चाशत् ॥ This is also before hundred as, द्विशतम and अष्टशतम् त्रिशतम् ॥

So also with पञ्चाशत् षष्टि, सप्तति and नवति ॥

८११ । एकादिश्चैकस्य चादुक् । ६ । ३ । ७६ ॥

एकादिर्नञ् प्रकृत्या स्यादेकस्य च अदुगागमश्च । नञा विंशत्या सह समासे कृते एकशब्देन

सह तृतीयेति योगविभागात्समास । अनुनासिकविकल्प । एकेन नविंशति एकान्नविंशति । एकानृनविंशति । एकोनविंशतिरित्यर्थ ॥

षष उत्व दतृदशधासूत्तरपदादे ष्टुत्व च धासु वेति वाच्यम् ॥ षोडन् । षोडश । षोढा । षड्धा ॥

811 The Negative particle remains unchanged in a word which begins with एक, and of this एक, there is the augment अदुक् (अद्)

Thus एकेन नविंशति = एकान्नविंशति, एकान्नविंशत् ॥ These are Instrumental compounds formed under II 1 30 S 692 by the method of yoga vibhâga taking तृतीया as a separate sûtra The nasal is optional, so we have एकानृनविंशति also, meaning "nineteen" The augment अदुक is added to the final of the first member, so that we have optionally two forms एकात् न विंशति and एकान् न विंशति by VIII 4 45 S 116

Vârt —The final of षष् is changed to उ before दत्, दश, and धा (meaning 'location') and the first letter of the second member is changed to ड or ढ ॥ Thus षड् दन्ता अस्य = षोडन्, so षोडश, षड्धा or षोढा कुरु ॥ The addition of उ is optional here The putting of धासु in the plural number indicates that धा has here the meaning of "in many parts or ways" (नानाधिकरण) In fact, it has the force of an affix here The rule therefore, does not apply to these —षट् दधाति or धयति = षड्धा ॥

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THE GENDER OF COMPOUNDS

८१२ । परवल्लिङ्गं द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषयो. । २ । ४ । २६ ॥

एतयो परपदस्येव लिङ्गं स्यात् । कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ । अर्धपिप्पली ॥ द्विगुप्राप्तापन्नालम्पूर्वगतिसमासेषु प्रतिषेधो वाच्य * ॥ पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृत पञ्चकपाल पुरोडाश । प्राप्तो जीविका प्राप्तजीविक । आपन्नजीविक । अलं कुमार्यै अलंकुमारि । अत एव ज्ञापकात्समास । निष्कौशाम्बि ॥

812 The gender of a Dvandva or a Tat-purusha compound is like that of the last word in it

This applies to an Itaretara Dvandva or coupling by mutual conjunction As कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे 'those two (fem) the cock and the peahen' मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ 'those two (mas) the peahen and the cock' The Samâhâra Dvandva is always neuter So also in a Tat-purusha compound, not especially mentioned in the previous aphorism ? As अर्धंपिप्पल्या:, अर्धपिप्पली 'half a pippali'

Vârt —Prohibition must be made in regard to (1) Dvigu compound, (2) compounds with प्राप्त आपन्न and, अल and (3) compounds with Gati words *i. e* Prâdi compounds, as, पञ्चकपाल 'Purodâsa prepared in five cups', प्राप्त जीविक (प्राप्त + जीविका) 'has obtained living' आपन्नजीविक ॥ अलङ्कुमारि 'who is a suitable match for the girl' There is no special rule of Pânini by which अल can be so compounded We *infer* such a rule, by the implication (jñâpaka) of this vârtika निष्कौशाम्बि 'gone beyond Kausambi'

८१३ । पूर्ववदश्ववडवौ । २ । ४ । २७ ॥

द्विवचनमतन्त्रम् । अश्ववडवौ । अश्ववडवान् । अश्ववडवै ॥

813 The gender of the compound of the word aśva 'horse' and vadava 'a mare,' is like that of the first word in it

This applies where the compound is not an aggregate by rule II 4, 12 S 916, in that case it will be neuter अश्ववडवाविमौ, अश्ववडवान्, अश्ववडवै &c, (in every number and case) 'those two (mas) the horse and the mare' This is an exception to the last and general rule, by which the gender of the subsequent term, guides the gender of the whole compound

८१४ । रात्राह्नाहाः पुंसि । २ । ४ । २९ ॥

एतदन्तौ द्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषौ पुंस्येव । अनन्तरत्वात्परवल्लिङ्गतापवादोऽप्ययं परत्वात्समाहारनपुंसकतां बाधते । अहोरात्रः । रात्रेः पूर्वभागः पूर्वरात्रः । पूर्वाह्णः । द्व्यहः ॥ सङ्ख्यापूर्वं रात्रं क्लीबम् ॥ द्विरात्रम् । त्रिरात्रम् । गणरात्रम् ॥

814 The Dvandva and Tatpursha compound ending with râtra and ahna and aha are spoken of in the masculine

This debars the neuter gender of Samâhâra even (II 4 17 S 821) because it is a subsequent sûtra to that in the order of Pânini and thus it serves double purpose, being read immediately after II 4 26 S 812 it debars the gender of the subsequent, and also the Neuter of II 4 17 S 821 Thus अहोरात्रः ॥

These words refer to krit and Samasânta affixes Thus the word रात्र is formed by रात्रि + अच् (V 4 87 S 787) अह्न is formed by V 4. 88 S 790 and अह by V 4 91 S 788 The general rule II 4 26 S 812 also does not apply here.

पूर्वरात्रः, द्विरात्रः त्रिरात्रः, 'A space of two or three nights' पूर्वाह्णः, अपराह्णः मध्याह्नः 'the forenoon, the afternoon and noon,' द्व्यहः 'two days' त्र्यहः, 'three days'

Vârt —The word रात्र preceded by a numeral is always neuter, as त्रिरात्रम् &c , गणरात्रम् ॥ गणानां बहूनां रात्राणां समाहारः = गणरात्रम् ॥

८१५ । अपथं नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ ३० ॥

तत्पुरुष इत्येव । अन्यत्र तु अपथो देश । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह । अपन्था ॥

815 The Tatpurusha word apatham 'a bad road' is neuter

The word "Tat-purusha" only is understood in this sutra and not Dvandva

अपथमिदम् 'this (neuter) is a bad road But अपथोदेश (masc) 'a roadless country' Here the compound being Bahuvrîhi, the word is masculine, so also अपथा where the rule does not apply, because the sûtra has exhibited the form अपथम् with the samâsânta affix So where there is no samâsânta affix, the form is अपन्था also The samâsânta is *optional* by V 4 72 S 957

८१६ । अर्धर्चाः पुंसि च । २ । ४ । ३१ ॥

अर्धर्चादय शब्दा पुंसि क्लीबे च स्यु । अर्धर्च । अर्धर्चम् । ध्वज । ध्वजम् । एवं तीर्थ, शरीर, मण्ड, पीयूष, देह, अङ्कुश, कलश इत्यादि ॥

816 The words 'ardharcha' &c , may be masculine and neuter

As अर्धर्च and अर्धर्चम् 'half a verse,' ध्वज or ध्वजम् 'a flag' So also तीर्थ or तीर्थम् 'a place of pilgrimage , शरीर 'the body ,' मण्ड 'a shed ,' पीयूष 'nectar ,' देह 'the body,' ' अङ्कुश 'a goad for an elephant', कलश 'a jar' &c

Note —These twofold genders sometimes, convey different meanings, the masculine form having one meaning and the neuter another Thus पद्म 'treasure,' पद्म or पद्मम् 'lotus,' शङ्ख 'treasure,' and शङ्खम् or शङ्ख 'conch-shell,' भूत or भूतम् 'ghost' But when it is a verbal noun, it takes the gender of the word it qualifies सैन्धव or सैन्धवम् 'salt', but when it is considered as a derivative word meaning 'born in or belonging to the sea' it takes the gender of the word it qualifies सार 'best' सार 'compendium' So धर्म and धर्मम्

८१७ । जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ५८ ॥

एकोऽप्यर्थो वा बहुवद्भवति । ब्राह्मणा पूज्या ब्राह्मण पूज्य ॥

817 In (a common) name (expressive of) class, in denoting the singular, the plural is optionally employed

Note —The words of this sutra require some detailed explanation The name of a jati or species, always denotes one, since it is a collective noun, and will naturally take the singular number, by the present sutra such words may take the plural number also In such nouns of class, the plural number has also the force of the singular The anuvritti of asishyam does not go further ॥ Thus ब्राह्मण पूज्या or ब्राह्मण पूज्य

Note —It follows from this that adjectives which are not themselves common noun, such as सपन्न &c, agree with the noun and will also get the plural number Thus सपन्ना यव or सपन्नः यवा, "Full grown barley" पूर्ववया ब्राह्मणः प्रत्युत्थेय or पूर्ववयसो ब्राह्मणा प्रत्युत्थेया ॥

Why have we used the word jati in this sutra? For this aphorism does not apply to proper Nouns Thus देवदत्त Devadatta, यज्ञदत्त Yajñadatta Why have we used the word आख्यायाम्? A word may be a class noun or jati, but it may not be the appellation of a class Thus the statue of Kasyapa may also be called kasyapa, this is a class noun, but as it is not the appellation आख्या or name of a class, such words cannot take the plural form and still denote a singular sense

Why do we say ekasmin'? When two or more class names are compounded as व्रीहियवौ 'the rice and barley' the rule does not apply

An exception must be made when a class noun is qualified by a numeral adjective As एको व्रीहि सपन्न सुभिक्ष करोति

८१८। अस्मदो द्वयोश्च । १ । २ ५९ ॥

एकत्वे द्वित्वे च विवक्षितेऽस्मदो बहुवचनं वा स्यात् । वयं ब्रूम । पक्षेऽहं ब्रवीमि । आवां ब्रूव इति वा ॥ सविशेषणस्य प्रतिषेध * ॥ पटुरहं ब्रवीमि ॥

818 The plural of the pronoun asmad, 'I', is used optionally, though the sense requires a singular or dual number

Thus "I speak" or "we speak (अहं ब्रवीमि or वयं ब्रूम), may be spoken by one person, similarly two persons may either use the dual case or the plural case, thus आवां ब्रूव 'we two speak' or वयं ब्रूम 'we speak'

Vârt —There is prohibition when the pronoun of the 1st person is qualified by an attribute —as पटुरहं ब्रवीमि 'I Patu am speaking' Here we cannot use the plural

८१९। फल्गुनीप्रोष्ठपदानां च नक्षत्रे । १ । २ । ६० ॥

द्वित्वे बहुत्वप्रयुक्तं कार्यं वा स्यात् । पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ । पूर्वाः फल्गुन्यः । पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे । पूर्वाः प्रोष्ठपदाः । नक्षत्रे किम् । फल्गुन्यौ माणविके ॥

819 And the dual of Phalgunî and Proshthapadâ, when signifying asterisms, (also connotes optionally plural)

The word च in this aphorism draws in the anuvritti of the word इव from the last Of the stars phalgunî and proshthapadâ, the forms may be either dual or plural As उदिते पूर्वे फल्गुन्यौ (dual), or उदिता पूर्वा फल्गुन्य (plural) So also पूर्वे प्रोष्ठपदे or पूर्वा प्रोष्ठपदा ॥ There are two pairs of stars of the name of phalgunî and proshthapadâ, both being of feminine gender, and their logical number being dual' The present sûtra ordains plural optionally

Why do we say 'when signifying asterisms'? Because if phalgunî and proshthapada are not names of asterisms, they must have their proper number as फल्गुन्या माणविका ॥

८२० । तिष्यपुनर्वस्वोर्नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वे बहुवचनस्य द्विवचनं नित्यम् । १ । २ । ६३॥

बहुत्वं द्वित्ववद्भवति । तिष्यश्च पुनर्वसू च तिष्यपुनर्वसू । तिष्येति किम् । विशाखानुराधा । नक्षत्रेति किम् । तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवका ॥

820. In the Dvandva compounds of the stars Tishya and Punarvasû, the dual invariably comes in the place of the plural

When there is a collective compounding of the words Tishya and Punarvasu (meaning two groups of stars), the final compound is always in the dual Thus उदितौ तिष्यपुनर्वसू दृश्येते 'the Tishya and Punarvasu having risen are seen (dual)'

Why do we say 'Tishya, and 'Punarvasu'? Observe विशाखानुराधा 'the stars Visâkhâ and Anurâdhâ' The compound is in plural number

This rule would not apply if these words do not connote stars, but are used in any other sense As तिष्यपुनर्वसवो माणवकाः, 'Boys called Tishya and Punarvasus'

Note —There is one star called Tishya, and there are two stars called Punarvasu As the Dvandva compound of these stars refers to more than two stars, it ought to have been in the plural number This rule teaches that there should be a dual number, where otherwise there would have been a plural number

Why is the word 'star' repeated in the sûtra, when the previous sûtras and the context show that stars were being treated of The repetition is for the sake of including the synonyms of Tishya and Punarvasû As तिष्यपुनर्वसू, पुष्यपुनर्वसू सिध्यपुनर्वसू ॥

The rule only applies when these words form a Dvandva compound, and not when they are compounded in any other way Thus तिष्यपुनर्वसव is an example of Bahuvrihi compound meaning 'persons who confound the Tishya with the Punarvasu"

The rule only applies to the *plural* Dvandva If the Dvandva takes the singular termination, this rule has no application As तिष्यपुनर्वसु इदमिति

This sûtra indicates by implication (jñâpaka) that "every Dvandva compound may optionally take the terminations of the singular", for otherwise the employment of the term बहुवचनस्य in the sûtra would be superfluous

The word 'invariably' has been used in the text to show that the governing power of "option" stops here with this sûtra and does not extend further

८२१ । स नपुंसकम् । २ । ४ । १७ ॥

समाहारे द्विगुर्द्वन्द्वश्च नपुंसकं स्यात् । परवल्लिङ्गापवादः । पञ्चगवम् । दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

अकारान्तोत्तरपदो द्विगुः स्त्रियामिष्टः * ॥ पञ्चमूली ॥

आबन्तो वा * ॥ पञ्चखट्वी । पञ्चखट्वम् ॥

अनो नलोपश्च वा द्विगुः स्त्रियाम् * ॥ पञ्चतक्षी । पञ्चतक्षम् ॥

पात्राद्यन्तस्य न * ॥ पञ्चपात्रम् । त्रिभुवनम् । चतुर्युगम् ॥

पुण्यसुदिनाभ्यामह्नः क्लीबतेष्टा * ॥ पुण्याहम् । सुदिनाहम् ।

पथः संख्याव्ययादेः * ॥ संख्याव्ययादेः परः कृतसमासान्तः पथशब्दः क्लीबमित्यर्थः । त्रयाणां पन्थाः त्रिपथम् । विरूपः पन्था विपथम् । कृतसमासान्तनिर्देशान्नेह सुपन्थाः । अतिपन्थाः ।

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् * ॥ मृदु पचति । प्रातः कमनीयम् ॥

821 It, namely the Dvigu or the Dvandva compound, with regard to which singular number has been ordained by the above rules (see II 4 1 S 731 and II 4 2 S 906) is always a neuter gender

Note —This sutra debars the operation of the rule by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent member See II 4 26 S 812

As, पञ्चगवम् 'an aggregate of five cows,' दन्तोष्ठम् 'the teeth and lips' शिरोग्रीवम् 'head and neck'

Vârt —A Dvigu, the last member of which ends in short अ, is employed in the feminine gender only, as पञ्चमूली

Vârt —A Dvigu, the last member of which is a feminine word ending in आप् affix, is optionally feminine, as, पञ्चखट्वम् or पञ्चखट्वी

Vârt —A Dvigu, the last member of which is a word ending in अन is optionally feminine and the न is elided, as, पञ्चतक्षम् or पञ्चतक्षी

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated in the case of Dvigu compounds ending in पात्र &c, पञ्चपात्रम्, चतुर्युगम्, त्रिभुवनम्

Vârt —The Neuter gender is employed after the word अह preceded by पुण्य or सुदिन, as पुण्याहम् 'sacred day', सुदिनाहम् 'lucky day'

Vârt —The word पथ ending with the samâsânta affix (V 4 72 S 957) is neuter when compounded with a numeral or an Avyaya, as त्रिपथम्, चतुष्पथम्, विपथम्, सुपथम् But not so in सुपन्था and अतिपन्था where the samâsânta has not been added, because of the prohibition of V 4 69 S 954

Vart —The Neuter is employed when the application is general, and no particular gender is meant

As मृदु पचति 'he cooks soft' (anything in general that he does cook), प्रातः कमनीयम् 'in the morning it is pleasant'

——— o ———

८२२ । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारयः । २ । ४ । १९ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

822 A Tat-purusha compound, with the exception of that which is formed by the particle nañ, and of the Karmadhâraya compound, becomes neuter gender, in the cases explained in the following sûtras

Note —This is a governing sutra and regulates the sense of the succeeding aphorisms which show when a Tat purusha may be Neuter

८२३ । संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु । २ । ४ । २० ॥

कन्थान्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात्सा चेदुशीनरदेशोत्पन्नाया कन्थाया संज्ञा । सुशमस्यापत्यानि सौशमयः । तेषां कन्था सौशमिकन्थम् । संज्ञायां किम् । वीरणकन्था । उशीनरेषु किम् । दाक्षिकन्था ॥

823 When denoting an appellative, a Tatpurusha compound ending with the word kanthâ 'town,' is neuter in gender, provided that, it is the name of a town situated in the country of the Usînaras

As, सौशमिकन्थम् 'the town of Sauśamis, the descendents of Śushama'

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe वीरणकन्था Why do we say 'if the town is situated in the country of the Uśînaras'? Observe दाक्षिकन्था

Note – This debars the rule (II 4 25 S 828) by which a compound gets the gender of its subsequent term (For accent see IV 2 124)

८२४ । उपज्ञोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिख्यासायाम् । २ । ४ । २१ ॥

उपज्ञान्त उपक्रमान्तश्च तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् तयोरुपज्ञायमानोपक्रम्यमाणयोरादि प्राथम्यं चेदाख्यातुमिष्यते । पाणिनेरुपज्ञा पाणिन्युपज्ञं ग्रन्थः । नन्दोपक्रमं द्रोणः ॥

824 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words 'upajñâ' (invention) and 'upakrama' (commencement) is neuter in gender, when it is intended to express the starting point of a work, which is first invented or commenced

As, पाणिन्युपज्ञग्रन्थ 'the book *i e* the grammar which is Pânini's invention', नन्दोपक्रम द्रोण 'the measure Drona first introduced by the king Nanda'

Note —Of course, when it has not this sense, the neuter gender is not employed, as देवदत्तोपज्ञो रथ 'the chariot made by Devadatta,' यज्ञदत्तोपक्रमो रथ 'the chariot commenced by Yajñadatta' So also the sense may be that of invention &c, but when these words are not employed, the neuter gender is not used, as वाल्मीकिश्लोका 'the slokas invented by Valmiki'

८२५ । छाया बाहुल्ये । २ । ४ । २२ ॥

छायान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात्पूर्वपदार्थबाहुल्ये । इक्षूणां छाया इक्षुच्छायम् । विभाषासेनेति विकल्पस्यायमपवादः । इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य इति तु आसमन्तान्निषादिन्य इत्याङ्प्रश्लेषो बोध्यः ॥

825 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word chhâyâ 'shadow' is neuter in gender, when the sense is that of profuseness of the thing indicated by the first term

Thus, इक्षुच्छायम् 'the sugarcane shade *i e*, groves of sugarcane'

The sûtra II 4 25 S 828 gives *optional* neuter, this rule enjoins *invariable* neuter when chhâyâ has the sense of profuseness In the sentence "इक्षुच्छायानिषादिन्य" there is also shortening, there is आ between ikshuchâya and nishâdinyah Another reading is इक्षुच्छाय निषादिन्य ॥

८२६ । सभा राजाऽमनुष्यपूर्वा । २ । ४ । २३ ॥

राजपर्यायपूर्वोऽमनुष्यपूर्वश्च सभान्तस्तत्पुरुषो नपुंसकं स्यात् । इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् ॥

पर्यायस्यैवेष्यते * ॥ नेह । राजसभा । चन्द्रगुप्तसभा ।

अमनुष्यशब्दो रूढ्या रक्षःपिशाचादीनाह । रक्षःसभम् । पिशाचसभम् ॥

826 A Tatpurusha compound ending with the word sabhâ 'court' is neuter, provided that, it is preceded by (a word synonymous with) the word Râjâ, or by a word denoting a non-human being

As इनसभम् 'the King's Court' ईश्वरसभम् 'the Lord's Court'

But in राजसभा 'the King's Court,' and चन्द्रगुप्तसभा the word is not neuter, for synonyms of राजा are only to be taken and not the word form राजा, an apparent exception to Rule I 1 68 S 25

So also रक्षःसभम् 'the Court of the Rakshasas' पिशाचसभम् 'the Court of the Piśâchas' The word is neuter The word non human has a technical significance meaning "a Râkshasa or a monster &c"

८२७ । अशाला च । २ । ४ । २४ ॥

संघातार्था या सभा तदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं स्यात् । स्त्रीसभम् स्त्रीसंघात इत्यर्थः । अशाला किम् । धर्मसभा । धर्मशालेत्यर्थः ॥

827 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the word sabhâ, when it does not mean a house, but means concourse, is neuter

As, स्त्रीसभम् 'the concourse of ladies' Why do we say when it does not mean 'house'? Observe धर्मसभा here सभा means a house or an institution

८२८ । विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम् । २ । ४ । २५ ॥

एतदन्तस्तत्पुरुषः क्लीबं वा स्यात् । ब्राह्मणसेनम् । ब्राह्मणसेना । यवसुरम् । यवसुरा । कुड्यच्छायम् । कुड्यच्छाया । गोशालम् । गोशाला । श्वनिशम् । श्वनिशा । तत्पुरुषोऽनञ्कर्मधारय इत्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह । दृढसेनो राजा । असेना । परमसेना ॥

828 A Tat-purusha compound ending with the words senâ 'army,' surâ 'wine,' chhâyâ 'shadow,' śâlâ 'house' and niśâ 'night,' is optionally neuter, with the exception of

that which is formed by the particle nañ (II 2 6) and the karmadhâraya compound

As ब्राह्मणसेना, ब्राह्मणसेनम् 'the Brahmana army यवसुरम् यवसुरा the barley wine,' कुड्यच्छायम्, कुड्यच्छाया the shadow of the wall, गोशालम्, गोशाला 'the cow house,' श्वनिशम् श्वानिशा 'tomorrow night' But दृढसेनोराजा। असेना 'non army,' परमसेना good army,' the former being a negative and the latter a karmadhâraya compound For II 4 19 S 822 applies here also

Here ends the Chapter on Tatpurusha Compounds

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830 Two or more words ending in the First case-affix, form a compound, denoting another new thing, not connoted by those words individually, and the compound is called Bahuvrîhi

The Bahuvrîhi compound comes with the force of all the affixes but the first, as प्राप्तमुदकं ग्रामं = प्राप्तोदको ग्रामः a water-reached village ऊढरथोऽनड्वान् 'a bull by whom a cart is drawn उपहृतपशुरुद्रः Rudra to whom cattle is offered' उद्धृतौदना स्थाली a vessel in which rice is placed,' पीताम्बरो हरिः 'Hari wearing yellow garments' वीरपुरुषको ग्रामः 'a village possessed of heroic men'

The Bahuvrihi compound is not formed with the sense of the first case As वृष्टे देवे गतः gone when it had rained'

The Bahuvrîhi compounds are formed of words having the same case, so that words not being in apposition are not so compounded, as पञ्चभिर्भुक्तमस्य ॥

Vart —The optional compounding of what arises from a verbal root coming after प्र &c should be stated, and the elision of the subsequent term As प्रपतितं पर्णमस्य = प्रपर्णः a tree of which the leaves are all fallen'

Vart —The compounding of words signifying what exists, coming after the negative नञ् should be stated, and the optional elision of the second of the terms As अविद्यमानः पुत्रो यस्य = अपुत्रः childless' So also अभार्यः wife-less'

Compounds like अस्तिक्षीरा should be stated as Bahuvrîhi As अस्तिक्षीरा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmanî having milk' These words are indeclinables The word 'asti' here is an indeclinable though appearing as a verb

Note —Why have we used the word '*anya*'' in the sûtra? So that the difference of the scopes of the Tatpurusha and the Bahuvrihi may be indicated A Tatpurusha denotes the very thing or object expressed by the words of the compound, (स्वपदार्थे हि सावकाशः तत्पुरुषः) while a Bahuvrihi always denotes another object, not denoted by the words of the compound

८३१ । स्त्रियाः पुंवद्भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् समानाधिकरणे स्त्रियामपूरणीप्रियादिषु । ६ । ३ । ३४ ॥

भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् ऊङोऽभावो यस्यामिति बहुव्रीहिः निपातनात्पञ्चम्या अलुक् । षष्ठ्याश्च लुक् । तुल्ये प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ते यदुक्तपुंस्कं तस्मात्परः ऊङोऽभावो यत्र तथाभूतस्य स्त्रीवाचकशब्दस्य पुंवाचकस्येव रूपं स्यात्समानाधिकरणे स्त्रीलिङ्गे उत्तरपदे । न तु पूरण्यां प्रियादौ च परतः । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वः ।

चित्रा गावो यस्येति लौकिकविग्रहे चित्रा अस् गो अस् इत्यलौकिकविग्रहे । चित्रगु । रूपवद्भार्यः । चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्येति विग्रहे अनेकोक्तेर्बहूनामपि बहुव्रीहि ।

अत्र केचित् । चित्राजरतीगु । जरतीचित्रागुर्वा । एवं दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घ । तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्घ । त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ प्रथमं न पुंवत् । उत्तरपदस्य मध्यमेन व्यवधानात् । द्वितीयमपि न पुंवत् । पूर्वपदत्वाभावात् । उत्तरपदशब्दो हि समासस्य चरमावयवे रूढः । पूर्वपदशब्दस्तु प्रथमावयवे रूढ इति वदन्ति ।

वस्तुतस्तु नेह पूर्वपदमाक्षिप्यते । आनङ् ऋत इत्यत्र यथा । तेनोपान्त्यस्य पुंवदेव । चित्राजरद्गुरित्यादि । अत एव चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्येति द्वन्द्वगर्भेऽपि चित्राजरद्गुरिति भाष्यम् । कर्मधारयपूर्वपदे तु द्वयोरपि पुंवत् । जरच्चित्रगु । कर्मधारयोत्तरपदे तु चित्रजरद्गवीक ।

स्त्रियाः किम् । ग्रामणि कुलं दृष्टिरस्य ग्रामणिदृष्टिः ।

भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । गङ्गाभार्य ।

अनूङ् किम् । वामोरूभार्य ।

समानाधिकरणे किम् । कल्याण्या माता कल्याणीमाता ।

स्त्रियां किम् । कल्याणी प्रधानं यस्य स कल्याणीप्रधानः । पूरण्यां तु ॥

831 In the room of a feminine word there is substituted an equivalent and uniform masculine form, when it is a word which has an actual corresponding masculine, and does not end in the feminine affix ऊङ् and is followed by another feminine word in the relation of apposition with it, but not when such subsequent word is an ordinal numeral, nor प्रिय &c (see under 835 for the list of Priyâdi words)

Note —The words of this sutra require some analysis for better comprehension स्त्रियाः 'for a feminine word', पुंवत् "like the masculine," i e a substitute like the masculine takes the room of a feminine word भाषितपुंस्कात् = भाषितपुमान्येन, by which a masculine is spoken of i e a word which has an equivalent masculine, the correspondence must be in the *form* (आकृति) and the *connotation* (आयाम) of the two words, that is when both the words are coextensive in their denotation applying to the same objects, but of different genders A word which has not the affix ऊङ् is called अनूङ् ॥ That feminine word which does not end in ऊङ् and has a corresponding masculine word, having the same form and connotation, (of course, with the exception of affixes) is called a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् स्त्रीशब्द ॥ The word भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् is a Bahuvrihi, the fifth affix is not elided anomalously, while the whole compound is in the genitive case, the affix being elided anomalously, Of such a भाषितपुंस्कादनूङ् feminine word, there is the substitution of a masculine form Provided that, the second member is a समानाधिकरण i e a word in apposition with the first, and (स्त्रियाम्) of the feminine gender with the exception of an Ordinal numeral (पूरणी) and of प्रिय &c.

Thus चित्रगु "He who has brindled cows" Here गो is shortened by I 2 48 S 656 The ordinary analysis of this word is चित्रागावो यस्य while its grammatical analysis is चित्रा + अस (Pl) + गो + अस् (Pl) Here चित्रा becomes masculine चित्र, and गो is shortened to गु ॥ Similarly रूपवद्भार्य ॥

Similarly there may be compounding of more than two words as चित्रा जरती गौर्यस्य ॥ Here according to some we have either चित्राजरतीगु or जरतीचित्रागु ॥ So also दीर्घातन्वीजङ्घ or तन्वीदीर्घाजङ्घ ॥ "The first member retains its gender in a Bahuvrihi of three words, because the first word is separated from the last by an intermediate word The second word also does not become masculine, because it is not the *first* word in the compound The word उत्तरपद 'last word" is the technical name of the last member of a compound, while पूर्वपद "first word,' is similarly confined to the first member of a compound Therefore in a compound of three words or more, the second term though an uttarapada in relation to the first, is not called uttarapada, similarly this second term though a purva pada with relation to the third, is not called purva pada" Thus say some grammarians

But as a matter of fact, there is not in the sûtra any such word as purva pada and the word should not be inserted in it For if पूर्वपद qualified this sutra, it would similarly qualify VI 3 25 S 921, and therefore though we could form होतापोतारौ by आनङ्, we could not form होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातार, but नेष्टृ + उद्गातार ॥ But in the Mahâbhashya we find नेष्टोद्गातार ॥ Therefore, the penultimate word will become masculine, and the proper form is चित्राजरद्गु &c Therefore in चित्राजरत्यौ गावौ यस्य "he who has one brindled and one old cow" though it is a portion of a dwandva compound, we have चित्राजरद्गु only This is in the Mahâbhâshya But when the first member is a Karmadharaya compound, then both terms become masculine, as जरच्चित्रगु 'He who has an old brindled cow" The compounding here is by II 1 49 S 726 But when the last term is a Karmadharaya compound, we have चित्रजरद्गवीक ॥ First we combine जरती and गौ in a karmadhâraya compound, जरती चासौ गौश्च = जरद्गवी which is formed by adding the feminine affix ङीप् to the word जरद्गव formed by the samâsanta affix टच् (V 4 92 S 729) Then we form the Bahuvrihi चित्रा and जरद्गवी यस्य = चित्राजरद्गवीक the affix कप् is added by V 4 153 S 833

So also दर्शनीयभार्य (= दर्शनीयाभार्या यस्य) Here दर्शनीया is a feminine word having a corresponding masculine word of the same form and force, namely, दर्शनीय, moreover this feminine does not end in the affix ऊङ्, but in the affix आ, it is follwed by another feminine word भार्या which is in the same case with it, and which is not a Numeral nor included in the प्रियादि class, hence this

word दर्शनीया is changed to the corresponding masculine word दर्शनीय ॥ So also श्लक्ष्णचूड , दीर्घजङ्घ ॥

Why do we say स्त्रिया for a feminine word'? Observe ग्रामणि ब्राह्मणकुलदृष्टिरस्य = ग्रामणिदृष्टि ॥ Why do we say which has an appropriate masculine भाषितपुंस्क)? Observe गङ्गाभार्य ॥ There is no corresponding musculine of गङ्गा ॥ Why do we say "of the same connotation and form समानायमाकृतौ ? Observe द्रौणीभार्य , the masculine word द्रोण has not the same significance as द्रौणी ॥ The words गर्भिभार्य , प्रसूतभार्य , and प्रजातभार्य are anomalous Why do we say not ending in ऊङ्? Observe वामोरूभार्य ॥ Why do we say 'both words being in the same case and referring to another person'? Observe कल्याण्यामाता = कल्याणिमाता 'the mother of Kalyâni" Why do we say स्त्रियाम् 'followed by a feminine word'? Observe कल्याणी प्रधान यस्य स = कल्याणीप्रधान ॥ Here the second member प्रधान is a Neuter word Why do we say not being an ordinal Numeral'? The next sûtra applies to ordinals

८३२ । अप्पूरणीप्रमाण्यो: । ५ । ४ । ११६ ॥

पूरणार्थप्रत्ययान्त यत् स्त्रीलिङ्ग तदन्तात्प्रमाण्यन्ताच्च बहुव्रीहेरप् स्यात् । कल्याणी पञ्चमी यासां रात्रीणां ता कल्याणिपञ्चमा रात्रय । स्त्री प्रमाणी यस्य स स्त्रीप्रमाण । पुंवद्भावप्रतिषेधोऽप्प्रत्ययश्च प्रधानपूरण्यामेव । रात्रि पूरणी वाच्या चेत्युक्तोदाहरणे मुख्या । अन्यत्र तु ॥

832 The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound, ending in a feminine ordinal Numeral or in the word pramânî

The word पूरणी means words in the feminine gender ending in an ordinal affix (V 2 48 S 1849 &c) प्रमाणी means a witness, 'a principal' Thus कल्याणी पञ्चमी आसां रात्रीणां = कल्याणिपञ्चमा रात्रय 'the nights, the fifth of which is auspicious" कल्याणीदशमा रात्रय ॥ So also स्त्रीप्रमाणी एषा = स्त्रीप्रमाणा कुटुम्बिन meaning भार्याप्रधाना "having a woman for authority"

The affix अप् and the prohibition of masculine substitution apply when the Ordinal Numeral is the principal (pradhana) member in a compound When the Ordinal enters fully into another object, and is not merely wrapped up as it were in another object in a secondary way, there the Ordinal is the principal The prohibition of punvad bhava—the change of feminine into masculine ordained by VI 3 34 S 831—, applies also to the Ordinal when it is pradhana Therefore, the affix is not added here कल्याणीपञ्चमीक पक्ष = कल्याणी पञ्चमी अस्मिन् पक्षे ॥

But when it is not so, then instead of अप् we have कप् as by the next sûtra

८३३ । नद्यृतश्च । ५ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नद्युत्तरपदादृदन्तोत्तरपदाच्च बहुव्रीहेः कप् स्यात् । पुंवद्भाव ॥

833 The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrîhi the last member of which is a (feminine word ending in long ई or ऊ defined as a) nadî word, or which ends in a short ऋ ॥

Note —The word नदी is defined in I 4 3 S 266 Thus बहुकुमारीको देश (बह्व्य कुमार्योऽस्मिन्देशे), बहुब्रह्मबन्धूक ॥ बहुकर्तृक ॥ The त in ऋत् is for the sake of euphony

There is punvad bhâva (masculine substitution) in such compounds

Thus कल्याणी + पञ्चमी + कप् ॥ Now at this stage the next sûtra requires that the long ई be shortened

८३४ । केऽण । ७ । ४ । १३ ॥

के परेऽणो ह्रस्व स्यात् । इति प्राप्ते ॥

834 Before the affix क, the preceding आ, ई and ऊ are shortened

Note —As ज्ञका, (VII 3 47 S 466) कुमारिका, किशोरिका, ब्रह्मबन्धुका ॥ Why आ ई and ऊ only? Observe गोका नौका ॥ The words राका, धाका are irregular being formed by Unâdi diversity with the affix क added to रा and धा (Un III 40) By the following sutra, the rule does not apply to the affix कप् it therefore implies that कन् is governed by this rule though it has the anubandha न् ॥ Kâtyâyana would confine this rule to the Taddhita क, and not the krit क of the Unâdi, as राका, धाका but Unâdi words are not derivatives (उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि) and hence no necessity of reading Taddhita into the sutra

Therefore कल्याणी + पञ्चमी + कप् = कल्याणी + पञ्चमि + कप ॥ But the shortening is prevented by the next sutra

८३५ । न कपि । ७ । ४ । १४ ॥

कपि परे ह्रस्वो न स्यात् । कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष । अत्र तिरोहितावयवभेदस्य पक्षस्यान्यपदार्थतया रात्रिरप्रधानम् । बहुकर्तृक । अप्रियादिषु किम् । कल्याणीप्रिय ।
प्रिया । मनोज्ञा । कल्याणी । सुभगा । दुर्भगा । भक्ति । सचिवा । स्वसा । कान्ता । क्षान्ता । समा । चपला । दुहिता । वामा । अबला । तनया ॥

सामान्ये नपुंसकम् ॥ दृढ भक्तिर्यस्य स दृढभक्ति । स्त्रीत्वविवक्षायां तु दृढाभक्ति ॥

835 But before the samâsanta affix कप् coming after Bahuvrîhi compounds the अण् vowels are not shortened

As कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष ॥ बहुकुमारीक, बहुवृषलीक, बहुलक्ष्मीक ॥ The shortening ordained by I 2 48 S 656 even does not operate when कप् follows Here रात्रि is not principal, but secondary, because पक्ष is another thing altogether in which all distinctions of members (such as nights that constitute a paksha) have disappeared

Note —For had there been upasarjana shortening (I 2 48), the present sûtra would be useless Therefore, the very existence of this sûtra debars every sort of shortening Obj The present sutra would not be useless, for it will find scope where there is no shortening of the upasarjana by I 2 48 S 656, namely before non-feminine affixes as बहुयवागूक, but there should be shortening in feminine affixes Ans The shortening of I 2 48 will not take place before कप् affix Because the affix कप् will first be added to the second member in the sense of the compound and then the word so ending in कप् will be compounded with the first member So there is no *prâtipadika* left which ends in a feminine affix, and therefore I 2 48, S 656 does not apply, because the pratipadika now left is one ending in the affix कप् and not in a feminine affix

Similarly बहुकर्तृक ॥

The ordinal Numbers must be the Principal Ordinal and not the secondary Derivative Ordinals Therefore the rule applies here कल्याणपञ्चमीक पक्ष ॥ The samâsânta affix अप् (V 4 116) also applies to an Ordinal which is a Principal and not what is used as secondary word and therefore the above compound does not take अप् ॥ Why do we say not before प्रिय &c Observe कल्याणीप्रिय ॥

1 प्रिया, 2 मनोज्ञा, 3 कल्याणी, 4 सुभगा 5 दुर्भगा, 6 भक्ति, 7 सचिवा, 8 स्वा (स्वसा), 9 कान्ता, 10 क्षान्ता, 11 समा, 12 चपला, 13 दुहिता, 14 वामना (वमा) 15 तनया, 16 अम्बा ॥ The compound दृढभक्ति is anomalous

When the word दृढ is used without any reference to its gender, but merely to denote want of weakness then it is Neuter, as दृढ भक्तिर्यस्य = दृढभक्ति ॥ But when feminine nature is intended to be expressed then we have दृढाभक्ति ॥ And therefore भक्ति is read in this list,

८३६ । तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुच । ६ । ३ । ३५ ॥

तसिलादिष्वाकृत्वसुजन्तेषु परेषु स्त्रियाः पुंवत्स्यात् । परिगणन कर्तव्यम् । अव्याप्त्यातिव्याप्तिपरिहाराय । त्रैतसौ । तरतमपौ । चरड्जातीयरौ । कल्पब्देशीयरौ । रूपप्पाशपौ । थाल् । तिलथ्यनौ बह्वीषु बहुत्र । बहुत । दर्शनीयतरा । दर्शनीयतमा

घरूपेति वक्ष्यमाणो ह्रस्व पर-वात्पुवद्भाव बाधते । पट्विरा । पट्विमा । पटुचरी । पटुजातीया । दर्शनीयकल्पा । दर्शनीयदेशीया । दर्शनीयरूपा । दर्शनीयपाशा । बहुथा । प्रशस्ता वृकी वृकाति । अजाभ्यो हिता अजथ्या ॥

शसि बह्वल्पार्थस्य पुवद्भावो वक्तव्य * ॥ वह्नीभ्यो देहि बहुश । अल्पाभ्यो देहि अल्पश ॥ त्वतलोर्गुणवचनस्य * ॥ शुक्लाया भाव शुक्लत्वम् । शुक्लता । गुणवचनस्य किम् । कर्त्र्या भाव कर्त्रीत्वम् । शरद कृतार्थतेत्यादौ तु सामान्ये नपुसकम् ॥

भस्याढे तद्धिते * ॥ हस्तिनीना समूहो हास्तिकम । अढे किम् । रोहिणेय । स्त्रीभ्यो ढगिति ढोऽत्र गृह्यते । अग्नेर्ढगिति ढकि तु पुवदेव । अग्नायी देवताऽस्य स्थालीपाकस्याग्नेय । सपत्नीशब्दस्त्रिधा । शत्रुपर्यायात्सपत्नशब्दाच्छार्ङ्गरवादित्वात् ङीन्येक । समान पतिर्यस्या इति विग्रहे विवाहनिबन्धन पतिशब्द-माश्रित्य नित्यस्त्रीलिङ्गो द्वितीय । स्वामिपर्यायपतिशब्देन भाषितपुंस्कस्तृतीय । आद्ययो शिवाद्यण् । सपत्न्या अपत्य सापत्न । तृतीयात्तु लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया पत्युत्तरपदलक्षणो ण्य एव । न त्वण् । शिवादौ रूढयोरेव ग्रहणात् । सापत्न्य ।

ठक्छसोश्च * ॥ भवत्याश्छात्रा भावत्का भवदीया ।

एतद्वार्तिकमेकतद्धिते चेति सूत्र च न कर्तव्यम् । सर्वनाम्नो वृत्तिमात्रे पुवद्भाव इति भाष्यकारेष्टया गतार्थत्वात् । सर्वकाम्यति । सर्विकाभार्या यस्य स सर्वकभार्य । सर्वप्रिय इत्यादि । पूर्वस्यैवेदम् । मस्त्रेषाद्वेति लिङ्गात् । तेनाकच्यि एकशेषवृत्तौ च न । सर्विका । सर्वा ॥

कुक्कुट्यादीनामण्डादिषु ॥ कुक्कुट्या अण्ड कुक्कुटाण्डम् । मृग्या पद मृगपदम् । मृगक्षीरम् । काकशाव ॥

836 A feminine word not ending in the affix ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed to such masculine form before the affixes beginning with तसिल् &c (V 3 7 S 1953) and ending with कृत्वसुच् (V 4 17 S 2085)

We must enumerate these affixes, lest we should include too many or too few The following are the affixes before which the feminine is changed to masculine त्र and तस्, तरप् and तमप्, चरट्, जातीयर्, कल्पप्, (देश्य), देशीयर्, रूपप्, पाशप्, (थम), थाल्, (श and इर्लि), तिल्, थ्यन (तातिल) ॥ All other affixes do not affect the gender

Thus (1) त्र=बहुत्र, (2) तस्=बहुत both with the force of locative बह्वीषु ॥ (3—4) तरप् and तमप्, as दर्शनीयतरा and दर्शनीयतमा ॥ These affixes are called घ and so the rule VI 3 43 S 985 causes shortening and this shortening being subsequent prevents the masculine substitution even Thus not पटुतरा and पटुतमा, (as given in some texts), but पट्वितरा and पट्वितमा ॥ (5) चरट् (V 3 53 S 1999) as पटुचरी ॥ (6) जातीयर् (V 3 69 S 2024) as पटुजातीया ॥ (7) कल्पप्, as दर्शनीयकल्पा ॥ (8) देशीयर् as दर्शनीयदेशीया ॥ (9) रूपप् (V 3 66 S 2021) as दर्शनीयरूपा ॥ (10) पाशप् (V 3 47 S 1993) as दर्शनीयपाशा ॥ (11) थाल् (V 3 23 S 1971) as बहुथा ॥ (12) तिल् (V 4 41 S 3505) as वृकति (=प्रशस्ता वृकी) ॥ (13) थ्यन् (V 1 8 S 1669) as, अजथ्या (=अजाभ्योहिता) ॥

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Vart —The feminine of बहु and अल्प and their synonyms are changed to masculine before the Taddhita affix शस् —as बह्वीभ्यो देहि = बहुशो देहि अल्पाभ्यो देहि = अल्पशो देहि ॥ See V 4 42 S 2109

Vârt —A feminine Adjective is changed into masculine, before the affixes त्व and तल् ॥ शुक्लाया भाव = शुक्लत्वम् so also शुक्लता ॥ Why do we say 'an adjective'? Observe कर्त्र्या भाव = कर्त्रीत्वम् ॥ In the example "निरीक्ष्य मेने शरद कृतार्थता," the word कृतार्थ is Neuter in the generic significance For though शरद् is feminine, the word is not कृतार्थिता ॥

Vârt —The feminine word is changed to masculine before all Taddhita affixes except ढ, when the word gets the designation of भ ॥ Thus हस्तिनीना समूह = हास्तिकम् by ठक् (IV 2 47 S 1256) Had the word not become masculine, then हस्तिनी having lost its ई (VI 4 148 S 311) the word न् of हस्तिन् would not be elided before the Taddhita affix, because the lopa-elision being asiddha (VI 4 22 S 2183) and also by I 1 57 S 50 sthânivat, would have prevented the application of the rule VI 4 144 S 679 ordaining the elision of the final syllable So the form would have been some thing like हास्तिनिकम् instead of हास्तिकम् ॥ Why do we say' with the exception of ढ'? Observe रौहिणेय the masculine being रोहित ॥ To रोहित is added ङीप् and त् changed to न by IV 1, 39 S 496 and we have रोहिणी ॥ Had there been punvad bhâva, रौहितेय would have been the form The ढ taken here is the ढ of the sûtra IV 1 120 S 1123 and not the ढक् of IV 2 33 S 1236 Thus आग्नेय (= अग्नायी देवता अस्य स्थालीपाकस्य) ॥

The word सपत्नी has three meanings (1) Formed by adding ङीष् under शार्ङ्गरवादि class to सपत्न meaning 'an enemy' सपत्नी 'a female enemy' (2) a co-wife, समान पतिर्यस्या । It shows marital relation, and is *always* feminine, having no corresponding masculine (3) where पति means 'lord' (not *husband*) and that सपत्नी has a corresponding masculine It means a female servant of the same master The first two take the अण् of शिवादि As सपत्न्या अपत्य = सापत्न 'the son of a female enemy or of a co-wife" In the case of the third, the affix will be ण्य, and not अण् because शिवादि अण् applies to rudhi words only, and not to the yougika word Its form will be सापत्य ॥

Vârt —The masculine change takes place before the affixes ठक् and छस् ॥ As भवत्या छात्रा = भावत्का, भवदीया ॥ This Vârtika and the sûtra एकतद्धिते च (VI 3 62 S 1000) need not have been made Because the result obtained by these could be got by the general rule (*ishti*) of the Bhâsyakâra (Patanjali) "there is masculation of sarvanamans whenever they take part in any grammatical function" As (1) सर्वमय (2) सर्वकाम्यति, (3) सर्विकाभार्या यस्य स = सर्वकभार्य In spite of VI 3 37 S 838 (4) सर्वप्रिय &c In the first the

affix is त्यप् which is not included in Tasiladi class of this sutra, and yet it causes masculation The third would not have become masculine by VI 3 34 because VI 3 37 S 838 would have prevented it

So also सर्वप्रिय in spite of the exception of VI 3 34 S 881 with regard to प्रिय &c That exception finds its scope in examples like रूपवतीप्रिय &c

If a sarvanâman always becomes masculine in every grammatical function, it ought to be so when it stands as a second member of a compound, as in तदितरा and तदन्या ॥ Here इतरा and अन्या ought to become masculine But it is not so, because the rule applies to the first (pûrva) member of the compound When a pronominal is a *first* member of a compound then it becomes masculine and not when it is the last term This we infer from the implication of VII 3 47 S 466 That sûtra contains two pronominals एषा and द्वा and if they were to become masculine even in Taddhita function (i e when क is added) there would have been no scope for the इ of that sutra Hence there is this inference that a sarvanama does not necessarily become masculine before अकच् or in ekasesha, as सर्विका with akach, and सर्वाः plural being eka sesha

Vart —The words कुक्कुटी &c become masculine before अण्ड &c as, कुक्कुट्या अण्ड = कुक्कुटाण्डम् ॥ मृग्या पदं = मृगपदम्, मृग्या क्षीर = मृगक्षीरम्, काक्या शाव = काकशाव ॥ This rule need not be made, as the first member in these compounds may be considered as class denoting words of common gender

८३७ । क्यङ्मानिनोश्च । ६ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एतयो परत पुंवत । एनीवाचरति एतायते । श्येनीवाचरति श्येतायते । स्वमिन्ना कान्विदर्शनीया मन्यते दर्शनीयमानिनी । दर्शनीया स्त्रिय मन्यते दर्शनीयमानी चैत्र ॥

837 A feminine word not ending in ऊङ् and having an equivalent and uniform masculine, is changed in to masculine before the Denominative क्यङ् and the affix मानिन् ॥

Thus from एनी—एतायते, श्येनी—श्येतायते ॥ मानिन —दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्या "He esteems her as handsome" दर्शनीयमानिनीयमस्या (इयम् अस्या) "She esteems her (some one else other than herself) as handsome" The word मानिन् is employed for the sake of non-feminine and non-appositional words Thus non feminine words —दर्शनीया मन्यते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानी अयमस्या ॥ For non-appositional words —as, दर्शनीया मन्यते देवदत्ता यज्ञदत्ता = दर्शनीयमानिनी इयमस्या ॥

Note —The affix क्यङ् is added under III 1 11 S 2665 Thus in एनीवाचरति, श्येनीवाचरति, the feminine words एनी and श्येनी become एत and श्येत ॥ The lengthening takes place by VII 4 25 S 2298 and we have एता and श्येता ॥

The word मानिन् is separately used in the sutra, in order to indicate that the rule applies even to non appositional words and non-feminine (masculine) words , which was not the case under the last sutra

८३८ । न कोपधायाः । ६ । ३ । ३७ ॥

कोपधाया स्त्रिया न पुंवत् । पाचिकाभार्यः । रसिकाभार्यः । मद्रिकायते । मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ कोपधप्रतिषेधे तद्धित वुग्रहणम् * नेह । पाका भार्या यस्य स पाकभार्यः ॥

838 A Feminine word having a penultimate क् does not assume the Masculine form

Thus पाचिकाभार्यः, रसिकाभार्यः, मद्रिकायते, मद्रिकामानिनी ॥ This rule is an exception to all the previous rules VI 3 34—36 and not only to VI 3 34

Vart —The rule applies to the क of the affix वु and the Taddhita क and not to every क ॥ Therefore the masculine transformation takes place here पाकभार्यः (पाका भार्या यस्य) ॥ The word पाका means "young" and is formed by the Unâdi affix क (Un V 53) This is neither a Taddhita क nor a क of वु affix

८३९ । संज्ञापूरण्योश्च । ६ । ३ । ३८ ॥

अनयोर्न पुंवत् ।दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी । दानक्रियानिमित्त स्त्रिया पुंसि च संज्ञाभूतत्वोऽयमिति भाषितपुंस्कत्वमस्ति । पञ्चमीभार्यः । पञ्चमीपाशा ॥

839 The feminine is not changed to masculine, when it is a Name or an Ordinal Numeral.

Thus दत्ताभार्यः । दत्तामानिनी ॥ The word दत्ता is a Bhâshita punsa word, for both men and women can become objects, of the verb दा to give ', so दत्ता has a corresponding masculine noun दत्त, though both may be proper Names So also पञ्चमीभार्यः and पञ्चमीपाशा ॥ Here the affix पाशप् is added by याप्येपाशप् (V 3 47 S 1993)

८४० । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्यारक्तविकारे । ६ । ३ । ३९ ॥

वृद्धिशब्देन विहिता या वृद्धिस्तद्धेतुर्यस्तद्धिताऽरक्तविकारार्थस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । स्रौघ्नीभार्यः । माथुरीयते । माथुरीमानिनी । वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य किम् । मध्यमभार्यः । तद्धितस्य किम् । काण्डलावभार्यः । वृद्धिशब्देन किम् । तावद्भार्यः ॥ रक्ते तु ॥ काषायी पन्था यस्य स काषायपन्थः । विकारे तु हैमी मुद्रिका यस्येति हैममुद्रिक । वृद्धिशब्देन वृद्धिं प्रति फलोपधानाभावादिह पुंवत् । वैयाकरणभार्यः । सौवश्वभार्यः ॥

840 The feminine is not changed into Masculine, when it is formed by such a Taddhita affix which causes the

Vriddhi of the first syllable, by its own force by the employment of the term Vriddhi, with the exception however of the Taddhitas meaning 'colored therewith', and 'made there of'

Thus सौघ्नीभार्य, माथुरायते, and माथुरीमानिनी ॥

Why do we say 'which causes Vriddhi'? Observe मध्यमभार्य ॥ मध्ये भवा = मध्यमा formed by the affix म IV 3 8 S 1378 which does not cause Vriddhi Why do we say 'of a Taddhita'? Observe काण्डलावभार्य (काण्ड लुनाति = काण्डलावी with अण् (कर्मण्यण्) and ङीप् ॥ Why do we say when not meaning 'colored there with' or 'made there of'? Observe कषायेण रक्ता = काषायी, काषायी कन्था यस्य = काषायकन्थ, हेमस्य विकारो हैमी, हैमीमुद्रिका = हैममुद्रिक (IV 3 140 S 1520) What do we mean "by the phrase by the employment of the term वृद्ध"? The word वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य should be explained as a Bahuvrihi, and not a Tatpurusha, i e a taddhita affix, in which there is an element like ण् or ञ् or क् &c which causes Vriddhi Therefore this exception does not apply to तावद्भार्य (तावती भार्या यस्य) ॥ Here the affix वतुप् V 2 39 S 1840 added to तद् does not cause Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi, but by VI 3 91 S 430 which says 'आ is substituted for the final of a pronoun before वतु" ॥ Though आ is a Vriddhi letter, it is ordained here not by employing the term Vriddhi, but simply as आ ॥

But in वैयाकरणभार्य "He whose wife is a grammarian", and सौवश्वभार्य "whose wife is the daughter of a good horseman" there is masculine substitution, because there is absence of the result of Vriddhi by using the word Vriddhi The word निमित्त in the sûtra denotes "causing or producing the result or fruit" Now when तदधीते तद्वेद अण् (IV 2 59 S 1269) is added to व्याकरण, and तस्यापत्य अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) is added to स्वश्व, there would be Vriddhi of the first syllable, but that is debarred by VII 3 3 S 1098 which says —"Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows य् or व्, but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before the semivowels" Thus though the Taddhita अण् would cause Vriddhi, the fruit is not actually produced, hence the rule does not apply in वैयाकरणी भार्या यस्य, and सौवश्वी भार्या यस्य ॥

८४१ । स्वाङ्गाच्चेत । ६ । ३ । ४० ॥

स्वाङ्गाद्य ईकारस्तदन्ता स्त्री न पुंवत् । सुकेशीभार्य । स्वाङ्गात्किम् । पटुभार्य । ईत किम् । अकेशभार्य ॥ अमानिनीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सुकेशमानिनी ॥

841 A feminine in ई ending in the name of a part of body, does not become masculine

Thus सुकेशीभार्य । Why do we say 'the name of a part of body'? Observe पटुभार्य (पटु not denoting any bodily member) Why do we say 'a feminine in ई? Observe अकेशभार्य (अकेशा भार्या, not ending in long ई) ॥

Vartika —There is an exception when the word मानिन follows Thus सुकेशमानिनी ॥

८४२ । जातेश्च । ६ । ३ । ४१ ॥

जाते परो य स्त्रीप्रत्ययस्तदन्त न पुंवत् । शूद्राभार्य । ब्राह्मणी भार्य ॥ सौत्रस्यैवाय निषेध । तेन हस्तिनीनां समूहो हास्तिकमित्यत्र + भस्याढे—इति तु भवत्येव ॥

842 A feminine noun expressing jâti (and ending in a feminine affix) does not become masculine

Thus शूद्राभार्य, ब्राह्मणीभार्य ॥

The exception does not apply to हस्तिनीनां समूह = हास्तिकम् for the prohibition applies to the feminines formed by affixes, and not to Taddhitas Here the vârtika भस्याढे given under VI 3 35 S 836 will apply of course

८४३ । सङ्ख्ययाऽव्ययासन्नादूराधिकसङ्ख्याः सङ्ख्येये । २ । २ । २५ ॥

सङ्ख्येयार्थया सङ्ख्ययाऽव्ययादय समस्यन्ते स बहुव्रीहि । दशाना समीप ये सन्ति ते उपदशा नव एकादश वेत्यर्थ । बहुव्रीहौ सङ्ख्येयेति वक्ष्यमाणो डच् ॥

843 Indeclinable words and the words âsanna 'near,' adûra 'near,' adhika more' and the words called sankhyâ (Numerals) are compounded with another sankhyâ word, when the sense is that of a numeral or sankhyâ The compound is Bahuvrîhi

Thus उपदशा (V 4 73 S 851) those who are near ten *i e* nine or eleven' Similarly उपविंशा 'nineteen or twenty-one' (VI 4 142 S 844)
By V 4, 73 S 851, the affix डच् comes after a Bahuvrihi compound denoting numeral

८४४ । ति विंशतेर्डिति । ६ । ४ । १४२ ॥

विंशतेर्भस्य तिशब्दस्य लोप स्याड्डिति । आसन्नविंशा । विंशतेरासन्ना इत्यर्थ । अदूरविंशा । अधिकचत्वारिंशा । द्वौ वा त्रयो वा द्वित्रा । द्विरावृत्ता दश द्विदशा । विंशतिरित्यर्थ ॥

844 Of the Bha stem विंशति before an affix having an indicatory ड, the ति is elided

Thus आसन्नविंशा 'nineteen or twentyone', अदूरत्रिंशा 'twenty nine or thirty one', अधिकचत्वारिंशा 'forty-one'

So also two 'numerals' may be compounded, as, द्वित्रा 'two or three' द्विदशा 'twenty'

८४५ । दिङ्नामान्यन्तराले । २ । २ । २६ ॥

दिशो नामान्यन्तराले वाच्ये प्राग्वत् । दक्षिणस्याः पूर्वस्याश्च दिशोऽन्तरालं दक्षिणपूर्वा । नामग्रहणाद्यौगिकानां न । ऐन्द्र्याश्च कौबेर्याश्चान्तरालं दिक् ॥

845 Words which are the names of the points of the compass are compounded, when the compound signifies the intermediate point, and the compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi

Thus दक्षिणपूर्वादिक् dakshina pûrvâ, 'south east,' (the direction midway between south and east) पूर्वोत्तरा 'north east'

The word नाम is introduced in the sutra in order to indicate that no compounding takes place, when the words denoting direction are derivative words, whose primary signification is not indicative of direction, as ऐन्द्र्याश्चकौबेर्याश्च दिशोर्यदन्तरालम् 'the point between east and north' Here the words ऐन्द्री 'east' and कौबेरी 'north' though denoting directions, are derivatively so, and hence no compounding

८४६ । तत्र तेनेदमिति सरूपे । २ । २ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्यन्ते ग्रहणविषये सरूपे पदे तृतीयान्ते च प्रहरणविषये इदं युद्धं प्रवृत्तमित्यर्थे समस्येते कर्मव्यतिहारे द्योत्ये स बहुव्रीहिः । इतिशब्दादस्य विषयविशेषो लभ्यते ॥

846 Two homonymous words both being in the locative case or both being in the instrumental case, are compounded, the sense being 'this happens, therein or with that' The compound so formed is Bahuvrîhi

The word तत्र means 'a word in the locative case and तेन 'a word in the instrumental case' The word सरूप or 'similar form' applies to both The word इति indicates that the meaning of the compound so formed should be learned from popular usage, therefore it means, 'seizing, striking, fighting' All these senses are implied by इति ॥ The word is exhibited in the locative case, if the sense is that of *seizing*, and the word is exhibited

in the instrumental case, when the sense is that of *striking* the word indicated by the word इदमिति is युद्ध ॥ Now applies the following sûtra —

८४६ क । अन्येषामपि दृश्यते । ६ । ३ । १३७ ॥

दीर्घ इत्यनुवर्तते । इचि कर्मव्यतिहारे बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वपदान्तस्य दीर्घ । इच् समासान्तो वक्ष्यते । तिष्ठद्गुप्रभृतिष्विच्प्रत्ययस्य पाठादव्ययीभावत्वमव्ययत्व च । केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वेद युद्ध प्रवृत्त केशाकेशि । दण्डैर्दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्येद युद्ध प्रवृत्त दण्डादण्डि । मुष्टीमुष्टि ॥

846 A The elongation of the final is to be found in other words also

(This sûtra is taught in S 3539 also)

The word *dîrgha* is understood in this sûtra from the preceding Ashtâdhâyî sutra VI 3 111 The final of the prior member in a Bahuvrîhi compound is lengthened, before the samâsânta affix इच् when reciprocity of action is meant The sâmâsânta इच् will be taught later on (V 4 127 S 866) The इच् affix is read in the Tishthadga class (II 1 17 S 671) and so these compounds are Avyayîbhâvas and Indeclinables

As केशेषुकेशेषु च गृहीत्वा इद युद्धप्रवृत्त = केशाकेशि 'hair to hair, fighting by pulling each other's hair', दण्डैश्च दण्डैश्च प्रहृत्य इद युद्धप्रवृत्त = दण्डादण्डि 'stick against stick, fight with stick and stave' so also मुष्टी मुष्टि ॥

८४७ । ओर्गुण । ६ । ४ । १४६ ॥

उवर्णान्तस्य भस्य गुण स्यात्तद्धिते । अवादेश । बाहूबाहवि । ओरोदिति वक्तव्ये गुणोक्ति सज्ञापूर्वको विधिरनित्य इति ज्ञापयितुम् । तेन स्वायम्भुवमित्यादि सिद्धम् । सरूपे इति किम् । हलेन मुसलेन ॥

847 For उ or ऊ of a bha stem there is substituted Guna, before a Taddhita affix

Thus बाहूबाहवि "hand to hand' Instead of making the sûtra simpler by saying ओरोत् 'let ओ be substituted for उ or ऊ' the employment of the technical phrase गुण in the aphorism indicates the existence of the following maxim सज्ञा पूर्वको विधिरनित्य "A rule is not universally valid, when that which is taught in it is denoted by a technical term' The present sûtra is, therefore, anitya and we have forms like स्वायभुव from स्वयभू without guna See VII 4 30 also

Why do we say in the preceding sûtra S 846 सरूपे 'having the same form'? We cannot form such a compound from the following हलैश्च मुसलैश्च प्रहृत्य इद युद्ध वृत्तम् ॥

८४८ । तेन सहेति तुल्ययोगे । २ । २ । २८ ॥

तुल्ययोगे वर्तमानं सहेत्येतत्तृतीयान्तेन प्राग्वत् ॥

848 The word saha 'together' is compounded with a word ending with the third case-affix and the compound is Bahuvrîhi, provided that, the companion and the person accompanied are equally affected by any action or thing, in the same manner

Thus सह + पुत्रेण ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which सह is changed to स ॥

८४९ । वोपसर्जनस्य । ६ । ३ । ८२ ॥

बहुव्रीह्यवयवस्य सहस्य सः स्याद्वा । पुत्रेण सह सपुत्रः सहपुत्रो वा आगतः । तुल्ययोगवचनं प्रायिकम् । सकर्मकः । सलोमकः ॥

849 स is optionally the substitute of सह, when the compound is a Bahuvrîhi

That compound in which all members are secondary—उपसर्जन—is a सर्वोपसर्जन, and the Bahuvrîhi is such a compound, because in it all the members are secondary, the Principal being understood, Thus पुत्रेणसह = सपुत्र or सहपुत्र आगत ॥

Note —Why do we say of a Bahuvrîhi? Observe सहयुध्वा, सहकृत्वा ॥ The substitution does not however take place in a Bahuvrîhi like सहकृत्वप्रिय or सहयुध्वप्रिय ॥
How do we get the forms like सकर्मक सलोमक सपक्षक &c in which there is no 'tulya-yoga'? It shows that this condition is of limited operation (तुल्य योगवचन प्रायिक) ॥

Note —Thus सह पुत्रेणागत = सपुत्र (VI 3 82, सह changed to स) he has come accompanied by his son' सच्छात्र 'accompanied by the pupil' सकर्मकर 'accompanied by the servant'

Why do we say 'tulya yoga'? Witness सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी 'the she ass carries the whole burden, though there exist her ten sons

८५० । प्रकृत्याशिषि । ६ । ३ । ८३ ॥

सहशब्दः प्रकृत्या स्यादाशिषि । स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय सहामात्याय ॥ अगोवत्सहलेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ सगवे । सवत्साय । सहलाय ॥

850 The word सह retains its original form, when the sentence denotes benediction

Thus स्वस्ति राज्ञे सहपुत्राय, सहामात्याय ॥

Vârtika —But optionally so when it is गो, वत्स or हल —as, स्वस्ति भवते सहगवे or सगवे, सहवत्साय or सवत्साय, सहहलाय, or सहलाय ॥

८५१ । बहुव्रीहौ सङ्ख्येये डजबहुगणात् । ५ । ४ । ७३ ॥

सङ्ख्येये यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्माड्डच् स्यात् । उपदशाः । अबहुगणात्किम् । उपबहवः । उपगणाः । अच्स्येद विशेष ॥ सङ्ख्यायास्तत्पुरुषस्य वाच्य * ॥ निर्गतानि त्रिंशतो निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य । निर्गतस्त्रिंशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्यो निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः ॥

851 The affix dach comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound denoting numeral, except when the last term of such compound is bahu and gaṇa.

This Bahuvrîhi is formed by rule II 2 25 S 843 Thus उपदशाः ॥

Note —Why do we say 'denoting a numeral ? Observe चित्रगु , शबलगु ॥

Why do we say 'not after bahu and gana" ? Observe उपबहवः, उपगणाः ॥ The difference here is in the accent, for had डच been added, it would have made the final of उपगण acute by चित् accent (VI 1 163 S 3710) but it not being so, the first member retains its accent, namely acute on the first

Vârt — The Tatpurusha compounds of numerals like निस्त्रिंश &c, take also the affix डच् ॥ Thus निर्गतानि त्रिंशतः = निस्त्रिंशानि वर्षाणि चैत्रस्य 'Chaitra is more than thirty years old' निर्गतस्त्रिंशतोऽङ्गुलिभ्यः = निस्त्रिंशः खड्गः 'the sword is more than thirty fingers long'

८५२ । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः स्वाङ्गात्षच् । ५ । ४ । ११३ ॥

व्यत्ययेन षष्ठी । स्वाङ्गवाचिसक्थ्यक्ष्यन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेः षच् स्यात् । दीर्घे सक्थिनी यस्य स दीर्घसक्थः । जलजाक्षी । स्वाङ्गात्किम् ॥ दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्षा वेणुयष्टिः । अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनादित्यच् ॥

852 The affix shach comes after the words sakthi and akshi, final in a Bahuvrîhi compound and denoting a portion of one's body.

Thus दीर्घे सक्थिनी यस्य = दीर्घसक्थः, so also जलजाक्षी Why do we say "when denoting a part of the body ?" Observe दीर्घसक्थि शकटम् । स्थूलाक्षा वेणुयष्टिः ॥ The affix अच् is added by V 4 76 S 944

Note —The word सक्थ्यक्ष्णोः is genitive dual while it ought to be ablative Why do we say "in a Bahuvrîhi compound"? Observe परमसक्थि, परमाक्षि ॥ Why do we say "after sakthi and akshi? Observe दीर्घजानु, सुबाहु ॥

The new affix षच् is employed instead of टच् for the sake of the accent Thus चक्रसक्थी स्त्री, दीर्घसक्थी स्त्री ॥ By sutra IV I 41 S 498 the feminine of words ending in an affix having an indicatory ष् is formed by ङीष् and not ङीप् ॥ Had the affix here been टच्, then the feminine would have been formed by ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470), which is anudatta (III 1 4) Now by rule VI 2 198 S 3932 the second term 'saktha' has *optionally* udatta accent, on the final in a Bahuvrihi When therefore it is not oxytone, then by adding ङीप् the final of दीर्घसक्थी would have been anudâtta so that the feminine in one case would be oxytone in the other not, which would be anomalous But when ङीष् is added, it is *always* udatta, which is desired and removes the anomaly The anuvritti of Bahuvrihi extends up to the end of the chapter

८५३ । अङ्गुलेर्दारुणि । ५ । ४ । ११४ ॥

अङ्गुल्यन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेः षच् स्याद्दार्वर्थे । पञ्चाङ्गुलयो यस्य तत्पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु । अङ्गुलिसदृशावयवं धान्यादिविक्षेपणकाष्ठमुच्यते । बहुव्रीहेः किम् । द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्या द्व्यङ्गुला यष्टिः । तद्धितार्थे तत्पुरुषे तत्पुरुषस्याङ्गुलेरित्यच् । दारुणि किम् । पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

853 The affix shach comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in the word anguli, when the compound means "a piece of wood"

Thus पञ्चाङ्गुलं दारु ॥ This is the name of a wooden fork, of the figure of five fingers by which barley &c are scattered.

Why do we say 'in a Bahuvrîhi"? Observe द्व्यङ्गुला यष्टिः = द्वे अङ्गुली प्रमाणमस्याः ॥ It is a Tatpurusha compound formed by V 4 86 S 786 by adding अच् as samâsânta affix, the anguli meaning here *size* and not *figure.* Why do we say "when meaning a wood"? Observe पञ्चाङ्गुलिर्हस्तः ॥

८५४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां ष मूर्ध्नः । ५ । ४ । ११५ ॥

आभ्यां मूर्ध्नः षः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ नेतुर्नक्षत्रे अब्वक्तव्यः * मृगो नेता यासां ताः मृगनेत्रा रात्रयः । पुष्यनेत्राः ॥

854 The affix sha comes after a Bahuvrîhi compound ending in mûrdhan, and preceded by dvi and tri

Thus द्विमूर्धः । त्रिमूर्धः ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष् and the accent is regulated by VI 2 197.

Note —Why do we say "preceded by dvi and tri ?" Observe द्वैमूर्धा ॥

Vart —The affix अप् comes after नेतृ when preceded by a word denoting asterism As मृगनेत्रा रात्रय = मृगो नेता आसां रात्रीणां "the night whose leader is the asterism mriga", so also पुष्यनेत्रा ॥

Note—Why do we say "an asterism" ? Observe देवदत्तनेतृका ॥

८५५ । अन्तर्बहिर्भ्यां च लोम्नः । ५ । ४ । ११७ ॥

आभ्यां लोम्नोऽप्स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । अन्तर्लोम । बहिर्लोम ॥

855 The affix ap comes after a Bahuvrîhi ending in loman and preceded by antar and bahis

Thus अन्तर्गतानि लोमान्यस्य = अन्तर्लोम प्रावार 'a cloak having the hairy surface inside' Similarly बहिर्लोम पट ॥

८५६ । अञ् नासिकाया संज्ञायां नसं चास्थूलात् । ५ । ४ । ११८ ॥

नासिकान्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरच् स्यात् नासिकाशब्दश्च नस प्राप्नोति नतु स्थूलपूर्वात् ॥

856 The affix ach is added to the word nâsikâ final in a Bahuvrîhi, when it expresses a Name, where by nas is substituted for nâsikâ, but not so when the word sthûla precedes the word nâsikâ

Thus द्रु + नासिका = द्रु + नासिका + अच् = द्रु + नस् + अच् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra by which न is changed to ण ॥

८५७ । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामगः । ८ । ४ । ३ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नस्य णः स्यात्संज्ञायां नतु गकारव्यवधाने । द्रुरिव नासिकाऽस्य द्रुणस । खरणस । अग किम् । ऋचामयन ऋगयनम् । अणृगयनादिभ्य इति निपातनात् णत्वाभावमाश्रित्य अग इति प्रत्याख्यात भाष्ये । अस्थूलात्किम् स्थूलनासिक । खुरखराभ्यां वा नस् * ॥ खुरणा । खरणा ॥ पक्षे अजपीष्यते ॥ खुरणस खरणस ॥

857 So also, न is replaced by ण्, when the letter occasioning the substitution, occurs in the first member of a compound, and the whole compound is a Name, provided that, the first member does not end with the letter ग ॥

Thus द्रुरिव नासिकाऽस्य = द्रुणस । खरणस ॥

Why do we say "when a Name"? Observe, चर्मनासिकः ॥

Why do we say when 'not ending in the letter ग ? Observe, ऋगयनम् ॥

In the Mahâbhashya, Patanjali has shown that the word अग is superfluous in the sûtra for the non change of न to ण in ऋगयन can be established by the nipâtana of IV 3 73 S 1452, where Pânini himself has used the word ऋगयन showing that न is not changed to ण ॥

Why do we say in 856 'not after स्थूल?" Observe स्थूलनासिको वराहः ॥

Vart —After the words खुर, and खर, for नासिका is substituted नस् but no affix is added as, खुरणाः, खरणाः ॥

Vârtika —In the alternative affix अच् is added, as खुरणसः, खरणसः ॥

Ishti —The forms शितिना, अर्चना and अहिना are valid in the Revelation (the Vedas)

८५८ । उपसर्गाच्च । ५ । ४ । ११९ ॥

प्रादेर्यो नासिकाशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरच् नासिकाया नसादेशश्च । असंज्ञार्थं वचनम् । उन्नता नासिका यस्य स उन्नसः । उपसर्गादनोत्परः इति सूत्रं तद्भङ्क्त्वा भाष्यकार आह ॥

858 The affix ach comes after the word nâsikâ final in a Bahuvrîhi, when an upasarga precedes it, and नस् is substituted for नासिका ॥

This rule applies where the word is not a sañjñâ, as it was in the last. Thus उन्नता नासिकाऽस्य = उन्नसः ॥

The next sûtra is not the sûtra as given by Pânini His sûtra is उपसर्गादनोत्परः "after an Upasarga, the न of नस् when not preceded by or followed by an ओ, is changed into ण्" ॥ There being several objections to this rule, the following is substituted as an amendment, in the Mahâbhâshya

Note —For ओत्परः may have two meanings —(1) ओकारात् परः, that which comes after ओ, (2) ओकारः परोऽस्मात् that which is followed by ओ ॥ In both cases the rule is objectionable In the first case, the ण change would be required in प्रनो मुञ्चतु, in the second case, there should be no ण change in प्रणार्वनिर्वता ॥

In fact, we find in the Vedas प्रण as well as प्रन, so also प्रणो as well as प्रनो ॥ Hence the necessity of this amendment

८५९ । उपसर्गाद्बहुलम् । ८ । ४ । २८ ॥

उपसर्गस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य नसो नस्य णः स्याद्बहुलम् । प्रणसः ॥ वेर्ग्रो वक्तव्यः * ॥ विगता नासिकाऽस्य विग्रः ॥ ख्यश्च * ॥ विख्यः । कथं तर्हि विनसा हतबान्धवेति भट्टिः । विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षितेति व्याख्येयम् ॥

859 The न of नस् is changed diversely into ण, when it comes after an upasarga having a cause of change

Thus प्रणसः

Vart —The ग्र is substituted for नासिका when वि precedes it, As, विगतानासिकाऽस्य = विग्रः ॥ *Vārt* —So also विख्य in the same sense

How do you explain the form विनसा in the following line of Bhatti — "विनसा हतबान्धवा" It should be explained as विगतया नासिकयोपलक्षिता ॥ Here विनसा is not in the Nominative case, but is Instrumental singular of विनस् where नस् is substituted for नासिका by VI 1 63 S. 228.

Thus प्रणसः प्रणो राजा ॥ The change does not sometime take place, as, प्र नो मुञ्चतम् ॥

By force of the word बहुलम् the rule applies to secular literature also, as distinguished from the Chhandas or sacred Vedic text Thus प्रणस् मुख ॥ The word छन्दसि does not govern this sûtra

In प्रणस मुखम्, the word नस् is the substitute for नासिका and means 'nose' See V 4. 119. S. 858

८६० । सुप्रातसुश्वसुदिवशारिकुक्षचतुरश्रैणीपदाजपदप्रोष्ठपदाः । ५ । ४ । १२० ॥

एते बहुव्रीहावच्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते । शोभनं प्रातरस्य सुप्रातः । शोभनं श्वोऽस्य सुश्वः । शोभनं दिवाऽस्य सुदिवः । शारेरिव कुक्षिरस्य शारिकुक्षः । चतस्रोऽश्रयोऽस्य चतुरश्रः । एण्या इव पादावस्य एणीपदः । अजपदः । प्रोष्ठो गौः तस्येव पादावस्य प्रोष्ठपदः ॥

860 The following Bahuvrîhis are irregularly formed by adding ach —su-prâta, su-śva, sudiva, śârikuksha, chaturaśra, eni-pada, aja-pada, and proshtha-pada.

In some of the above compounds the टि (syllable) is elided शोभनं प्रातरस्य = सुप्रात शोभनं श्वोऽस्य = सुश्व शोभनं दिवाऽस्यै = सुदिव ॥ शारीरिव कुक्षिरस्य = शारिकुक्ष, चतस्रो ऽश्रयोऽस्य = चतुरश्र, एण्या इव पादावस्य = एणीपद, So अजपद, गोधा means 'cow' तस्येव पादावस्य = गोधापद 'whose feet are like cows"

८६१ । नञ्दुः सुभ्यो हलिसक्थ्योरन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । १२१ ॥

अच् स्यात् । अहल । अहलि । असक्थ । असक्थि । एवं दुःसुभ्याम् । शक्त्योरिति पाठान्तरम् । अशक्त । अशक्ति ॥

861 The affix ach comes optionally after the words hali and sakthi, final in a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by a Negative particle or by the words dus and su

Thus अविद्यमाना हलिरस्य = अहल or अहलि, दुर्हल or दुर्हलि, सुहल or सुहलि ॥ So also असक्थः, असक्थि, दुःसक्थ or दुःसक्थि, सुसक्थ or सुसक्थि ॥

Some read the text as हलिशक्त्योः ॥ According to this reading we have अशक्ति or अशक्त, दुःशक्ति or दुःशक्त (विरूपा शक्तिरस्य), सुशक्ति or सुशक्त ॥

८६२ । नित्यमसिच् प्रजामेधयोः । ५ । ४ । १२२ ॥

नञ्दुःसुभ्य इत्येव । अप्रजाः । दुष्प्रजाः । सुप्रजाः । अमेधाः । दुर्मेधाः । सुमेधाः ॥

862 The affix asich (अस्) comes invariably after prajâ and medhâ, final in a Bahuvrîhi, when the above particles नञ्, सु and दुस् precede them.

Thus अविद्यमाना प्रजाऽस्य = अप्रजाः, so also दुष्प्रजाः, सुप्रजाः, अमेधाः, दुर्मेधाः, सुमेधाः ॥

Note —The word "invariably" (नित्य) shows that the anuvritti of the word "optionally" of the last sutra does not run here The word nitya also indicates that the affix *ach* comes after prajâ and medhâ even when preceded by other words. As the word अल्पमेधस in the following

श्रीनियस्यैव तं राजन्मन्दकस्याल्पमेधस ।
अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

Note —The इ of असिच् is for the sake of pronunciation and to make the stem before it भ ॥ Therefore in सुप्रजसौ the आ is elided by यस्येति च ॥ (VI 4 148 S 311) According to Kâs kâ the base is अप्रजस्, &c

८६३ । धर्मादनिच्केवलात् । ५ । ४ । १२४ ॥

केवलात्पूर्वपदात्परो यो धर्मशब्दस्तदन्ताद्बहुव्रीहेरनिच् स्यात् । कल्याणधर्मा । केवलात्किम् । परमः स्वो धर्मो यस्येति त्रिपदे बहुव्रीहौ मा भूत् । स्वशब्दो हीह न केवलं पूर्वपदं किंतु मध्यमत्वात्सापेक्षं च । सन्दिग्धसाध्यधर्मेत्यादौ तु कर्मधारयपूर्वपदो बहुव्रीहिः । एवं तु परमस्वधर्मेत्यपि साध्वेव । निवृत्तिधर्मा अनुच्छित्तिधर्मेत्यादिवत् । पूर्वपदं तु बहुव्रीहिणाक्षिप्यते ॥

863 The affix anich (अन्) comes after the word dharma, when it is the last member of a Bahuvrîhi compound, and (is itself the only word without any other word joined with it or) when the first member is a single word

Thus कल्याणो धर्मोऽस्य = कल्याणधर्मन् nom sin कल्याणधर्मा ॥ Why do we say केवलात् 'when it alone is the last member"? Observe परम स्वो धर्मोऽस्य = परमस्वधर्म ॥ Here the word स्व is not alone a pûrvapada but a middle term, also it is not an independent word, it is not a pûrvapada and pûrvapada only, but something else also The word केवलात् according to some qualifies the word पूर्वपद and according to others the uttarapada also That is the first member must be *one* word though a *compound* word, and they explain such forms as सन्दिग्धसाध्यधर्मा, निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा (e g अविनाशी वा अरेऽयमात्माऽनुच्छित्तिधर्मा) as valid According to Kaumudi the purvapadas like सन्दिग्धसाध्य are Karmadhâraya In this view परमस्वधर्मा is also valid and correct, like the words निवृत्तिधर्मा, अनुच्छित्तिधर्मा ॥ According to Prasâdakara केवलात् qualifies both the words धर्मात् and पूर्वपदात् ॥

Note —The necessity of अ in अनिच् is not very apparent The affix निच् would have served the purpose equally well for धर्म + निच् = धर्मन् ॥ But others say, that the word is not धर्म ending with a vowel, but धर्म् ending with a consonant It is formed by adding the affix क्विप् to the Denominative of the root derived from the noun धर्म by तत्करोति &c S 2573 √कव ॥ Therefore परमो धर्मो यस्य स परमधर्मा ॥ The word धर्म् though defective in one limb, is the same as धर्म for grammatical purposes, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् ॥ When in a Bahuvrihi compound, the last member is धर्म and the first member is a single word, then the affix अनिच् is added The word केवलात् qualifies the first member But the ancient Grammarians have made the last term also qualified by केवलात् ॥ The author of Prasada also has explained Kevalât as an adjective qualifying both the word dharma and the purvapada or the first member But both these are very problematic for there is no proof that the word kevalât should be so repeated as to qualify both the first term and the word dharma Moreover there is no necessity that the word dharma should be qualified by this term Kevalat For it cannot

be said that the word kevalât should qualify Dharma, in order to prevent the last term from being a compound word ending in dharma For in such a case, the word dharma does not stand as a member of a Bahuvrihi compound Therefore the word kevalât qualifies the purvapada only The purvapada must be a *single* word and not two or more words Therefore in परमस्वो धर्मो यस्य the Bahuvrihi will not be governed by this rule Because the word स्व is not here the only pûrvapada, but being in the middle is relative

८६४ । जम्भा सुहरिततृणसोमेभ्य । ५ । ४ । १२५ ॥

जम्भेति कृतसमासान्त निपात्यते । जम्भो भक्ष्ये दन्ते च । शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य सुजम्भा । हरितजम्भा । तृण भक्ष्य यस्य तृणमिव दन्ता यस्येति वा तृणजम्भा । सोमजम्भा । स्वाभ्यि किम् । पतितजम्भ ॥

864 The word "jambhan" stands at the end of a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by su, harita, trina, and soma

The जम्भन् is a word that has already taken the samâsânta affix अन् irregularly, and means 'food or 'tooth' Thus सुजम्भन् as (शोभनो जम्भोऽस्य), सुजम्भा देवदत्त so also हरितजम्भा, तृणजम्भा, (तृण भक्ष्य यस्य) सोमजम्भा ॥ When it means 'tooth,' the compound should be analysed as, तृणमिव or सोममिव जम्भोऽस्य॥ Why do we say when preceded by su &c? Observe पतितजम्भ ॥

८६५ । दक्षिणेर्मा लुब्धयोगे । ५ । ४ । १२६ ॥

दक्षिणे ईर्मं व्रण यस्य दक्षिणेर्मा मृग । व्याधेन कृतव्रण इत्यर्थ ॥

865 The form 'dakshinerman" is an irregularly formed Bahuvrîhi, when used in conjunction with a hunter

The word लुब्ध means व्याध or a fowler, a hunter Thus दक्षिणमीर्ममस्य = दक्षिणेर्मा मृग 'a stag wounded by the hunter on the right flank'

Note —But in the following verse —वाली हेमाङ्गमाली गुणनिधिरिपुणानिर्मितो दक्षिणेर्मा, it denotes merely hunting The word ईर्मम् means 'a wound' Why do we say 'in reference to a hunter'? Observe दक्षिणेर्मम् शकटम् ॥

८६६ । इच् कर्मव्यतिहारे । ५ । ४ । १२७ ॥

कर्मव्यतिहारे यो बहुव्रीहिस्तस्मादिच् स्यात्समासान्त । केशाकेशि । मुसलामुसलि ॥

866 The affix इच् comes after a Bahuvrîhi when the compound denotes the reciprocity of an action

The compound denoting reciprocity of action is formed by II 2 27 S 684 Thus केशाकेशि = केशेषु केशेषु गृहीत्वा इद युद्ध प्रवृत्त ॥ So also मुसलामुसलि ॥

The affix इच forms also avyayibhava compounds, as it occurs in the list of तिष्ठद्गु words II 1 17 S 671

८६७ । द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १२८ ॥

तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येषा । एषां सिद्ध्यर्थमिच् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । द्वौ दण्डौ यस्मिन्प्रहरणे तद् द्विदण्डि प्रहरणम् । द्विमुसलि । उभाहस्ति । उभयाहस्ति ॥

867 The words dvidandi &c, are valid forms in ich

The word द्विदण्ड्यादिभ्य is in the dative case, and not the Ablative case The dative here has the force of "for the purpose of that" (II 1 37 S 698) This word is therefore equal to द्विदण्ड्यर्थमिच् प्रत्ययो भवति "the affix इच comes for the sake of the words dvidandi &c," i e it comes in such a way, as to form the words dvidandi &c These words are used in fixed senses. Thus द्विदण्डि प्रहरति, द्विमुसलि प्रहरति, but not here, द्विदण्डा शाला ॥

Note —Though the context is that of Bahuvrihi, yet some of these words are Tatpurusha as निकुच्य कर्णौ धावति = निकुच्यकर्णि धावति ॥ प्रोह्य पादौ हस्तिनं वाहयति = प्रोह्यपादि हस्तिनं वाहयति ॥ The compounding takes place by II 1 72

1 द्विदण्डि, 2 द्विमुसलि, 3 उभाञ्जलि, 4 उभयाञ्जलि, 5 उभादन्ति, 6 उभयादन्ति, 7 उभाहस्ति, 8 उभयाहस्ति, 9 उभाकर्णि, 10 उभयाकर्णि, 11 उभापाणि, 12 उभयापाणि 13 उभाबाहु 14 उभयाबाहु, 15 एकपदि 16 प्रोह्यपदि, 17 आढ्यपदि, (आढ्यपदि), 18 सपदि, 19 निकुच्यकर्णि, 20 संहतपुच्छि, 21 अन्तेवासि ॥

८६८ । प्रसम्भ्यां जानुनोर्ज्ञुः । ५ । ४ । १२९ ॥

आभ्यां परयोर्जानुशब्दयोर्ज्ञुरादेशः स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । प्रगते जानुनी यस्य प्रज्ञुः । सञ्ज्ञुः ॥

868 After the words pra and sam, there is the substitution of jñu for jânu, when forming the Bahuvrîhi compound

Thus प्रगते जानुनी यस्य = प्रज्ञुः, So also सञ्ज्ञुः ॥

८६९ । ऊर्ध्वाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १३० ॥

ऊर्ध्वज्ञुः । ऊर्ध्वजानुः ॥

869 The substitution of jñu for jânu is optional, when the word ûrdhva precedes it

Thus ऊर्ध्वे जानुनी अस्य = ऊर्ध्वजानुः or ऊर्ध्वज्ञुः ॥

८७० । धनुषश्च । ५ । ४ । १३२ ॥

धनुरन्तस्य बहुव्रीहेरनङादेशः स्यात् । शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

870 The 'anan' is the substitute of the final of 'dhanus' in a Bahuvrîhi

As शार्ङ्गं धनुरस्य = शार्ङ्गधन्वन् nom s शार्ङ्गधन्वा ॥

८७१ । वा संज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३३ ॥

शतधन्वा । शतधनुः ॥

871 The substitution of अनङ् does not optionally take place when the Bahuvrîhi is a Name

This declares an option, where the last sûtra had made the substitution compulsory As शतधनु or शतधन्वा । दृढधनु or दृढधन्वा ॥

८७२ । जायाया निङ् । ५ । ४ । १३४ ॥

जायान्तस्य बहुव्रीहेर्निङादेशः स्यात् ॥

872 For the final of जाया is substituted निङ् in a Bahuvrîhi

Thus युवतिर्जायाऽस्य = युवति + जाया = युवति + जाय् + नि ॥ Now applies the following sûtra, by which य is elided before नि ॥

८७३ । लोपो व्योर्वलि । ६ । १ । ६६ ॥

वकारयकारयोर्लोपः स्याद्वलि । युवजानिः । युवतिर्जाया यस्य युवजानिः ॥

873 There is lopa-substitution (elision) of the व् and य् when followed by any consonant except य् ॥

Thus युवतिर्जाया यस्य = युवजानि (जाया + निङ् = जाय् + निङ् = जा + नि, the य् being elided by the present rule) So also वृद्धजानि ॥ There is punvad-bhâva also by which युवति (feminine) is changed to युव (masculine) ,

Note —The final व् or य् of any stem, be it a root or not, is elided by an affix &c, beginning with a वल् consonant i e any consonant except य् ॥ Thus दिव् + वसु (III 2 107) = दिव् + दिव् + वस् = दिदिवस् nom singular दिदिवान्, दिदिवांसौ, दिदिवांसः ॥ Thus ऊय् + त = ऊत, 'spun,' क्नूय् + त = क्नूत 'made a noise' So also the affix ढ्रक् comes after गोधा in forming patronymic (IV 1 129 S 1135) Of the affix ढ्रक्, ढ is replaced by एय् (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus गोधा + एय् + र = गौधेर (the य् of the *affix* being even elided before र)॥ So also in पचेरन् the य् of लिङ् (III 4 102 S 2255) is elided before रन् (III 4. 105 S 2256) So also व is elided in the following —from जीव—जीरदानु (by Unâdi affix जीवे रदानुक्) from स्रिव्—अस्रेमाणम् formed by the Unâdi

affix मनिन् with the negative अ ॥ There being diversity in the application of Unadi affixes (III 3 1 S 3169) there is not ऊठ् substitution for व् as required by VI 4 19

Why do we say ' before any consonant except य ?" Observe ऊय्यते, क्नूयते when य् is not elided Why the word लोप is placed first ? The elision of व् and ल् should take place prior to the elision of the aprikta व् taught in the next sutra Thus कण्डूय + क्विप् = कण्डू य् and व् (VI 1 48 S 2308) = कण्डू + व् = कण्डू ॥ So लोलूय × क्विप् = लोलू ॥ Why व् of व्रश्च is not elided before र् which is a वल consonant ? It is not elided, because it is so taught Had the elision of व् been intended, the root would have been enunciated as रश्च instead of व्रश्च ॥ If you say the व is taught for the sake of forms like वृश्चति by samprasârana, and वव्रश्च by reduplication, here also the 'lopa' would have applied, as being an Antaranga rule while samprasarana, and the elision of र् by हलादिशेष are Bahiranga

८७४ । गन्धस्येदुत्पूतिसुसुरभिभ्यः । ५ । ४ । १३५ ॥

एभ्यो गन्धस्य इकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यात् । उद्गन्धिः । पूतिगन्धिः । सुगन्धिः । सुरभिगन्धिः ॥ गन्धस्येत्वे तदेकान्तग्रहणम् * ॥ एकान्तः एकदेश इव अविभागेन लक्ष्यमाण इत्यर्थः । सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च । सुगन्धिर्वायुः । नेह —शोभना गन्धा द्रव्याण्यस्य सुगन्ध आपणिकः ॥

874 For the final of गन्ध is substituted इ, when preceded by उत्, पूति, सु and सुरभि in a Bahuvrihi

Thus the अ of गन्ध is replaced by इ, as उद्गन्धिः, पूतिगन्धिः, सुगन्धिः, सुरभिगन्धिः ॥

Note —Why after these only ? Observe तीव्रगन्धा वातः ॥

Vârt —The word गन्ध is a material noun as गन्धान् पिनष्टि, and an adjective, as चन्दनगन्धः 'having the scent of sandal' The rule of substitution applies when it is used as an attribute सुगन्धि पुष्पं सलिलं च, सुगन्धिर्वायुः ॥ But, not here, शोभना गन्धा द्रव्याणि अस्य = सुगन्धः आपणिकः 'a shopkeeper having many sweet perfumes for sale'

Note —The त् of इत् is for the sake of pronunciation only Some hold that इत् is an affix, and not a substitute (âdesa) In this view the final of गन्ध will be elided by यस्येति च (VI 4 148 S 311) The word *ekânta* in the vârtika means ' a portion," in short the rule applies when gandha is an attributive and not when it is a substantive Some explain *ekânta* by 'natural," *i e* when an object *naturally* possesses scent, and not when artificially scented Therefore not here आत्रायि वान् गन्धवह सुगन्ध ॥

८७५ । अल्पाख्यायाम् । ५ । ४ । १३६ ॥

सूपस्य गन्धो लेशो यस्मिंस्तत् सूपगन्धि भोजनम् । घृतगन्धि । गन्धो गन्धक आमोदे लेशे सम्बन्धगर्वयोरिति विश्वः ॥

875 The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrîhi compound, when गन्ध means 'a little'

Thus सूपोऽल्पोऽस्मिन्=सूपगन्धि भोजनम् "food with a little broth" So घृतगन्धि "food with a little—a mere scent-of ghee' Here गन्ध is a synonym of अल्प ॥

According to Viswakosha, Gandha means 'sulphur,' 'delight' (i e scent), 'a little particle,' 'connection or relationship,' and 'pride' or 'arrogance'

८७६ । उपमानाच्च । ५ । ४ । १३७ ॥

पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य पद्मगन्धि ॥

876 The इ is substituted for the final अ of गन्ध at the end of a Bahuvrîhi, when preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared

As पद्मस्येव गन्धोऽस्य=पद्मगन्धि, उत्पलगन्धि, करीषगन्धि ॥

८७७ । पादस्य लोपोऽहस्त्यादिभ्य । ५ । ४ । १३८ ॥

हस्त्यादिवर्जितादुपमानात्परस्य पादशब्दस्य लोप स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । स्यानिद्वारेणाय समासान्त । व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य व्याघ्रपात् । अहस्त्यादिभ्य किम् । हस्तिपाद । कुसूलपाद ॥

877 The final अ of पाद is elided when it is at the end of a Bahuvrîhi compound, preceded by a word denoting a thing with which it is compared, but not so when such word is हस्ति &c

The word उपमानात् is understood here The लोप substitution is a samâsânta affix in a way Thus व्याघ्रस्येव पादावस्य=व्याघ्रपात्, Why do we say not so when such a word is हस्ति ? Observe हस्तिपाद, कुसूलपाद ॥

1 हस्तिन्, 2 कुद्दाल*' 3 अश्व*, 4 कशिक*, 5 कुरुत, 6 कटोल, 7 कटोलक*, 8 गण्डोल, 9 गण्डोलक, 10 कण्डोल*, 11 कण्डोलक*, 12 अज*, 13 कपोत*, 14 जाल*, 15 गण्ड*, 16 महेला, (महिला), 17 दासी, 18 गणिका, 19 कुसूल ॥

Note —This elision is a samâsânta For if it were not a samâsânta, then by the rule आदे परस्य (I 1 54 S 44) the elision would have been of the first letter of the word पाद, namely, of प ॥ Moreover there would have been added the śaishika कप् ॥

८७८ । कुम्भपदीषु च । ५ । ४ । १३९ ॥

कुम्भपद्यादिषु पादस्य लोपो ङीप् च निपात्यते स्त्रियाम् ॥ पाद पत् ॥ कुम्भपदी । स्त्रियां किम् । कुम्भपादः ॥

878 The words kumbhapadî &c , have been formed by the similar elision of the अ of पाद, in the Feminine

The forms कुम्भपदी &c, are formed by eliding the final अ of पाद and then substituting पद् for पात् before the feminine affix ई by VI 4 130 S 414 Why do we say 'that this substitution takes place only before the feminine affix ङीप्, and no where else'? Observe कुम्भपाद ॥

Note —Those words in the list, the first members of which denote an object of comparison or a numeral, would have elided अ by V 4 138 or V 4 140 In their case, this sutra teaches the invariable affixing of ङीप् to such words , so that the optional rule IV 1 8 S 437 does not apply to them

1 कुम्भपदी, 2 एकपदी, 3 जालपदी, 4 शूलपदी,* 5 मुनिपदि, 6 गुणपदी,* 7 शतपदी, 8 सूत्रपदी, 9 गोधापदी*, 10 कलशीपदी, 11 विपदी,* 12 तृणपदी*, 13 द्विपदी, 14 त्रिपदी*, 15 षट्पदी*, 16 दासीपदी 17 शितिपदी*, 18 विष्णुपदी*, 19 सुपदी, 20 निष्पदी, 21 आर्द्रपदी, 22 कुणिपदी, (कुणपदी), 23 कृष्णपदी, 24 शुचिपदी*, 25 द्रोणपदी, (द्रोणीपदी), 26 द्रुपदी, 27 सूकरपदी, 28 शकृत्पदी, 29 अष्टापदी, 30 स्थूणपदी, (स्थूलपदी), 31 अपदी*, 32 सूचीपदी, 33 मालापदी, 34 गोपदी, 35 घृतपदी, 36 सूपपदी, 37 पञ्चपदी, 38 अर्वपदी, 39 स्तनपदी, 40 कलहंसपदी, 41 विषपदी ॥

८७९ । सङ्ख्यासुपूर्वस्य । ५ । ४ । १४० ॥

पादस्य लोपः स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ । द्विपात् । सुपात् ॥

879 The final अ of पाद is elided by samâsânta lopa, also when a Numeral or the word सु precedes it, in a Bahuvrîhi

Thus द्वौ पादावस्य = द्विपात् , त्रिपात् , so also शोभनौ पादावस्य = सुपात् ॥

८८० । वयसि दन्तस्य दतृ । ५ । ४ । १४१ ॥

सङ्ख्यासुपूर्वस्य दन्तस्य दतृ इत्यादेशः स्याद्वयसि । द्विदन् । चतुर्दन् । षट् दन्ता अस्य षोडन् । सुदन् । सुदती । वयसि किम् । द्विदन्तः करी । सुदन्तः नटः ॥

880 For दन्त is substituted दतृ as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when a Numeral or सु precedes it, and the whole word expresses a stage of life *i e* an age

Thus द्वौ दन्तावस्य = द्विदन् " a child of the age in which two teeth have appeared." So also त्रिदन्, चतुर्दन् षोडन् । See vârtika under VI 3 76 S 881 for

षाडन् ॥ शोभनादन्ताअस्य समस्ता जाता = सुदन् कुमार "a boy of the age in which all his teeth have appeared beautifully" So also सुदती Why do w say denoting 'age'? Observe द्विदन्त करी । सुदन्तो नट ॥

Note —The ऋ of दतृ is indicatory, making rule VII 1 70 S 361 applicable, by which a nasal is added before त् in declining these words in sarvanâmasthâna cases and rule IV 1 6 S 455 also applies to them All rules relating to उगित् apply to these

८८१ । स्त्रियां सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १४३ ॥

दन्तस्य दतृ स्यात्समासान्तो बहुव्रीहौ अयोदती । फालदती । सञ्ज्ञाया किम् । समदन्ती ॥

881 For danta is substituted "dat" as a samâsânta in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is in the feminine gender, denoting a name

Thus अयोदती, फालदती ॥ Why do we say "when denoting a Name"? Observe समदन्ती, स्निग्धदन्ती ॥

८८२ । विभाषा श्यावारोकाभ्याम् । ५ । ४ । १४४ ॥

दन्तस्य दतृ वा बहुव्रीहौ । श्यावदन् । । श्यावदन्त । अरोकदन् । अरोकदन्त ॥

882 Optionally "dat" is substituted for 'danta," in a Bahuvrîhi compound, when it is preceded by the words śyâva and aroka

Thus श्यावदन्त or श्यावदन्, अरोकदन्त or अरोकदन् ॥ अरोक means 'dark,' "without holes or spaces"

Note —The word सञ्ज्ञायाम् of the last sûtra governs this also, so that when the compound is not a Name, the substitution does not take place, as श्यावदन्त, अरोकदन्त ॥

८८३ । अग्रान्तशुद्धशुभ्रवृषवराहेभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । १४५ ॥

एभ्यो दन्तस्य दतृ वा । कुड्मलाग्रदन् । कुड्मलाग्रदन्त ॥

883 The substitution of "dat" for "danta" is optional in a Bahuvrîhi, when it is preceded by a word ending in अग्र or by शुद्ध, भ्र, वृष and वराह ॥

The word "optionally" is understood here also Thus कुड्मलाग्रदन्, or कुड्मलाग्रदन्त, so also शुद्धदन्त or शुद्धदन्, शुभ्रदन्त or शुभ्रदन्, वृषदन्त or वृषदन्, वराहदन्त or वराहदन्

Note —The च of the sûtra indicates that the substitution optionally takes place in other cases not enumerated as अहिदन्त or अहिदत्, मूषिकदन्त or मूषिकदत्, गर्दभदन्त or गर्दभदत्, शिखरदन्त or शिखरदत्॥

८८४। ककुदस्यावस्थायां लोपः। ५।४।१४६॥

अजातककुत्। पूर्णककुत्॥

884 The final letter of kakuda is dropped in a Bahuvrîhi, when it denotes age or condition of animals

The word अवस्था means the changes which things undergo by lapse of time, such as age &c Thus अजातं ककुदमस्य = अजातककुत् = बाल "the young of an animal" पूर्णककुत् = मध्यमवया "middle—aged animal" उन्नतककुत् = वृद्धवया "old", स्थूलककुत् बलवान् strong,' यष्टिककुत् = नातिस्थूलो नातिकृश॥

Note —Why do we say when denoting a condition? Observe श्वेतककुद॥

८८५। त्रिककुत्पर्वते। ५।४।१४७॥

त्रीणि ककुदान्यस्य त्रिककुत्। सञ्ज्ञैषा पर्वतविशेषस्य। त्रिककुदोऽन्य॥

885 The Bahuvrîhi word Trikakud, formed by the elision of the final अ of kakuda, is the name of a mountain

त्रीणिककुदान्यस्य = त्रिककुत् "a three peaked hill, the peaks having the shape of a hump" All three peaked hills are not so called, it is the name of a particular hill When not denoting a hill we have त्रिककुद॥

८८६। उद्विभ्यां काकुदस्य। ५।४।१४८॥

लोपः स्यात्। उत्काकुत्। विकाकुत्। काकुदं तालु॥

886 After ut and vi the final of kâkuda is elided in a Bahuvrîhi compound

Thus उद्गतकाकुदमस्य = उत्काकुत्, so also विकाकुत्॥ The word काकुद means 'palate'

८८७। पूर्णाद्विभाषा। ५।४।१४९॥

पूर्णकाकुत्। पूर्णकाकुद॥

887 After pûrna, the final of kâkuda is optionally elided in a Bahuvrîhi compound

Thus पूर्णम् काकुदमस्य = पूर्णकाकुत् or पूर्णकाकुद॥

८८८। सुहृद्दुर्हृदौ मित्रामित्रयोः । ५ । ४ । १५० ॥

सुदुर्भ्यां हृदयस्य हृद्भावो निपात्यते । सुहृन्मित्रम् । दुर्हृदमित्रः । अन्यत्र सुहृदयः । दुर्हृदयः ॥

888 The words suhrit and durhrit are irregularly formed Bahuvrîhi compounds, denoting "a friend" and "a foe" respectively

The word सुहृत् is derived from सु + हृदय, the अय of हृदय being elided in the Bahuvrîhi It means one whose heart is favourably disposed towards another So also दुर्हृत् is derived from दुर् + हृदय, he whose heart is evil

Why do we say "when meaning a friend and a foe respectively"? Observe सुहृदय कारुणिक 'the kind hearted, merciful,' दुर्हृदयश्चोर "the evil hearted thief"

८८९। उरःप्रभृतिभ्यः कप् । ५ । ४ । १५१ ॥

व्यूढोरस्कः । प्रियसर्पिष्कः । इह पुमान्, अनड्वान्, पयः, नौः, लक्ष्मीरिति एकवचनान्तानि पठ्यन्ते । द्विवचनबहुवचनान्तेभ्यस्तु शेषाद्विभाषा इति विकल्पेन कप् । द्विपुमान् । द्विपुस्कः ॥ अर्थान्नञः * ॥ अनर्थकम् । नञः किम् । अपार्थम् । अपार्थकम् ॥

889 The affix कप् comes after uras &c, final in a Bahuvrîhi compound

Thus व्यूढोरस्कः = व्यूढमुरोऽस्य (VIII 3 38 S 152) So also प्रियसर्पिष्कः (VIII 3 39 S 153) अवमुक्तोपानत्कः ॥

The words पुमान्, अनड्वान्, पयः, नौः and लक्ष्मी are exhibited in the list of Urasâdi words as nominative singular, and not in their crude forms as is the case with other words The reason of this is, that the singular number of these words take the affix कप्, and not their dual and plural numbers With regard to the dual and plural of these, the affix कप् is optionally added by force of sutra V 4 154 S 891 Thus द्विपुमान् or द्विपुस्कः, बहुपुमान् or बहुपुस्कः ॥

1 उरस्, 2 सर्पिस् 3 उपानह् 4 पुमान् 5 अनड्वान्, 6 पयस्, 7 नौ, 8 लक्ष्मी, 9 दधि 10 मधु, 11 शालि, 12 अर्थान्नञः ॥ (The affix कप् is added to अर्थ when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्, as अनर्थकम्)। Why do we say when preceded by the Negative particle नञ्? Observe अपार्थम् or अपार्थकम् ॥

८९०। इनः स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । १५२ ॥

बहुदण्डिका नगरी ॥ अनिनस्मन्ग्रहणान्यर्थवता चानर्थकेन च तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयन्ति ॥ बहुवाग्मिका । स्त्रियां किम् । बहुदण्डी बहुदण्डिको ग्रामः ॥

890 The affix कप् is added to a Bahuvrîhi the last member of which ends in इन्, when a feminine word is denoted

Thus बहवो दण्डिनोऽस्यां नगर्याम्=बहुदण्डिका नगरी ॥ So also बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥ Why do we say 'when denoting a feminine'? Observe बहुदण्डी or बहुदण्डिको ग्राम ॥ The latter form is derived by adding कप् optionally under V 4 134 S 891

Paribhâshâ —Wherever अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, when they are employed in grammar, denote by I 1 72, S 26 something that ends with अन् or इन् or अस् or मन्, there अन्, इन्, अस् and मन् represent these combinations of letters both in so far as they possess, and also in so far as they are void of, a meaning ('Meaning,' can here only be 'the grammatical meaning,' *viz* the meaning which grammarions assign to the affixes अन् &c)

Therefore the rule applies to वाग्मिन् also As बहुवाग्मिका सभा ॥

८९१ । शेषाद्विभाषा । ५ । ४ । १५४ ॥

अनुक्तसमासान्ताच्छेषाधिकारस्थाद्बहुव्रीहेः कप् वा स्यात् । महायशस्कः । महायशाः । अनुक्तेत्यादि किम् । व्याघ्रपात् । सुगन्धि । प्रियपथ । शेषाधिकारस्थात्किम् । उपबहवः । उत्तरपूर्वा । सपुत्र । तन्त्रादिना शेषशब्दोऽर्थद्वयपरः ॥

891 After all other Bahuvrîhi compounds formed under II 2 23 S 829, and not covered by the foregoing samâsânta rules, may optionally be added the affix कप् ॥

Thus महायशस्क or महायशा

Why do we say "after the rest"? Observe व्याघ्रपात्, सुगन्धि, प्रियपथ, Here these words are formed by special samâsânta rules given before *e g* 874, 877 and 940

The word शेष denotes all those Bahuvrîhis about which no special rule has been given above How do you explain the forms अनृक साम, बहृक सूक्त, in which the affix कप् is added, though these words are governed by the general rule V 4 74, S 940 and ought to have taken the samasânta affix अ? The affix अ is added to ऋक् when the compound has a special meaning, such as अनृच means 'a boy', बह्वृच 'a charana.'

Why have we used the words "*seshâdhikârasthât*" in explaining the sûtra? These words mean "after a Bahuvrîhi falling under the scope of the rules of *Seshō* Bahuvrîhih II 2 23 S 829" Observe उपबहव ॥ This is

a Bahuvrîhi not formed under the śesha rule II 2 23 S 829, but by a special rule II 2 25 S 843 and hence it does not take कप् ॥ So also उत्तरपूर्वा a Bahuvrîhi formed by II 2 26 S 845, and सपुत्र formed by II 2 28 S 848 In fact the word शेष of II 2 23 S 829 governs only II 2 24 S 830 and not the remaining sûtras like 843, 846, 848 &c

The word शेषात् of this sûtra is thus equivocal It means *first* "after all those Bahuvrîhis for which no samâsanta has been taught" *secondly* "after those Bahuvrihis which are formed under "sesho Bahuvrîhi" rule" The word शेषात् thus conveys a double meaning There are two views on this point one school holds that for every *thought*, a separate word must be used Their motto is अर्थभेदेन शब्दभेद ॥ According to this view we should use the word शेषात् twice in this sûtra (âvritti) But according to the other view, one word may express two ideas Their motto is सत्यप्यर्थभेदे शब्दस्याभेद ॥ This gives rise to तन्त्र or stretching the meaning of a word The Tantra view may be taken here, or the आवृत्ति view

८९२ । आपोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ४ । १५ ॥

कप्याबन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । बहुमालाक । बहुमालक । कबभावे बहुमाल ॥

892 Optionally the feminine stem in आ is not shortened before कप् ॥

As बहुमालाक or बहुमालक 'one who has many garlands' ॥ When कप् is not added, then बहुमाल ॥

८९३ । न सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । ४ । १५५ ॥

शेषादिति प्राप्त कप् न स्यात्सञ्ज्ञायाम् । विश्वे देवा अस्य विश्वेदेव ॥

893. The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi when a Name is meant

This debars कप् ordained by V 4. 154 S 801 last Thus विश्वेदेवा अस्य= विश्वेदेव ॥

८९४ । ईयसश्च । ५ । ४ । १५६ ॥

ईयसन्तोत्तरपदान्न कप् । बहव श्रेयासोऽस्य बहुश्रेयान् । गोस्त्रियोरिति ह्रस्वे प्राप्ते ॥ ईयसो बहुव्रीहेर्नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ बह्व्य श्रेयस्योऽस्य बहुश्रेयसी । बहुव्रीहे किम् । अतिश्रेयसि ॥

894 The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi, the last member of which ends in the affix ईयस् ॥

This debars all the previous rules i e both the compulsory and the

optional कप् ॥ Thus बहव श्रेयासोऽस्य = बहुश्रेयान् (V 3 57 S 2005) Here rule V 4 154 S 891 is debarred बह्व्य श्रेयस्योऽस्य = बहुश्रेयसी, here rule V 4 135 S 833 is prohibited By rule I 2 48 S 656 the long final ई ought to have been shortened, but this is not done by considering it as a masculine by the following Vârtika

Vart —In Bahuvrihi compounds, exception must be made of feminine nouns ending in the affix ईयसी, as बहुश्रेयसी ॥

Why do we say 'of a Bahuvrihi'? Observe अतिश्रेयसि ॥

८९५ । वन्दिते भ्रातुः । ५ । ४ । १५७ ॥

पूजितेऽर्थे यो भ्रातृशब्दस्तदन्तात्र कप् स्यात् । प्रशस्तो भ्राता यस्य प्रशस्तभ्राता । न पूजनादिति निषेधस्तु बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोरित्यत प्रागेवेति वक्ष्यते । वन्दिते किम् । मूर्खभ्रातृक ॥

895 The affix कप् does not come after a Bahuvrîhi ending in the word bhrâtri, when it means 'praised'

The word वन्दित means 'praised,' 'respected' &c Thus शोभना भ्राता ऽस्य = सुभ्राता 'one having a good brother' As a general rule, samâsânta affixes are not added, when respect is meant See V 4 69 S 954 But the prohibition of that sûtra has its scope only upto V 4 113 S 852, and not on sutras after that Hence the necessity of the present sutra Why do we say when it means "praised"? Observe मूर्खभ्रातृक, दुष्टभ्रातृक ॥

८९६ । नाडीतन्त्र्योः स्वाङ्गे । ५ । ४ । १५९ ॥

स्वाङ्गे यौ नाडीतन्त्रीशब्दौ तदन्तात्कप् न स्यात् । बहुनाडि काय । बहुतन्त्रीर्ग्रीवा । तन्त्रीर्धमनी स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तत्वाभावाद्ध्रस्वो न । स्वाङ्गे किम् । बहुनाडीक स्तम्भ । बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥

896 The affix कप् does not come after the words nâdî, and tantrî final in a Bahuvrihi, when they mean organs of body

Thus बह्व्यो नाड्योऽस्य = बहुनाडि काय, बहुतन्त्रीर्ग्रीवा ॥ बहुतन्त्रीर्धमनी The word तन्त्री means 'an artery' Why do we say meaning "parts of body"? Observe, बहुनाडीक स्तम्भ, बहुतन्त्रीका वीणा ॥ The word नाडी is a feminine word formed by ङीष् that comes after jâti, तन्त्री is formed by the Unâdi affix ई (Unâdi III 158) In बहुनाडि the long ई is shortened as being an upasarjana (I 2 48 S 655), but the ई of तन्त्री is not shortened as ई here is not a feminine affix, but a krit affix (कृत् स्त्रिया प्रतिषेध, See I 2 48

८९७ । निष्प्रवाणिश्च । ५ । ४ । १६० ॥

कबभावोऽत्र निपात्यते । प्रपूर्वाद्वयतेर्ल्युट् । प्रवाणी तन्तुवायशलाका । निर्गता प्रवाण्यस्य निष्प्रवाणि पट । समाप्तवान नव इत्यर्थ ॥

897 The word निष्प्रवाणि is irregularly formed, without adding the affix कप, though the last word is a Nadî word

The word प्रवाणी means either प्रीयतेऽस्या or प्रवयन्ति तया ॥ Here ल्युट् is added to the root वि 'to weave' and denotes the instrument of weaving i e 'a shuttle' निर्गता प्रवाणी अस्य = निष्प्रवाणि पट, निष्प्रवाणि कम्बल = अपनीतशलाक "a new unbleached cloth or blanket," from which the shuttle has not yet been extracted fresh from the loom The न is changed to ण by VIII 4. 29 S 2835

८९८ । सप्तमीविशेषणे बहुव्रीहौ । २ । २ । ३५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्त विशेषण च बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं प्रयोज्यम् । कण्ठकाल । अत एव ज्ञापकाद्व्यधिकरणपदो बहुव्रीहिः । चित्रगु ॥

सर्वनामसख्ययोरुपसख्यानम् * ॥ सर्वश्वेत ॥ द्विशुक्ल ॥

मिथोऽनयो समासे सख्या पूर्वम् । शब्दपरविप्रतिषेधात् ॥ द्व्यन्य ॥

सख्याया अल्पीयस्या * ॥ द्वित्रा

द्वन्द्वेऽपि । द्वादश ॥

वा प्रियस्य * ॥ गुडप्रिय । प्रियगुड ॥

गड्वादे परा सप्तमी * ॥ गडुकण्ठ । कण्ठेगडु । वहेगडु ॥

898 A word with the seventh case-affix and an epithet are to be placed first in the Bahuvrîhi compound.

In a Bahuvrîhi, all words are upasarjana, and hence there is no rule for their arrangement The present aphorism declares that rule, as कण्ठेकाल 'who is black in the throat' From the jñâpaka of this sûtra, we infer the existence of the Vyadhikarana Bahuvrihi—a Bahuvrihi compound, the first member of which is not in apposition to the second or stands in a different case relation to the second, in the dissolution of the compound, as चक्रपाणि, चन्द्रमौलि &c So also उरसिलामा, चित्रगु, शबलगु

Vart —The sarvanamas and the numerals stand first, as सर्वश्वेत द्विशुक्ल

Vârt —In a compound formed by the composition of sarvanâma words with a sankhyâ word, the latter should stand first, as, द्व्यन्य

Vârt —Among numerals, the less in value is placed first, as द्वित्राः 'two and three,'

Vârt —Also in a Dvandva compound (the numeral which is less in value is placed first), thus द्वादश 'two and ten, that is twelve'

Vârt —The word प्रिय may optionally stand first, as गुडप्रिय or प्रियगुड

Vart —After the words गडु &c, the word in the 7th case affix comes as subsequent, as गडुकण्ठ 'a hemp necked', गडुशिरा &c

How is then the word वहेगडु 'hump in the shoulder' to be explained? This is governed by the general rule, and not the exceptional vârtika

८९९ । निष्ठा । २ । २ । ३६ ॥

निष्ठान्त बहुव्रीहौ पूर्वं स्यात् । कृतकृत्य ॥ जातिकालसुखादिभ्य परा निष्ठा वाच्या * ॥ शार्ङ्गजग्धी । मासजाता । सुखजाता । प्रायिक चेदम् । कृतकट । पीतोदक ॥

899 What ends with a Nishthâ (I 1 26 S. 3012) shall stand first in a Bahuvrîhi compound

Thus कृतकृत्य ॥

So also युक्तयोग 'one who is devoted to devotion', कृतकट 'one who has made the mat', भिक्षितभिक्ष 'one who has begged alms'

Vart —A word expressing jâti (genus), time, or pleasure, is placed subsequent, as, शार्ङ्गजग्धी, मासजात and सुखजात &c

This rule is not of universal application, as we have words like कृतकट and पीतोदक also

९०० । वाहिताग्न्यादिषु । २ । २ । ३७ ॥

आहिताग्नि । अग्न्याहित । आकृतिगणोऽयम ॥ प्रहरणार्थेभ्य परे निष्ठासप्तम्यौ * ॥ अस्युद्यत । दण्डपाणि ॥ क्वचिन्न । विवृतासि ॥

900 In the compounds âhitâgni and the like, the Nishthâ-formed word may optionally be placed first.

Thus अग्न्याहित or आहिताग्निः one who has consecrated fire'

This आहिताग्नि class is âkritigana, so that words like गड्डु &c, must be ooked for in this class

Vart —The words ending in Nishthâ or in the locative case stand ubsequent, when coming after words denoting 'striking', as अस्युद्यत 'ready vith sword', दण्डपाणि 'holding sceptre in hand' But some times not so as n विवृतासि "drawn-sword"

Here end Bahuvrihi compounds

अथ द्वन्द्व समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XX

THE DVANDVA COMPOUNDS

९०१ । चार्थे द्वन्द्व' । २ । २ । २९ ॥

अनेक सुबन्त चार्थे वर्तमान वा समस्यते स द्वन्द्व । समुच्चयान्वाचयेतरेतरयोगसमाहाराश्चार्था । परस्परनिरपेक्षस्यानेकस्य एकस्मिन्नन्वय समुच्चय । अन्यतरस्यानुषाङ्गिकत्वेऽन्वाचय । मिलितानामन्वय इतरेतरयोग । समूह समाहार । तत्रेश्वर गुरु च भजस्वेति समुच्चये, भिक्षामट गा चानयेत्यन्वाचये च, न समासोऽसामर्थ्यात् । धवखदिरौ । सज्ञापरिभाषम् । अनकान्तर्होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातार । द्वयोर्द्वयोर्द्वन्द्व कृत्वा पुनर्द्वन्द्वे तु होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातार ॥

901 When a set of several woids ending with case-affixes stands in a relation expressible by 'and,' the set is optionally made into a compound, and the compound so formed is called Dvandva

The meaning that may be indicated by च 'and' are four, (1) समुच्चय 'community of reference,' (2) अन्वाचय 'collateralness of reference, (3) इतरेतरयोग 'mutual conjunction' and (4) समाहार 'aggregate' In the first two cases *viz*, community of reference, and collateralness of reference, composition does not take place, because the words are not directly related to one another (II 1 1 S 647) Composition is enjoined, therefore, when the sense of च is that of mutual conjunction and aggregation Thus we cannot compound ईश्वर गुरु च भजस्व 'reverence God and thy Guru or भिक्षामट गा चानय 'go for alms and bring the cow' But we can compound the following प्लक्षश्च न्यग्रोधश्च = प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees' So धव खदिर पलाशा, वाक्त्वचम्, वाग्दृषदम्, सज्ञापरिभाषम् ॥

1 When two or more independent words not related with each other, are grammatically in the same case, their conjunction, will be samuchchaya As ईश्वर गुरु च भजस्व "reverence God and Guru" Here there can be no compounding, as there is no sâmarthya In this example, two *things* (dravya) have been collected under one verb (kriyâ) Similarly in राज्ञो गजश्चाश्वश्च "the elephant and the horse of the king" Here there is samuchchaya of two things under one thing पट शुक्लो रक्तश्च "The picture is white and red" Here two *attributes* are brought under *one* substantive रक्त पट कुण्डल च

"Red picture and ornament" Here two substances are collected under one attribute

2 When one action, is used as collateral to a principal action, it gives rise to the union called anwâchaya as, भिक्षामट, गा चानय "Go for alms and bring the cow" Here he might not bring the cow, if he does not see it, though his begging will not be stopped But if he does not go out a begging, he cannot bring the cow So going out a begging is the principal action

Therefore, in भिक्षामट गा चानय, there is no compounding, because the words are not directly related to one another The want of sâmarthya here is want of ekârthîbhâva

In धवखदिरौ 'the Mimosea and the Grislea," संज्ञापरिभाषम् "an appellative and a maxim of interpretation," there is compounding, as itaretara and samâhâra, respectively

The Dvandva compound of the four words होतृ, पोतृ, नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ may be either होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातार or होतापोतानेष्टोद्गातार ॥ The first denotes many hotṛis, potṛis &c The second is an example where hotṛi and potṛi are first compounded as a Dwandva, and then नेष्टृ and उद्गातृ as another Dvandva Then these two compound words are again compounded as a larger Dvandva

In the first example, there is not आनङ् substitution for the final of होतृ and पोतृ (VI 3 25 S 921) because there is no uttarapada after them See S 921 and 831

९०२ । राजदन्तादिषु परम् । २ । २ । ३१ ॥

एषु पूर्वप्रयोगार्हं परं स्यात् । दन्तानां राजा राजदन्त । धर्मादिष्वनियम * ॥ अर्थधर्मौ । धर्मार्थौ । दम्पती । जम्पती । जायापती । जायाशब्दस्य जम्भावो दम्भावश्च वा निपात्यते । आकृतिगणोऽयम् * ॥

902 The upasarjana is to be put last in the words Râjadanta &c

Thus राजदन्त (दन्ताना राजा) 'a chief of teeth' (i e, an eyetooth) It is not merely the upasarjana that is placed last in these examples, but words which by some other rules would have stood first, stand in this list as second

1 राजदन्त 2 अग्रेवणम् 3 लिप्तवासितम् 4 नग्नमुषितम् 5 सिक्तसंमृष्टम् 6 मृष्टलुञ्चितम् 7 अवक्लिन्नपक्वमें 8 अर्पितोतम् 9 (अर्पितोप्तम्) 10 उप्तगाढम् 11 उलूखलमुसलम् 12 तण्डुलकिण्वम् 13 दृषदुपलम् 14 आरग्वा

थानि 15 (आरग्वायनबन्धकी) 16 चित्ररथवाल्हीकम् 17 अवन्त्यश्मकम् 18 शूद्रार्यम् 19 स्नातकराजानौ 20 विष्वक्सेनार्जुनौ 21 अक्षिभ्रुवम् 22 दारगवम् 23 शब्दार्थौ 24 धर्मार्थौ 25 कामार्थौ 26 अर्थशब्दौ 27 अर्थधर्मौ 28 अर्थकामौ 29 वैकारिमतम् 30 गाजवाजम् 31 गोजवाजम् 32 गोपालिधानपूलासम् 33 (गोपालधानीपूलासम्) 34 पूलासकारण्डम् 35 पूलासककुरण्डम्) 36 स्थूलासम् 37 (स्थूलपूलासम्) 38 उशीरबीजम् 39 (जिज्ञास्थि) 40 सिञ्जास्थम् 41 (सिञ्जदश्वत्थम्) 42 चित्रास्वाती 43 (चित्रस्वाति) 44 भार्यापती 45 दम्पती 46 जम्पती 47 जायापती 48 पुत्रपती 49 पुत्रपशू 50 केशश्मश्रू or श्मश्रुकेशौ 51 शिरोबिन्दु 52 शिरोबीजम् 53 शिरोजानु 54 सर्पिर्मधुनी 55 मधुसर्पिषी 56 आद्यन्तौ 57 अन्तादी 58 गुणवृद्धी 59 वृद्धिगुणौ

Vârtika —" In regard to the words धर्म and the like, there is no fixed rule Thus अर्थधर्मौ or धर्मार्थौ 'wealth and virtue' or 'virtue and wealth' So also दम्पती, जम्पती or जायापती The word जाया is changed to जम् or दम् irregularly These belong to âkritigana

Note —दम्पती is really a compound of दम "home" and पति 'master or mistress' दम is the same word as the Latin domus "home," as in "domestic" दम्पती means 'the two masters of the house—i e the husband and wife"

९०३ । द्वन्द्वे घि । २ । २ । ३२ ॥

द्वन्द्वे घिसंज्ञं पूर्वं स्यात् । हरिश्च हरश्च हरिहरौ ॥ अनेकप्राप्तावेकत्र नियमोऽनियमः शेषे * ॥ हरिगुरुहरा । हरिहरगुरव ॥

903 In a Dvandva compound, let a word called घि (1 4 7 S 243) stand first

As हरिहरौ 'Hari and Hara'

Vârtika —Where there are more than one such घि words in a compound, any one may be fixed upon as first member, and the rest do not follow any fixed rule As हरिगुरुहरा or हरिहरगुरव

Note —Why do we say 'Dvandva'? Observe विस्पष्टपटु which is a Tat-purusha.

९०४ । अजाद्यदन्तम् । २ । २ । ३३ ॥

इदं द्वन्द्वे पूर्वं स्यात् । ईशकृष्णौ ।*

बहुष्वनियमः *। अश्वरथेन्द्राः । इन्द्राश्वरथा ॥*

अन्तादजाद्यदन्तं विप्रतिषेधेन* ॥ इन्द्राग्नी ॥

904 In a Dvandva compound, let what begins with a vowel and ends with a short अ be placed first

Thus, ईशाकृष्णौ 'Isa and Krishna'

Vart —When there are many such words, there is no fixed rule As अश्वरथेन्द्रा or इन्द्राश्वरथा ॥

Vart —In the Dvandva compounds, the घि would stand first only then, when the rule of अजाद्यदन्त does not prohibit it Thus इन्द्राग्नी Here अग्नि though घि, does not stand first, because इन्द्र beginning with a vowel and ending in short अ, by the rule of vipratishedha takes precedence (I 4 2 S 175)

Note —Why do we say 'अत् with a त्' (I 1 70 S 50)? This rule does not apply when it is long आ as अश्वा + वृष = अश्वावृषौ or वृषाश्वे

९०५ । अल्पाच्तरम् । २ । २ । ३४ ॥

शिवकेशवौ ॥

ऋतुनक्षत्राणां समाक्षराणामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ता । कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ । समाक्षराणां किम् । ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ ॥

लघ्वक्षरं पूर्वम् * ॥ कुशकाशम् ॥

अभ्यर्हितं च * ॥ तापसपर्वतौ ॥

वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण * ॥ ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः ॥

भ्रातुर्ज्यायसः * ॥ युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ॥

905 In a Dvandva compound, that word-form which has fewer vowels, is to be placed first

Thus शिव + केशव = शिवकेशवौ ।

Note —When there are many words, there is no fixed rule As शङ्खदुन्दुभि-वीणा or वीणाशङ्खदुन्दुभय

Vârt —Names of seasons and stars when they consist of equal number of syllables, should be arranged in the compound, according to their natural order of succession As हेमन्तशिशिरवसन्ता , कृत्तिकारोहिण्यौ

Why do we say 'when they consist of equal syllables?' Observe ग्रीष्मवसन्तौ, Here the shorter has been placed first

Vârt —A word consisting of light (laghu) vowels is placed first

As, कुशकाशं, 'a bundle of Kusa and Kâsa grasses' कुश and काश are two kinds of grass

Vârt —The more honorable of the two is placed first, as तापसपर्वतौ "Tâpasa and Parvata" वासुदेवार्जुनौ "Vasudeva and Arjuna" (IV 3 98 S 1478)

Vârt —The castes are placed according to their order as ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः 'Brâhmana-Kshatriya-Vaisya and Śudra' There is no limitation of equality of syllables here

Vârt —The name of the elder brother is placed first, as युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ 'Yudhishthira and Arjuna'

९०६ । द्वन्द्वश्च प्राणितूर्यसेनाङ्गानाम् । २ । ४ । २ ॥

एषां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । पाणिपादम् । मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् । रथिकाश्वारोहम् ॥
समाहारस्यैकत्वादेकत्वे सिद्धे नियमार्थं प्रकरणम्, प्राण्यङ्गादीनां समाहार एव यथा स्यात् ॥

906 A Dvandva compound too is singular in number, when it is compounded of words signifying members of the animal boby, members of a band of players (or singers or dancers) and component parts of an army

As, पाणिपादम् 'the hand and foot' शिरोग्रीवम् 'the head and neck' मार्दङ्गिकपाणविकम् 'the players on the mridanga and panava (kinds of drums)' रथिकाश्वारोहम् 'the soldiers on chariot and horse' वीणावादकपरिवादकम्, रथिकपादातम् ॥

This rule applies to cases of Samâhâra Dvandva or aggregate Dvandva Compounds only, and not to Itaretara Dvandva (II 2 29 S 901) A Samâhâra would have been naturally singular, because it denotes unity, the present rule is, therefore, a niyama or a restrictive rule That is, the samâhâra compound of limbs is only singular, and other kind of compound of members of living body &c, need not be singular

Note —In the Dvandva Compounds of animals such as elephants, horses &c, the singular is optional, (II 4 12 S 916) The present rule also gives us an index as to where we must make Samahâra Dvandva and where an Itaretara Dvandva The Dvandva compounds of words signifying members of animal body, players or army, are always and solely Samâhâra Dvandva The compounds of words like दधिपयसी 'curd and milk' (II 4 14 S 918) are purely Itaretara Dvandva and can never be Samâhâra Dvandva, while compounds of words denoting tree, animals &c, (II 4 12 S 916) are optionally either Samâhâra or Itaretara Dvandva

९०७ । अनुवादे चरणानाम् । २ । ४ । ३ ॥

चरणानां द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्सिद्धस्योपन्यासे ॥

स्थेणोर्लुङीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ उदगात्कठकालापम् । प्रत्यष्ठात्कठकौथुमम् ॥

907 A Dvandva compound of words signifying persons belonging to the different Vedic-Schools, when the sense is that of repetition, is singular

Note —The word चरण means a school or branch of any of the Vedas designated by the name of the person who founded such a branch and here means students or pupils who belong to a particular school and study that particular branch The word अनुवाद means repetition by way of explanation, illustration or corroboration, that is to say, when a speaker demonstrates for some special purposes, a proposition which had already been demonstrated before, that is called anuvada Another meaning of this word is "the recitation of the charanas as already learnt as distinguished from learning them the first time"

Vârt —This aggregate is used with the aorist of the roots स्था and इण् only, as उदगात् कठकालापम् (इहयत्र कठेषु कालापेषु च प्रतिष्ठितेषु चावाभ्यां यत्र गन्तव्य मिति सङ्केतयित्वा तत् सङ्केत विस्मृत्यासीन प्रतीवदुच्यते) ॥ प्रत्यष्ठात् कठकौथुमम् 'katha and kauthuma established again'

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning repetition'? Observe उदगु कठकालापा or प्रत्यष्ठु कठकौथुमा, when demonstration for the first time is meant It is the aorist of स्था and इण् which takes such a Dvandva and not any other verb or any other tense of these verbs as —अनन्दिषु कठकालापा and उदयन्ति कठकालापा ॥

Prof Bohthlingk's translation is, 'The Dvandva Compound of the names of Vedic-Schools is singular, when such a school is repeatedly mentioned equally along with another'

९०८ । अध्वर्युक्रतुरनपुंसकम । २ । ४ । ४ ॥

यजुर्वेदे विहितो य क्रतुस्तद्वाचिनामनपुंसकलिङ्गाना द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । अर्काश्वमेधम् । अध्वर्युक्रतु किम् । इषुवज्रौ सामवेदे विहितौ । अनपुंसक किम् । राजसूयवाजपेये ॥ अर्धर्चादी ॥

908 A Dvandva compound of words denoting sacrifices (kratu) ordained by the Yajur (Adhvaryu) Veda, is singular, provided that, they are never used in the neuter gender

As अर्काश्वमेधम् 'the Arka and Aśvamedha sacrifices.'

Why do we say 'Yajur-veda sacrifices? Observe इषुवज्रौ 'the Ishu and Vajra ceremonies,' These sacrifices are ordained in the Sâma Veda

Why do we say 'when not in the neuter gender'? Observe राजसूयवाजपेये 'the Râjasûya and Vajapeya sacrifices' अर्धर्चादी (II 4 31 S 816)

Note —Why have we दर्शपौर्णमासौ? Because the word क्रतु is a technical term applying only to Soma sacrifices and not any sacrifice in general Therefore, though Darsa and Paurnamâsa are Yajur-veda ceremonies, they not being Soma ceremonies, the present rule does not apply

९०९ । अध्ययनतोऽविप्रकृष्टाख्यानाम् । २ । ४ । ५ ॥

अध्ययनेन प्रत्यासन्ना आख्या येषां तेषां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । पदकक्रमकम् ॥

909 A Dvandva compound of words denoting (persons who have studied) subjects, which in their order of study are not remote from each other, is singular

As, पदकक्रमकम् 'a person who has studied the pada arrangement and a person who has studied the krama arrangement

Note —Why do we say 'order of study'? Observe पितापुत्रौ 'father and son' Why do we say 'not remote'? See याज्ञिकवैयाकरणौ 'sacrifice-knower and the grammarian'

९१० । जातिरप्राणिनाम् । २ । ४ । ६ ॥

प्राणिवर्ज्यजातिवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवत् । धानाशष्कुलि । प्राणिनां तु विट्शूद्राः । द्रव्यजातीयानामेव । नेह । रूपरसौ । गमनाकुञ्चने । जातिप्राधान्य एवायमेकवद्भाव । द्रव्यविशेषविवक्षायां तु बदरामलकानि ॥

910 A Dvandva compound of words signifying jâti (genus) which are not names of living beings, is singular

Thus धानाशष्कुलि 'fried rice and barley cake'

Note —Why do we say 'words denoting genus? Observe नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ 'Nandaka and Panchajanya' These are Sanjña words or Proper Names

When denoting living beings then विट्शूद्राः (and not विट्शूद्रम्) 'Vaisyas and Sudras' Here there is plural number by I 2 58 S 817, though the words are jâti denoting

This rule applies to the jâti or genus names of substances (द्रव्यजाति) and not the jâti names of qualities and actions (गुणक्रियाजाति), Thus रूपरसौ 'colour, and savour,' गमनाकुञ्चने 'going and contraction'

Even with jâti names of substances, the Dvandva compound takes singular, only when the objects are spoken of collectively as a class, when, however the individuals belonging to a class are indicated, the proper number should be employed, as, बदरामलकानि 'in this bowl are the badari and âmalaki fruits' Here there is elision of the Taddhita affix by IV 3 163 S 1541 The feminine is also elided by I 2 49 S 1408 See also II 4 12 S 916

Note —The words जाति 'genus,' द्रव्य 'substance,' गुण 'quality' and क्रिया 'action' are technical terms of Indian Logicians Jâti has already been explained Substances are nine earth, water, light, air, ether, time, space, soul, and mind Qualities are twenty four colour, savour, odour, tangibility, number, dimension, severalty, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, weight, fluidity, viscidity, sound, understanding, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, effort, merit, demerit and faculty There are five actions throwing upwards, throwing downwards, contraction, expansion and going

९११ । विशिष्टलिङ्गो नदीदेशोऽग्रामाः । २ । ४ । ७ ॥

ग्रामवर्ज्यनदीदेशवाचिनां भिन्नलिङ्गानां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात् । उद्ध्यश्च इरावती च उद्ध्येरावति । गङ्गा च शोणश्च गङ्गाशोणम् । कुरवश्च कुरुक्षेत्रं च कुरुकुरुक्षेत्रम् । भिन्नलिङ्गानां किम् । गङ्गायमुने मद्रकेकया । अग्रामाः किम् । जाम्बवं नगरम् । शालूकिनी ग्रामः । जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ ॥

911. A samâhara Dvandva compound of words of different genders, denoting names of rivers and of countries, but not of towns, is singular

Thus उद्ध्येरावति "The Uddhya and Irâvatî," The Uddhya is a river (nada)

So also गङ्गाशोणम् 'the Ganges and the Sona' कुरव + कुरुक्षेत्र = कुरुकुरुक्षेत्र 'the country of the Kurus and the Kurukshetra'

Why do we say 'of different genders'? Observe गङ्गायमुने 'the Ganges and the Yâmuna' Both being feminine gender, so also मद्रकेकया ॥ But the rule does not apply to गङ्गाकुरुक्षेत्रे for one is a river and the other a country

The word विशिष्ट of the sûtra is derived from the root शिषि meaning "to separate, differentiate," with वि ॥ It means separate.

Why do we say 'rivers and countries'? Observe कुक्कुटमयुर्यौ 'the hen and the peahen'

Why do we say 'not of a town'? See जाम्बवशालूकिन्यौ 'Jâmbaba (a city) and Sâlukini (a village)' which are the names of a village and a town

We have taken the word 'river,' as the word 'country' does not include 'river' So also 'mountains' are not included, as कैलासगन्धमादने 'the Kailâsa and the Gandhamâdana

Vart —The prohibition extends to villages and towns (grâma) but not to cities, (Nagara), as मथुरापाटलिपुत्र 'the cities of Mathura and Pâtaliputra'

Vart —When a compound consists of two words, one a town and the other a city, the prohibition applies, as सौर्यकेतवते 'the city of Saurya and the village of Ketavata'

९१२। क्षुद्रजन्तवः। २।४।८॥

एषां समाहारे द्वन्द्व एकवत्स्यात्। यूकालिक्षम्। आनकुलात्क्षुद्रजन्तवः॥

912 A Samâhara Dvandva compound of words signifying small animals, is singular

Thus यूकालिक्षम् 'the louse and the nit'

Note —The word क्षुद्रजन्तु means an animal of a very small size Some say that animals not having bones are called क्षुद्रजन्तु, (invertebrates), others say, those which are small in size

All below the mongoose are kshudrajantu

९१३। येषां च विरोधः शाश्वतिकः। २।४।९॥

एषां प्राग्वत्। अहिनकुलम्॥ गोव्याघ्रम्॥ काकोलूकमित्यादौ परत्वाद्विभाषा वृक्षमृगेति प्राप्त चकारेण बाध्यते॥

913 A Dvandva compound of words signifying those animals only, among whom there is permanent enmity (i e natural antipathy or quarrel), is singular

The word विरोध means enmity and शाश्वतिक means permanent

Thus, अहिनकुल 'the snake and the mongoose' गोव्याघ्रम् 'the cow and the tiger' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl'

Note —Why do we say 'natural and eternal'? Observe गौपालिशालङ्कायना कलहायन्ते 'Gaupâli and Sâlankayana are quarrelling' देवासुरैरमृतमम्बुनिधिर्ममन्थे ॥ The enmity between the Devas and Asuras is not permanent, for they co operated in churning the ocean

The force of the word च in the aphorism is that of एव 'only' Dvandva compounds of such animals only are invariably singular, no other rule, even if otherwise applicable, would apply to such compounds Thus the rule II 4 12 S 916 says that Dvandva compounds of beasts and birds, is optionally singular That rule (by I 4, 2 S 175) would have set aside the present rule But च prevents that, and no optional plural number is allowed in case of beasts or birds that are naturally at war, as गोव्याघ्रम् 'the tiger and the cow' काकोलूकम् 'the crow and the owl'

९१४ । शूद्राणामनिरवसितानाम् । २ । ४ । १० ॥

अबहिष्कृतानां शूद्राणां प्राग्वत् । तक्षायस्कारम् । पात्राद्बहिष्कृतानां तु चण्डालमृतपाः ॥

914. A Dvandva compound of words denoting those classes of Śûdras who have not been expelled from the communion of higher classes, is singular

Thus, तक्षायस्कारम् 'the carpenter and the blacksmith'

Why do we say 'not expelled'? Observe चण्डालमृतपाः 'the Chandâla and the Mritapa'

Note —The word अनिरवसित means one not expelled (from the dish) This shows that there was interdining between the Shûdras and the twice-born in the days of Pânini

A Śudra who can take food from the dish of a higher class, without permanently defiling that vessel is called an Anirvasita Śudra

९१५ । गवाश्वप्रभृतीनि च । २ । ४ । ११ ॥

यथोच्चारितानि साधूनि स्युः । गवाश्वम् । दासीदासमित्यादि ॥

915 The word gavâśva and others are also Dvandva compounds which take the singular number

Thus गवाश्वम् 'the cow and the horse' So also दासीदासम् ॥ Here the elision of the first member required by I 2 67 S 933 does not take place These compounds are valid only so far as enumerated by Pânini specifically in the subjoined list

1 गवाश्वम् ॥ 2 गवाविकम् ॥ 3 गवेडकम् ॥ 4 अजाविकम् ॥ 5 अजैडकम् ॥ 6 कुब्जवामनम् ॥ 7 कुब्जकैरातकम् ॥ 8 पुत्रपौत्रम् ॥ 9 श्वचण्डालम् ॥ 10 स्त्रीकुमारम् ॥ 11 दासीमाणवकम् ॥ 12 शाटीपिच्छकम् ॥ 13 उष्ट्रखरम् ॥ 14 उष्ट्रशशम् ॥ 15 मूत्रशकृत् ॥ 16 मूत्रपुरीषम् ॥ 17 यकृन्मेदः ॥ 18 मांसशोणितम् ॥ 19 दर्भशरम् ॥ 20 दर्भपूतीकम् ॥ 21 अर्जुनशिरीषम् ॥ 22 तृणोलपम् ॥ 23 दासीदासम् ॥ 24 कुटीकुटम् ॥ 25 भागवतीभागवतम् ॥

Vart — In this list, the forms as given, are singular, but when the same words assume different forms they may take either number As गोश्वम् or गोश्वौ ॥ In this form of गा and अश्व the next rule applies and option is allowed

९१६ । विभाषा वृक्षमृगतृणधान्यव्यञ्जनपशुशकुन्यश्ववडवपूर्वापराधरोत्तराणाम् । २ । ४ । १२ ॥

वृक्षादीनां सप्तानां द्वन्द्वः । अश्ववडवेत्यादि द्वन्द्वत्रयं च प्राग्वद्वा । वृक्षादौ विशेषाणामेव ग्रहणम् । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः । रुरुपृषतम् । रुरुपृषताः । कुशकाशम् । कुशकाशाः । व्रीहियवम् । व्रीहियवाः । दधिघृतम् । दधिघृते । गोमहिषम् । गोमहिषाः । शुकबकम् । शुकबकाः । अश्ववडवम् । अश्ववडवौ । पूर्वापरम् । पूर्वापरे । अधरोत्तरम् । अधरोत्तरे ॥

फलसेनावनस्पतिमृगशकुनिक्षुद्रजन्तुधान्यतृणानां बहुप्रकृतिरेव द्वन्द्व एकवदिति वाच्यम् * ॥ बदराणि चामलकानि च बदरामलकम् । जातिरप्राणिनामित्येकवद्भाव । नेह बदरामलके । रथिकाश्वारोहौ । प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ इत्यादि । विभाषावृक्षेति सूत्रे येऽप्राणिनस्तेषां ग्रहणं । जातिरप्राणिनामिति नित्ये प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थम् । पशुग्रहणं हस्त्यश्वादिषु सेनाङ्गत्वान्नित्ये प्राप्ते । मृगाणां मृगैरेव शकुनीनां तैरेवोभयत्र द्वन्द्वः । अन्यैस्तु सहेतरेतरयोग एवेति ।नियमार्थं मृगशकुनिग्रहणम् । एवं पूर्वापरमधरोत्तरमित्यपि । अश्ववडवग्रहणं तु पक्षे नपुंसकत्वार्थम् । अन्यथा परवत्पूर्वंवदश्ववडवाविति स्यात् ॥

916 A Dvandva compound of words being the names of 1 trees, 2 wild animals, 3 grass 4 corn, 5 condiment, 6 domestic beasts and 7 birds, and the compounds, 1 aśva-vadava, 2 purvâ-para and 3 adharottara, are optionally singular

Thus, प्लक्षन्यग्रोधम् or प्लक्षन्यग्रोधाः 'the Plaksha and the Nyagrodha trees', रुरुपृषतम् or रुरुपृषताः 'the Ruru-deer and the spotted antelopes', कुशकाशम् or कुशकाशाः 'the Kuśa grass and the Kasa grass', व्रीहियवम् or व्रीहियवाः 'the rice and the barley' दधिघृतम् or ते 'the curd and the butter' गोमहिषम् or षाः 'the cow and the buffalo', शुकबकम् or° काः 'the parrot and the crane birds', अश्ववडवम् or° वौ 'the horse and the mare', पूर्वापरम् or रे the first and the last, अधरोत्तरम् or° रे 'the upper and lower'

Vart —The Dvandva compound of words denoting names of fruits, army, large trees, wild animals, birds, small animals, grain and grass is

singular, when a large number or quantity of these is spoken of, that is when a large number of them is taken collectively When they are each in Plural number, the compound is singular, otherwise not, as बदराणि चामलकानि = बदरामलकम्. Here there is singular number by II 4 6 S, 910 But not so in the following बदरामलके तिष्ठत 'a badari and an amalaki fruit are here', रथिकाश्वारोहौ 'a charioteer and a horseman', प्लक्षन्यग्रोधौ 'a Plaksha and a Nyagrodha tree', रुरुपृषतौ 'a Ruru and a Prishata deer', हंसचक्रवाकौ 'a Hansa and a Chakravâka bird', यूकालिक्षे 'a louse and a nit', व्रीहियवौ 'a brîhi and yava grain', कुशकाशौ 'the kuśa and kâsa grass, In this sutra, those words which denote non animate beings such as trees, and corn &c, would have taken compulsory singular by II 4 6 S 910, the present sûtra ordains optional singular in their case In the case of domestic animals like elephants and horses, the singular would have been compulsory under II 4 2 S 906, because they form component parts of an army corps This sûtra ordains option Why are the words मृग, शकुनि mentioned separately in the sûtra, when they would have taken general Dvandva by the general rule II 2, 29 S 901? It is so taken in order to indicate that मृग words are compounded with मृग words only, and शकुनि with शकुनि for the purposes of this rule With others they will form Itaretara dvandva, and not samâhâra

Thus this is a niyama or restrictive rule Beasts and birds cannot be mutually compounded into a samâhara Dvandva Beasts with beasts, and birds with birds will form a samâhâra, but beasts with birds will form Itaretara Dvandva only

So also is the case with पूर्वापरम् and अधरोत्तरम् ॥

The compound अश्ववडव is read in the sûtra in order to indicate, that in the alternative it is neuter For अश्व and वडव being both पशु would have come under the scope of this rule, without specific mention Their separate mention makes a particular rule regarding them Therefore when we use अश्ववडव in the singular, the rule II 4 27 S 813 is debarred, the compound does not take the gender of the first, but is governed by II 4 17 S 821 and is Neuter In fact, the *subsequent* sutra II 4. 27 S 813 is set aside by the prior sutra II 4. 17 S 821 because the singular अश्ववडव is a pratipada vidhâna samâsa

९१७ । विप्रतिषिद्धं चानधिकरणवाचि । २ । ४ । १३ ॥

विरुद्धार्थानामद्रव्यवाचिनां द्वन्द्व एकवद्वा स्यात् । शीतोष्णम् । शीतोष्णे । वैकल्पिके समाहारद्वन्द्वे चार्थे द्वन्द्व इति सूत्रेण प्राप्ते स विरुद्धार्थानां यदि भवति तर्हि अद्रव्यवाचिनामेवेति नियमार्थमिदम् । तेन द्रव्यवाचिनामितरेतरयोग एव । शीतोष्णे उदके स्त । विप्रतिषिद्धं किम् । नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ । इह पाक्षिकः समाहारद्वन्द्वो भवत्येव ॥

917 A Dvandva compound of words of contrary significations, but not being the names of material substances, is optionally singular

Thus शीतोष्णम् or शीतोष्णे 'cold and heat', सुखदुःखम् or सुखदुःखे pleasure and pain', जीवितमरणं or जीवितमरणे 'life and death

The word विप्रतिषिद्ध means words of contrary significations The word *adhikarana* means material things a dravya च indicates the anuvritti of the word 'optionally' from the last sûtra By sûtra II 2 29 S 901, the samahâra Dvandva is optional, for that sutra is governed by the great option of II 1 11 S 665 When there is such an optional compounding of antinomes, it can be of those antinomes only which do not denote a substance Thus the present sutra creates a niyama or restriction, of substance denoting antinomes, where we have Itaretara Dvandva only and not samâhâra

Why do we say 'of contrary significations'? Observe, नन्दकपाञ्चजन्यौ which are not of contrary significations Here there certainly will take place in the other alternative the optional samahara Dvandva also

Why do we say 'not being the names of substances'? Observe शीतोष्णे उदके 'cold and warm waters,' which denote substances, and therefore their compound is Itaretara Dvandva and optionally samâhara also

९१८। न दधिपयआदीनि। २। ४। १४॥

एतानि नैकवत्स्यु। दधिपयसी। इध्माबर्हिषी। निपातनाद्दीर्घः। ऋक्सामे। वाङ्मनसे॥

918 The Dvandva compounds like 'dadhipayas' &c, are not singular

Thus दधिपयसी 'the curd and the milk', इध्माबर्हिषी 'the fuel and the ghee' The short अ of इध्म is lengthened irregularly So also ऋक्सामे 'the Rig and the Sâma-Veda", वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind"

Note — With this sutra begins prohibition of singular number, which the previous sutras would have caused

The following is a list of such compounds —

1 दधिपयसी॥ 2 सर्पिर्मधुनी or मधुसर्पिषी॥ 3 ब्रह्मप्रजापती॥ 4 शिववैश्रवणौ॥ 5 स्कन्दविशाखौ॥ 6 परिव्राट्कौशिकौ॥ 7 प्रवर्ग्योपसदौ॥ 8 शुक्लकृष्णौ॥ 9 इध्माबर्हिषी॥ निपातनाद्दीर्घः॥ 10 दीक्षातपसी॥ 11 श्रद्धातपसी॥ 12. मेधातपसी॥

13 अध्ययनतपसी ॥ 14 उलूखलमुसले ॥ 15 आद्यावसाने ॥ 16 श्रद्धामेधे ॥ 17 ऋक्सामे ॥ 18 वाङ्मनसे ॥

९१९ । अधिकरणैतावत्त्वे च । २ । ४ । १५ ॥

द्रव्यसङ्ख्यावगमे एकवद्भावेति नियमो न स्यात् । दश दन्तोष्ठा ॥

919, A Dvandva compound denoting a fixed number (etavatva) of material things (adhikarana) is not singular

There is no general rule (niyama) that such a compound should be singular

As, दश दन्तोष्ठा 'ten sets of teeth and lips', Compare II 4 2

९२० । विभाषासमीपे । २ । ४ । १६ ॥

अधिकरणैतावत्त्वस्य सामीप्येन परिच्छेदे समाहार एवेत्येवरूपो नियमो वा स्यात् । उपदशं दन्तोष्ठम् । उपदशा दन्तोष्ठा ॥

920 A Dvandva compound, denoting an approximate number of material objects is optionally singular

There may be a general rule (niyama) that such a compound shall be a samâhara only

Thus उपदशदन्तोष्ठम् or उपदशा दन्तोष्ठा 'nearly ten i e nine or eleven sets of teeth and lips'

९२१ । आनङ् ऋतो द्वन्द्वे । ६ । ३ । २५ ॥

विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धवाचिनामृदन्तानां द्वन्द्वे आनङ् स्यादुत्तरपदे परे । होतापोतारौ । होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः । मातापितरौ । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामित्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या पुत्रे इत्यनुवृत्ते पितापुत्रौ ॥

921 In a Dvandva compound of words ending in short ऋ and expressing relationship through study or blood, the आनङ् is the substitute of the ऋ of the first member

Thus होतापोतारौ, नेष्टोद्गातारौ, but होतृपोतृनेष्टोद्गातारः ॥ Here the आनङ् replaces the ऋ of नेष्टृ only which is followed by the uttarapada उद्गातृ, and not the ऋ of होतृ and पोतृ which are not followed by an uttarapada प्रशास्ताप्रतिहर्तारौ मातापितरौ, The anuvritti of पुत्रे is understood here, from VI 3 21 S 980 so that the ऋ of the first member is changed to आ before पुत्र also, though

it does not end in ऋ ॥ As पितापुत्रौ, मातापुत्रौ ॥ यातानना्दरौ ॥ The anuvritti of पुत्रे is read in this sutra by the method of frog leap

The substitute is really आ, the ङ् is useful only to prevent the application of I 1 51, by which a र् comes after every *simple vowel* substitute of ऋ ॥

Why do we say 'both words ending in ऋ'? Observe पितृपितामहौ ॥

९२२ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ६ । ३ । २६ ॥

इहोत्तरपदे परे आनङ् । मित्रावरुणौ ॥

वायुशब्दप्रयोगे प्रतिषेधः ॥ अग्निवायू । वाय्वग्नी । पुनर्द्वन्द्वग्रहणं प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यस्य परिग्रहार्थम् । तेन ब्रह्मप्रजापती इत्यादौ नानङ् । एतद्धि नैकहविर्भागित्वेन श्रुतं नापि लोके प्रसिद्धसाहचर्यम् ॥

922 The आनङ् is the substitute for the final of the first member in a Dvandva compound of the names of the Devatâs

Thus मित्रावरुणौ ॥

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated with regard to वायु in both cases whether first or last, as अग्निवायू or वाय्वग्नी ॥

The repetition of the word Dvandva in this sutra, in spite of its anuvritti from the last, shows that the rule applies only to such Dvandvas which are generally found in the Vedas and are well-known It does not apply to compounds like ब्रह्मप्रजापती शिववैश्रवणौ ॥ These Devatâs are not joint in participating in a common oblation, nor are they known among people to always go to gether In fact it applies to the Dvandva of those Devatas whose companionship is well-known

९२३ । ईदग्नेः सोमवरुणयोः । ६ । ३ । २७ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्व इत्येव ॥

923 For the final of अग्नि, is substituted the long ई, when सोम or वरुण follow in a Dvandva

Thus अग्नि + सोम = अग्नी + सोम ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which स is changed to ष ॥

९२४ । अग्नेः स्तुत्स्तोमसोमाः । ८ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अग्नेः परेषामेषां सस्य षः स्यात् समासे । अग्निष्टुत् । अग्निष्टोमः । अग्नीषोमौ । अग्नीवरुणौ ॥

924 ष् is substituted for the स् of स्तुत्, स्तोम and सोम when preceded by अग्नि in a compound

Thus अग्निष्टुत्, अग्निष्टोम, अग्नीषोमौ। अग्निवरुणौ॥

Ishti —The इ of अग्नि is lengthened before सोम and it is after such lengthened ई, that the स of सोम is changed to ष otherwise not As अग्निसोमौ माणवकौ॥ So also अग्निसोमौ तिष्ठत (where 'agni' means fire, and 'soma' a kind of herb) "the fire and the soma plant are here"

When there is no compounding we have अग्ने सोम॥

The word अग्निष्टुत् is formed by क्विप, the sacrifice in which Agni is praised (स्तूयते) is so called अग्निष्टोम is also the name of a sacrifice the first division (संस्था) of the Soma yâga अग्नीषोम is a देवता द्वन्द्व so where there is no Devata Dvandva, the ष change will not take place Thus where Agni and Soma are names of two boys, or where they refer to physical fire and herb According to Aśvalayana there is lengthening and ष change in the last case also, as अग्नीषोमौ प्रणेष्यामि॥

९२५। इद्वृद्धौ। ६। ३। २८॥

वृद्धिमत्युत्तरपदे अग्नेरिदादेशः स्याद्देवताद्वन्द्वे। अग्नामरुतौ देवते अस्य आग्निमारुतं कर्म। अग्नीवरुणौ देवते अस्य आग्निवारुणम्। देवताद्वन्द्वे चेत्युभयपदवृद्धि। अलौकिके वाक्ये आनङमीत्त्वं च बाधित्वा इत्। वृद्धौ किम्। आग्नेन्द्र। नेन्द्रस्य परस्येत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिप्रतिषेधः। विष्णौ न * ॥ आग्नावैष्णवम्॥

925 The short इ is the substitute of the final of अग्नि, in such a Dvandva, in which both members take the Vriddhi

The substitution of इ for इ may appear superfluous, but it is really for the sake of debarring the long ई of the last sûtra

Thus आग्निवारुणी, which would have required long ई by the last rule आग्निमारुतम्, which would have required आनङ् by VI 3 26 Thus आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत, आग्निमारुतं कर्म क्रीयेत॥ अग्नीमरुतौ देवताऽस्य (IV 2 24 S 1226), takes the Taddhita affix, अण् and by VII 3 21, S 1239 both members of the compound take Vriddhi When both members do not take Vriddhi, the rule does not apply as आग्नेन्द्र (अग्निइन्द्र), because इन्द्र does not take Vriddhi, by VII 3 22 S 1240

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated when the word विष्णु follows as आग्नावैष्णवं चरुं निर्वपेत्॥ The इ being prohibited, there comes आनङ् of 922

९२६ । दिवो द्यावा । ६ । ३ । २९ ॥

देवताद्वन्द्वे उत्तरपदे । द्यावाभूमी । द्यावाक्षमे ॥

926 For दिव् is substituted द्यावा in a Dvandva of the names of the Devatâs, when it is followed by a second member

Thus द्यावाक्षामा, (Rig Veda X 36 1) द्यावाभूमी ॥ (Rig Veda VII 62 4)

९२७ । दिवसश्च पृथिव्याम् । ६ । ३ । ३० ॥

दिव इत्येतत् चात् द्यावा । आदेशे अकारोच्चारणं सकारस्य रुत्वं मा भूदित्येतदर्थम् । द्यौश्च पृथिवी च दिवस्पृथिव्यौ । द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ छन्दसि दृष्टानुविधिः ॥ द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी । दिवस्पृथिव्योररातिरित्यत्र पदकारा विसर्गं पठन्ति ॥

927 For दिव् is also, substituted दिवस् (as well as द्यावा) when पृथिवी follows in a Dvandva of the names of Devatâs

Thus दिवस्पृथिव्यौ, द्यावापृथिव्यौ ॥ The word दिवस् is exhibited in the aphorism as दिवस ending in अ, in order to indicate that the स् of दिवस् is not changed to र or visarga or upadhmânîya when followed by पृथिवी Following is an anomalous use, there being no Dvandva compounding here द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते ॥ (Rig Veda II 12 13) For in the chhandas the usage determines the rule In दिवस्पृथिव्योररति the authors of Pada Pâtha read the दिवस् as दिव with a visarga

९२८ । उषासोषसः । ६ । ३ । ३१ ॥

उषस्शब्दस्योषासादेशो देवताद्वन्द्वे । उषासासूर्यम् ॥

928 For उषस् is substituted उषासा in a devatâ-dvandva

Thus —उषासासूर्यम्, उषासानक्ता ॥ (Rig Veda X 36 1) These are samâhâra compounds of उषा and सूर्य &c

९२९ । मातरपितरावुदीचाम् । ६ । ३ । ३२ ॥

मातरपितरौ । उदीचां किम् । मातापितरौ ॥

929. According to the Northern Grammarians, मातरपितरौ is a valid form.

This is formed by अरङ् substitution of the ऋ of मातृ ॥ Why do we say "according to Northern authors"? The other form is मातापितरौ ॥

९३० । द्वन्द्वाच्चुदषहान्तात्समाहारे । ५ । ४ । १०६ ॥

चवर्गान्ताद्दषहान्ताच्च द्वन्द्वाट्टच् स्यात्समाहारे । वाक् च त्वक् च वाक्त्वचम् । त्वक्स्रजम् । शमीदृषदम् । वाक्त्विषम् । छत्रोपानहम् । समाहारे किम् । प्रावृट्शरदौ ॥

930 The affix tach comes after a Dvandva compound ending in a palatal, or a द् or a ष् or a ह्, when the compound is a Samâhâra Dvandva (collective noun taken as a unity)

The anuvṛitti of Tatpurusha which commenced at V 4. 86, ceases The rule applies to समाहारद्वन्द्व 'an aggregate Dvandva" which is always in Neuter singular, and not to इतरेतरद्वन्द्व "or mutual conjunction" Thus वाक् च त्वक् च = वाक्त्वचम्, so also त्वक्स्रजम्, शमीदृषदम्, वाक्त्विषम, छत्रोपानहम्, Why do we say "in a Samâhâra Dvandva"? Observe प्रावृट्शरदौ ॥

Note —Why do we say "after a Dvandva"? The affix will not come after a Tatpurusha, as, पञ्च वाचः समाहृता = पञ्चवाक् ॥ Why do we say "when ending in a consonant of च class, or द ष, ह"? Observe वाक्समित् ॥

Here ends the chapter on the Dvandva Compounds

——— o ———

अथैकशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXI

ON EKAŚESHAS

सरूपाणाम ॥ रामौ । रामा ॥ विरूपाणामपि समानार्थानाम * ॥ वक्रदण्डश्च कुटिलदण्डश्च वक्रदण्डौ । कुटिलदण्डौ ॥

Now we shall take up the subject of eka śesha, i e where of the several words one only is retained, the others are elided The eka-śesha is the reverse of Dvandva compound in which *all* the words are retained

We have already seen the application of eka śesha rule in the declension of nouns, where राम+राम=रामौ "Two Ramas" and not रामरामौ, similarly राम+राम+राम=रामा ॥ See I 2 64, S 188 Here all the words are of the same form or सरूप ॥

The rule is not confined to sarûpa words only Sometimes though the *form* may be different, there takes place eka sesha as by the following Vârtika

Vârtika —There is eka-sesha of words of dissimilar forms even, when they have the same *meaning* or *sense* As वक्रदण्ड + कुटिलदण्ड = वक्रदण्डौ or कुटिलदण्डौ ॥ This Vârtika would become unnecessary, if we explain the word रूप in सरूप by रूप्यते बोध्यते "meaning, sense"

९३१ । वृद्धो यूना तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष । १ । २ । ६५ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ गोत्रं शिष्यते गोत्रयुवप्रत्ययमात्रकृत चेत्तयो कृत्स्न वैरूप्य स्यात् । गार्ग्यश्च गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वृद्ध किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ । यूना किम् । गर्गगार्ग्यौ । तल्लक्षण किम् । भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ । कृत्स्नं किम् । गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

931 The vriddha (or a patronymic Gotra word) becomes ekaśesha, and is retained, when compounded with a patronymic word called yuvan, provided that, the specific difference in form between them be in their signs (affixes) only

The word śesha of the sûtra I 2 64 S 188 is understood here The word "yûnâ" in the text is in the instrumental case The yuvan word is dropped when read along with a Vriddha word,* The word

Vriddha means gotra the old âchaiyas (grammarians) used the word Vriddha for gotra The vṛiddha (or in other words, the gotra) word designates a person between whom and the original head of the family, a son (or a word formed by an apatya affix) intervenes In using together two words, one formed by a gotra affix and the other by a yuvan affix, the Vriddha is retained, where the difference between those words is in their affixes only These two words gotra and yuvan are defined in sûtras IV 1 162 and 163 (अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् ॥ जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा) ॥ Roughly speaking, a gotra word is formed from the original noun which is the name of the head of the family, when a son of such-person is living, and a vṛiddha word represents thus a grandson, or lower than that, but not a son, while a yuvan word is derived from such last mentioned gotra word by another affix and thus represents persons lower than grandsons

The word 'tad' in the sûtra refers to the gotra and yuvan affixes The word lakshana 'sign' in the sûtra is synonymous with 'cause' or 'occasion', meaning the specific difference is caused or occasioned by the gotra and yuvan affixes The word चेत् in the sûtra means 'if' The word एव 'only' is used to exclude others The word विशेष in the sûtra means the 'dissimilarity of form'

Thus गार्ग्य + गार्ग्यायण = गार्ग्यौ ॥ Here the first word denotes a clan called Gârgya (the offspring or grandsons of Garga formed by the affix यञ् IV, 1 105) the second word denotes a younger branch of the same, and is formed by the Taddhita affix फक् denoting a secondary derivative In this then, the first or "Vṛiddha" remains, the second or the yuvan is dropped, and the form "Gârgyau" means both the old and the new clan Similalry वात्स्य + वात्स्यायन = वात्स्यौ ॥

This Ekasesha is to be done only in those cases, where the two words have the same *radical* form, the only difference between them being in their derivative formation

This rule of ekaśesha does not apply, if one of the words be not a Vriddha word Thus गर्ग + गार्ग्यायण = गर्गगार्ग्यायणौ ॥

Similarly *vice versa* गार्ग्य + गर्ग = गार्ग्यगर्गौ ॥ Here the one word is Vriddha, but the other is not yuvan

The word 'only" is used in the sûtra in an exclusive sense, the force being, that two words may stand in the relation of Vṛiddha and yuvan, their radical element, *i e* form may be the same, but if the secondary word has another sense over and above the sense of a yuvan affix, this rule is not

applicable Thus Rule IV 1 148 S 1172 says "a Vṛiddha word may optionally take the afix ठक् to form a yuvan word and *to indicate contempt and born in the country of Sauvira*" Thus भागवित्ति + भागवित्तिक = भागवित्तिभागवित्तिकौ ॥

Here the second word, though a yuvan word, connotes the additional sense of contempt and degradation The affix ठक् is not merely a yuvan affix, but conveys the other sense also The pure yuvan word being भागवित्तायन ॥

The words must differ only by their affixes, but their radical element must be the same The rule therefore does not apply to —गार्ग्य (a Vṛiddha word) + वात्स्यायन (a yuvan word) = गार्ग्यवात्स्यायनौ ॥

९३२ । स्त्री पुंवच्च । १ । २ । ६६ ॥

यूना सहोक्तौ वृद्धा स्त्री शिष्यते तदर्थश्च पुंवत् । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणश्च गर्गाः । अस्त्रियामित्यनुवर्तमाने यञञोश्चेति लुक् । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्षी ॥

932 And so also a feminine word, ending with a vṛiddha affix, when similarly spoken along with the same word, but which ends with a yuvan affix, is only retained, and it is treated like a masculine

When a word denoting gotra, and in the feminine gender, is compounded with another word denoting a yuvan, the first is retained and the last is dropped, and the feminine noun so remaining is then treated like the masculine. This aphorism makes an addition to the previous sûtra and is governed by all the conditions mentioned in that sutra Thus गार्गी + गार्ग्यायणौ = गर्गाः ॥ Here the affix यञ् is elided by II 4 64 S 1108 which applies to non feminine words only, because the anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियाम् is understood in that sûtra from II 4 62 S 1193 The second word is shown in the dual case, in order to bring out the marked difference of form in the plural with masculation

Similarly दाक्षी + दाक्षायण = दाक्षी (masculine dual of दाक्षि) ॥

९३३ । पुमान् स्त्रिया । १ । २ । ६७ ॥

स्त्रिया सहोक्तौ पुमान् शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । हंसी च हंसश्च हंसौ ॥

933 A word in the masculine gender, similarly spoken along with the same word, but ending with the feminine affix, becomes ekaśesha, and the latter is dropped.

As हसी + हस = हसौ ॥

९३४ । भ्रातृपुत्रौ स्वसृदुहितृभ्याम् । १ । २ । ६८ ॥

भ्राता च स्वसा च भ्रातरौ । पुत्रश्च दुहिता च पुत्रौ ॥

934 The words bhrâtri, 'brother,' and putra,' 'son,' when spoken of along with svasri, 'sister' and duhitri 'daughter' respectively, are only retained, and the latter are dropped

With this sûtra ceases the governing force of the remaining conditions contained in I 2 65 S 931 Even where the radical elements of two words are different, there may be an ekaśesha under special circumstances Thus भ्रातृ + स्वसृ = भ्रातरौ (brother and sister or brothers), similarly पुत्र + दुहितृ = पुत्रौ, (son and daughter or sons)

९३५ । नपुंसकमनपुंसकेनैकवच्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् । १ । २ । ६९ ॥

अक्लीबेन सहोक्तौ क्लीबं शिष्यते तच्च वा एकवत्स्यात्तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । शुक्लः पटः । शुक्ला शाटी । शुक्लं वस्त्रम् । तदिदं शुक्लम् । तानीमानि शुक्लानि ॥

935 A neuter noun, which has the same form, only differing in affix, is optionally retained, and the other is dropped, and it is like a singular number

The words तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेष of I 2 65 S 931 governs this sûtra also thus शुक्ल पट, शुक्ला शाटी, शुक्ल च वस्त्र ॥ "The white(masculine) cloth, the white (*feminine*) wrapper, and the white (*neuter*) garment," may all be spoken of collectively as शुक्ल (*neuter*), or in the Plural शुक्लानि ॥

Note —A neuter prevails over a masculine or feminine noun when spoken of along with them, provided that, the words differ in gender signs only, but radically they be the same Thus आलस्यो, मैथुन, निद्रा सेव्यमान विवर्द्धते 'Idleness, lust, and sleep, indulged in, increase' Here the adjective 'sevyamânam' is in the neuter gender, though it qualifies the words 'alasya' which is in the masculine, 'maithunam' which is in the neuter, and 'nidra' which is in the feminine gender The rule, therefore, may be stated in these words, that where one, adjective qualifies several nouns, in different genders, but one of which must be neuter the adjective agrees with the neuter

The above illustration also shows that the neuter ekaśesha may be in the singular number

If the neuter is compounded with another neuter, this rule does not

apply Thus शुक्ल+शुक्ल+शुक्ल=शुक्लानि the word is in the plural, there is no ekavadbhâva.

९३६ । पिता मात्रा । १ । २ । ७० ॥

मात्रा सहोक्तौ पिता वा शिष्यते । माता च पिता च पितरौ—मातापितरौ वा ॥

936 The word pitṛi, 'father is optionally only retained when spoken of along with mâtri, 'mother'

Thus पिता+माता=पितरौ, 'father and mother, or parent or मातापितरौवा ॥

९३७ । श्वशुरः श्वश्र्वा । १ । २ । ७१ ॥

श्वश्र्वा सहोक्तौ श्वशुरो वा शिष्यते तल्लक्षण एव विशेषश्चेत् । श्वश्रूश्च श्वशुरश्च श्वशुरौ । श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ ॥

937 The word śvaśura 'father-in-law,' is optionally only retained, when spoken of along with śvaśrû, 'mother-in-law'

Thus श्वशुर +श्वश्रू may be either श्वशुरौ 'father-in law and mother-in law,' or श्वश्रूश्वशुरौ ॥

९३८ । त्यदादीनि सर्वैर्नित्यम् । १ । २ । ७२ ॥

सर्वैः सहोक्तौ त्यदादीनि नित्यं शिष्यन्ते । स च देवदत्तश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादीनां मिथः सहोक्तौ यत्परं तच्छिष्यते * ॥ स च यश्च यौ ॥

पूर्वशेषोऽपि दृश्यते इति भाष्यम् ॥ स च यश्च तौ ॥

त्यदादितः शेषे पुंनपुंसकतो लिङ्गवचनानि * ॥ सा च देवदत्तश्च तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च तानि । पुंनपुंसकयोस्तु परत्वान्नपुंसकं शिष्यते । तच्च देवदत्तश्च ते ॥

अद्वन्द्वतत्पुरुषविशेषणानामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे । मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ । तच्च सा च अर्धपिप्पल्यौ ते ॥

938 The pronouns 'tyad' &c, when spoken of along with any other noun, (pronoun other than 'tyad &c') are always retained as ekaśesha, (to the exclusion of others)

The list of 'tyadâdi' pronouns has been given under sûtra I 1 27 They are 12 words beginning with 'tyad' and ending with 'kim' When these tyadâdi pronouns are compounded with any other noun, (or a pronoun, which does not belong to their class), they prevail, the rest are dropped The word 'sarva' is used in the aphorism to indicate universality', i e.

whatever may be the word in composition with them, the 'tyad &c' are retained to the exclusion of others The word 'nitya' is used to indicate that this is an obligatory rule, and not optional, as were the last rules

Thus स (he) + देवदत्त (Devadatta) = तौ (they two)

Vart —When त्यदादि words are compounded among themselves, the word which is read last in the order given in the Ganapâtha remains, the rest are dropped Thus य + स = यौ, य + क = कौ ॥ Thus यद् is read after तद् (see I 1 27 S 213), so यद् will be retained and not तद्, similarly किम् is read after यद्, and therefore किम् is retained to the exclusion of यद् ॥

Vârtika —In the ekaśesha of tyâdadi words, the masculine is retained to the exclusion of feminine, and neuter to the exclusion of masculine As सा च देवदत्तश्च = तौ । तच्च देवदत्तश्च यज्ञदत्ता च = तानि ॥ Of the masculine and neuter, the neuter is retained, being taught subsequent to masculine तच्च च देवदत्तश्च = ते ॥

Vartika —It should be rather stated that when these Pronouns do not refer to Dvandva or Tatpurusha compounds In the case of these, the sûtra II 4 26 S 812 applies The relative pronouns follow the gender of their antecedent noun Thus कुक्कुटमयूर्याविमे (इमे feminine dual), but मयूरीकुक्कुटाविमौ (इमौ masculine dual) Similarly पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + पिप्पल्यर्धम् (neut) + अर्धपिप्पली (feminine) = अर्धपिप्पल्य (feminine Plural) The relative Pronoun will be ता ॥

९३९ । ग्राम्यपशुसङ्घेष्वतरुणेषु स्त्री । १ । २ । ७३ ॥

एषु सहविवक्षायां स्त्री शिष्यते । पुमान् स्त्रियेत्यस्यापवाद । गाव इमा । ग्राम्येति किम् । रुरव इमे । पशुग्रहणं किम् । ब्राह्मणाइमे । सङ्घेषु किम् । एतौ गावौ । अतरुणेषु किम् । वत्सा इमे ।

अनेकशफेष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ अश्वा इमे ॥

इह सर्वत्र एकशेषे कृतेऽनेकसुबन्ताभावाद् द्वन्द्वो न । तेन शिरसी शिरांसीत्यादौ समासस्य न्तोदात्त प्राण्यङ्गत्वादेकवद्भावश्च न । पन्थानौ पन्थान इत्यादौ समासान्तो न ॥

939 The feminine noun is only retained, when denoting a collection of domestic animals, not being young

As a general rule, when there is a compounding of masculine and feminine nouns, the masculine noun is retained (see I 2 67 S 933) The present sûtra is an exception to that rule It ordains that when there is a compounding of words denoting group of domestic animals, of different genders, the feminine noun is preferred, provided that, the words should

not relate to the young of such animals The word 'ataruna' in the aphorism qualifies the word 'paśu' with which it is in construction, and not the word 'sańgha' As गाव इमा 'these cows (and bulls)' अजा इमा these goats' (both males and females)

The rule only applies to *domestic* (grâmya animals) and not to *wild* animals, and only to *beasts* (paśu) and not men As रुरव इमे, 'these wild deers' (male and female), पृषता इमे 'these antelopes' (male and female), ब्राह्मणा, 'the Brâhmanas' (male and female) क्षत्रिया, 'the Kshatriyas' In all these, the masculine noun is retained by I 2 67 S 933

Vart —This rule must be confined to domestic animals having divided hoof Therefore अश्वा इमे, 'these horses' (male and female) Here the masculine noun is retained, because horse has no divided hoof

Why have we used the word (sańgha) "collection"? Observe एतौ गावौ चरत, 'these two cows are grazing' Here the word 'gâvau' does not connote 'bull' also

Why do we say "not being young"? वत्सा इमे 'these calves', बर्करा इम 'these kids' Here the masculine noun is retained, by the application of I 2 67 S 933

In all these examples under previous rules, when once the eka śesha takes place, there is no longer Dvandva compounding, as these are not *many* nouns The rules of compounding, therefore, do not apply to eka sesha words Thus शिरसी (dual), शिरांसि (Plural) have not acute on the final, which would have been the case had they been treated as compound, for then rule VI 1 123 S 3734 would have applied Nor is there eka vadbhâva of these words, though they denote members of living beings (II 4 2 S 906) Similarly in पन्थानौ पन्थान &c there is not the affixing of samâsânta (V 4 74 S 940)

॥ इत्येकशेषः ॥

HERE ENDS EKASESHA

———o———

अथ सर्वसमासशेष प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXII

ON COMPOUNDS IN GENERAL

कृत्तद्धितसमासैकशेषसनाद्यन्तधातुरूपा पञ्च वृत्तय । परार्थाभिधान वृत्ति । वृत्त्यर्थावबोधक वाक्य विग्रह । स द्विविध । लौकिकोऽलौकिकश्च । परिनिष्ठितत्वात्साधुर्लौकिक । प्रयोगानर्होऽसाधुर लौकिक । यथा । राज्ञ पुरुष । राजन् अस् पुरुष सु इति । अविग्रहो नित्यसमास ॥

अस्वपदविग्रहो वा समासश्चतुर्विध इति तु प्रायोवाद । अव्ययीभावतत्पुरुषबहुव्रीहिद्वन्द्वाधिकारबहिर्भूतानामपि सहसुपेति समासविधानात् ।

पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानो ऽव्ययीभाव । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुष । अन्यपदार्थप्रधानो बहुव्रीहि । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इत्यपि प्राचा प्रवाद प्रायोऽभिप्राय । सूपप्रति उन्मत्तगङ्गमित्याद्यव्ययीभावे, अतिमालादौ तत्पुरुषे, द्वित्रा इत्यादिबहुव्रीहौ दन्तोष्ठमित्यादिद्वन्द्वे चाभावात् । तत्पुरुषविशेष कर्मधारय, तद्विशेष द्विगु ॥ अनेक पदस्य द्वन्द्व बहुव्रीह्योरेव । तत्पुरुष क्वचिदेवेत्युक्तम् । किञ्च ॥

सुपा सुपा तिङा नाम्ना धातुनाऽथ तिङा तिङा । सुबन्तेनेति विज्ञेय समास षड्विधो बुधै ॥ १ ॥

सुपा सुपा, राजपुरुष । तिङा, पर्यभूषयत् । नाम्ना, कुम्भकार । धातुना, कटप्रू अजस्रम् । तिङा तिङा, पिबतखादता । खादतमोदता । तिङा सुपा, कृन्तविचक्षणेति यस्यां क्रियायां सा कृन्तविचक्षणा । एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे इति मयूरव्यंसकादौ पाठात्समास ॥

The Grammatical Function or modification (vṛiti) is of five sorts, namely, 1 Kṛit—the process by which a primary noun is derived from a verbal root 2 Taddhita—the operation by which a secondary noun is formed from a Primitive Noun 3 Samâsa—the process by which two or more nouns are composed to form one noun 4 Eka sesha—the process by which one is retained to the exclusion of other nouns, and the noun so retained denotes all the nouns so excluded 5 Lastly Sanâdyanta *dhâtus*—the process by which a verb is formed from a noun, and a derivative verb from a Primitive verb , such as the Desiderative the Causative, the Intensive, and the Denominative verbs

The word *vritti* means the power of expressing a sense different from what was inherent originally in the word When a word undergoes a *vritti* or modification, it gains an additional sense This additional sense always refers to some thing other than the original connotation of the word Therefore the conjugation of a root by adding ति &c affixes is not a *Vritti* because here the root does not undergo any change of sense To express the sense of another word by a different word is a vritti

A sentence that explains or shows the sense of a vritti is called vigraha or the analysis of a word The analysis of a word shows what *Vritti* or modification the original element has undergone

The vigraha or analysis is of two sorts—logical and grammatical That which is shown by a sentence, as employed in ordinary language, wherein the words employed are joined together by the rules of sandhi, and are *completely formed* words, is logical analysis That which is shown by techinical terms of grammar, which convey no meaning to outsiders, is a grammatical analysis

Thus राजपुरुषः when analysed logically will be राज्ञः पुरुषः, but when analysed grammatically, it will be राजन्+ङस्+पुरुष+सु ॥

That which is not capable of laukika analysis is a nitya samâsa or a nitya-samâsa is that which is not capable of analysis into its component words

It is generally said, but not very accurately, that the compounds are of four sorts—namely 1 Avyayîbhâva, 2 Tatpurusha, 3 Bahuvrîhi and 4. Dvandva But there are compounds not covered by these four, namely compounds formed under the general rule सहसुपा ॥ (S 649)

" An Avyayîbhâva is a compound in which the sense of the first member is the principal or predominant "

" A Tatpurusha compound has the sense of the subsequent member predominant "

" A Bahuvrîhi is a compound in which the sense of a third term, not to be found in the compound, is predominant "

" A Dvandva is a compound in which the sense of both the members of a compound is predominant "

The above definitions are of ancient grammarians , they are not however strictly accurate For these definitions do not hold good in the case of Avyayîbhava compounds like उन्मत्तगङ्गम्, Tatpurusha compounds like अतिमाला Bahuvrîhi like द्वित्राः , and Dvandva like दन्तोष्ठम् ॥

Karmadhâraya is a subdivision of Tatpurusha Dvigu is a particular case of Karmadhâraya

The Dvandvas and Bahuvrîhis only can consist of many words The Tatpurusha seldom consists of more than two words as in द्व्यहजातः ॥ For thus it is said

VERSE

1 The case-inflected words may be compounded with another case-inflected word 2 Or with a tense inflected word, 3 Or with a crude noun 4 Or with a root 5 The tense inflected word may be compound with another tense inflected word 6 Or with a case-infl ected word Thus compounds are of six kinds

1 सुपा सुपा, Declined noun with another declined noun as राजपुरुष ॥

2 सुपा तिङा, A noun with a conjugated verb as, परि-अभूषयत् ॥

3 सुपा नाम्ना A noun with a nascent noun or upapada samâsa. as, कुम्भकार ॥ Here the compounding takes place prior to the adding of सुप् ॥

4 सुपा धातुना, A noun with a root as कटप्रू । अजस्रम् ॥ This compound कटप्रू is so exhibited in Vârtika under sutra III 2 178 S 3158, and the word अजस्रम् is formed by the sutra III 2 167 S 3147

5 तिङा तिङा । A conjugated verb with another verb, — as पिबत खादता, खादतमोदता ॥ See Mayûravyansaka class of compounds II 1, 72 S 754

6 तिङा सुपा, A conjugated verb with a noun, as कृन्तविचक्षणा ॥ In the Mayura vyansakâdi class, we find the rule एहीडादयोऽन्यपदार्थे ॥ The compound is formed under taht rule

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अथ सर्व समासान्त प्रकरणम्॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

SAMÂSÂNTA AFFIXES IN GENERAL

९४० । ऋक्पूरब्धू पथामानक्षे । ५ । ४ । ७४ ॥

अ अनक्षे इति छेद । ऋगाद्यन्तस्य समासस्य अप्रत्ययोऽन्तावयव स्यात् । अक्षे या धूस्तदन्तस्य तु न । अर्धर्च ॥ अनृचबह्वृचावध्येतर्येव ॥ नह अनृक्साम । बह्वृक् सूक्तम् । विष्णो पू विष्णुपुरम् । क्लीबत्व लोकात् । विमलाप सर ॥

940 The affix अ comes after rik, pur, ap, dhûr and pathin, when finals in a compound, but not so when dhûr is in conjunction with aksha

The anuvritti of the word bahuvrîhi does not enter here it applies to all compounds in general The word अनक्षे qualifies धुर, as it cannot qualify the words ऋक् &c

Thus (1) *rik* —अर्धर्च 'half a hymn', अनृच, बह्वृच

Note —Why do we say "when not in conjunction with अक्ष ?" Observe, अक्षस्य धू = अक्षधू, दृढधूरक्ष ॥

The words अनृच and बह्वृच apply to students of Rik thus अनृच means "a boy who has not read the Rig Veda" बह्वृच "One who has read the Rig Veda" The affix अ is not applied when it refers to the Vedas, as अनृक् साम, "the Sâma Veda which is not divided into hymns" बह्वृक् सूक्तम् ॥ "a hymn consisting of many Rig verses"

(2) *pur* —विष्णो पूर = विष्णुपुरम् 'the town of Vishnu' So also ललाटपुरम् नान्दीपुरम् ॥ The Neuter gender is due to usage, although the word पुर् is feminine

(3) *Ap* —As विमलाप सर 'a lake with pure water" For other compounds of अप् see the following sûtras

Note —In अर्धर्च the compounding is by II 2 2 S 713 It becomes masculine by II 4 31 S 816 In the case of अनृक् ann बह्वृक् we may have the general samâsanta कप् (V 4 154 S 891) giving the forms अनृक्कम &c For अप् धुर् and पथिन् see the subsequent sutras

In the case of the word अप् the following rule applies by which the initial अ of अप is changed to ई ॥ Thus द्वि + अप् + अ = द्वि + ईप् + अ ॥

९४१ । द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् । ६ । ३ । ९७ ॥

अप इति कृतसमासान्तस्यानुकरणम । षष्ठ्यर्थे प्रथमा । एभ्योऽपस्य ईत्स्यात् । द्विगता आपो यस्मिन्निति द्वीपम् । अन्तरीपम् । प्रतीपम् । समीपम । समापा देवयजनमिति तु समा आपो यस्मिन्निति बोध्यम । कृतसमासान्तग्रहणान्नेह । स्वप् । स्वपी ॥

अवर्णान्ताद्वा * ॥ प्रेपम् । परेपम् । प्रापम् । परापम् ॥

941 After द्वि, अन्तर् and after Prepositions, a long ई is the substitute of अप ॥

The word अप् is exhibited with the samâsânta अ *i e* अप् + अ = अप ॥ The nominative अप has the force of the genitive here. That is अप = अपस्य ॥ The samâsânta अ is added by V 4 74 S 940 By I 1 54 S 44 ई replaces the *first letter* of अप् *viz* अ only Thus द्वीपम 'an island,' अन्तरीपम् 'in the midst of waters' प्रतीपम् 'in the direction of the waters' i e 'adverse' समीपम् ॥ 'near'

Note —Prohibition should be stated with regard to समाप ॥ समाप नाम देवयजनम् ॥ 'a land in which are made offering of oblations to the gods"

The word समाप may be analysed as समा + आप, *i e* समा आपो यस्मिन् ॥ Here समा is a noun and not an upasarga, and so the rule does not apply It is not the preposition सम ॥ The word देवयजन means the ground where Devas are worshipped 'Holy land " "sacrificial ground"

As the word अप is exhibited in the sûtra with the samâsânta अ, the ई substitution will not take place where the samâsanta अ is not added Thus V 4 69 S 954 prohibits samâsânta when 'honor' is indicated Therefore सु + अप् = स्वप्, Fem स्वपी ॥

Vârtika —Others say after a Preposition in अ, the long ई substitution does not take place Thus प्रेपम् or प्रापम् 'a puddle', परापम् or परेपम् 'an out let of water" The word upasarga strictly speaking denotes adverbs, and cannot be applied to nouns like अप्, here, however, this word is used in a loose sense in the sûtra It means प्र &c

With regard to the word अप् the following rule also applies

९४२ । ऊदनोर्देशे । ६ । ३ । ९८ ॥

अनो परस्यापस्य ऊत्स्याद्देशे । अनूपो देश ।

राजधुरा । अक्षे तु अक्षधूः । दृढधूरक्ष । सखिपथ । रम्यपथो देश ॥

942. After अनु ऊ is substituted for (the अ of) अप, when the sense is that of a locality

Thus अनूपो देश । 'a marshy place'

Note —But अन्वीपम् when locality is not meant The long ऊ is taught for the sake of showing how the word is to be analysed, as अनु ऊप = अनूप ॥ The form अनूप could have been evolved with a short उ also, as अनु + उप = अनूप ॥ But this analysis is not intended

The word धुर् also takes अ by V 4 74 S 940 As —राजधुरा 'the kings load (of Government)', but when relating to अक्ष then अक्षधुर 'the yoke attached to the fore part of the pole of a car', दृढधुरक्ष 'a car with strong poles'

The word पथिन् also takes, अ by V 4 74 S 940 As —सखिपथः 'the road of a friend' रम्यपथो देश 'a place the road of which is pleasant'

९४३ । अच् प्रत्यन्ववपूर्वात्सामलोम्न । ५ । ४ । ७५ ॥

एतत्पूर्वात्सामलोमान्तात्समासादच् स्यात् । प्रतिसामम् । अनुसामम् । अवसामम् । प्रतिलोमम् अनुलोमम् । अवलोमम ॥

कृष्णोदकपाण्डुसंख्यापूर्वाया भूमेरजिष्यते * ॥ कृष्णभूम । उदग्भूम । पाण्डुभूम । द्विभूम प्रासाद ।

संख्याया नदीगोदावरीभ्या च * ॥ पञ्चनदम् । सप्तगोदावरम् ॥

अजिति योगविभागादन्यत्रापि । पद्मनाभ ॥

943 The affix अच् comes after the words sâman and loman, when prati, anu and ava precede them

As प्रतिसामम्, harshly' अनुसामम, 'in a friendly way,' अवसामम् 'away from gentleness,' प्रतिलोमम्, 'inversely' अनुलोमम् 'directly'

Ishti —The affix अच् comes after the word भूमि preceded by the words कृष्ण, उदक्, पाण्डु and also 'a numeral Thus कृष्णभूम· 'a place having the ground black,' उदग्भूम 'the ground sloping Northwards,' पाण्डुभूम 'having white ground" द्विभूम प्रासाद 'a palace of two floors'

Vârtika —And also after the words गोदावरी and नदी when preceded by a numeral As पञ्चनदम्, 'the land of five rivers, i e the Panjab', सप्तगोदावरम्, the name of a country, (see II 1 20)

Note —This affix is added to words other than those mentioned above as पद्मनाभ, ऊर्णनाभ, समरात्र, दीर्घरात्र, अरात्र ॥ Here the affix अच् is added to नाभि and रात्रि ॥ All this can be done by dividing the above sutra into two parts viz (1) अच् (2) प्रत्यन्व &c That is (1) अच् comes after all compounds and (2) after सामन् and लोमन् preceded by प्रति &c

९४४ । अक्ष्णोऽदर्शनात् । ५ । ४ । ७६ ॥

अचक्षुःपर्यायादक्ष्णोऽच् स्यात्समासान्त । गवामक्षीव गवाक्ष ॥

944 The affix ach comes after the word akshi, when not meaning 'the eye,' but 'hole'

The word अच् is understood here Thus गवाक्ष 'a hole for the rays of light, i e a small window' The word गो here means 'ray of light' गाव किरणा ॥ Or a gavâksha is so called because it is like the eye of cows

Note —The word दर्शन in the sûtra does not mean 'to see,' here, but is a synonym of 'eye'

९४५ । अचतुरविचतुरसुचतुरस्त्रीपुंसधेन्वनडुहर्क्सामवाङ्मनसाक्षिभ्रुवदार-गवोर्वष्ठीवपदष्ठीवनक्तंदिवरात्रिंदिवाहर्दिवसरजसनिःश्रेयसपुरुषायुषद्व्यायुषत्र्यायुषर्ग्य-जुषजातोक्षमहोक्षवृद्धोक्षोपशुनगोष्ठश्वा । ५ । ४ । ७७ ॥

एते पञ्चविंशतिरजन्ता निपात्यन्ते । आद्यास्त्रयो बहुव्रीहय । अविद्यमानानि चत्वार्यस्य अचतुर । विचतुर । सुचतुर ॥

त्र्युपाभ्यां चतुरोऽजिष्यते* ॥ त्रिचतुरा । चतुर्णां समीपे ये सन्ति ते उपचतुरा ।

तत एकादश द्वन्द्वा । स्त्रीपुंसौ । धेन्वनडुहौ । ऋक्सामे । वाङ्मनसे । अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च अक्षिभ्रुवम् ।

दाराश्च गावश्च दारगवम् ।

ऊरू च अष्ठीवन्तौ च ऊर्वष्ठीवम् । निपातनाट्टिलोप ।

पदष्ठीवम् । निपातनात्पादशब्दस्य पद्भाव ।

नक्तं च दिवा च नक्तंदिवम् ।

रात्रौ च दिवा च रात्रिंदिवम् । रात्रेर्मान्तत्वं निपात्यते ।

अहनि च दिवा च अहर्दिवम् । वीप्सायां द्वन्द्वो निपात्यते अहन्यहनीत्यर्थ ।

सरजसमिति साकल्येऽव्ययीभाव । बहुव्रीहौ तु सरज पङ्कजम् ।

निश्चित श्रेयो निःश्रेयसम् । तत्पुरुष एव । नेह निःश्रेयान् पुरुष ।

पुरुषस्यायु पुरुषायुषम् ।

ततो द्विगु । द्व्यायुषम् । त्र्यायुषम् ।

ततो द्वन्द्व । ऋग्यजुषम् ।

ततस्त्रय कर्मधारया । जातोक्ष । महोक्ष । वृद्धोक्ष ।

शुन समीप उपशुनम् । टिलोपाभाव सम्प्रसारणं च निपात्यते ।

गोष्ठे श्वा गोष्ठश्व ॥

945 The following twenty-five words are irregularly formed by adding the affix ach —achatura, vichatura, suchatura, strî-punsau, dhenv-anaduhau, rik-sâme, vân-manase, akshibhruvam, dâra-gavam, ûrvashthîvam, padashthîvam, naktamdivam, râtrim-divam, ahar-divam, sarajasam, nih-śreyasam, purushâ-yusham, dvyâ-yusham, tryâ-yusham, rig-yajusham, jâto-kshah, maho-kshah, vriddho-kshah, upaśunam, and goshthaśvah

The first three of these words are Bahuvrihi (1) अचतुर = अदृश्यान्यविद्यमानानि वा चत्वारि यस्य 'that whose four are absent or non-existent' (2) विचतुर = विगतानि चत्वारि यस्य "whose four are gone" So also (3) सुचतुर = शोभनानि चत्वारि यस्य 'whose four are good" Had these been Tatpurusha, the forms would have been अचत्वार, विचत्वार &c

Ishti —The affix अच् comes after चतुर् when preceded by त्रि and उप Thus त्रिचतुर and उपचतुरा "near the four"

The next eleven words are Dvandva compounds They are clear Thus(4) स्त्री च पुमांश्च = स्त्रीपुंसौ 'the man and woman', (but not here स्त्रियाः पुमान् स्त्रियं प्रति पुमान् शूर) = स्त्रीपुमान् "a brave towards women only"),

(5) धेनुश्च अनड्वांश्च = धेन्वनडुहौ "cow and bull"

(6) ऋक् च साम च = ऋक्सामे "the Rik and the Saman"

(7) वाक् च मनश्च = वाङ्मनसे "the speech and mind"

(8) अक्षिणी च भ्रुवौ च = अक्षिभ्रुवम् "the eyes and the brows" The compound is singular as being parts of members of human body, (II 4 2 S 905)

(9) दाराश्च गावश्च = दारगवम् "the wives and cows" Here the final syllable (called टि) is elided

(10) ऊरू + अष्ठीवन्तौ + अच् = ऊर्वष्ठीवम "Thighs and knees" ॥

(11) So also पादौ + अष्ठीवन्तौ = पद् + अष्ठीव + अच् = पदष्ठीवम् "Feet and knees."॥

(12) नक्तं च दिवा च = नक्तंदिव 'by night and day' These are two indeclinables having the force of locative, and this compounding is also irregular

(13) रात्रि च दिवा च = रात्रिंदिवम् "By night and day"॥

(14) The words अहर् and दिवा both mean 'day' the compound अहर्दिवम् is not, however, a superfluous compound of two synonyms It is used here in a distributive sense = अहन्यहनि 'day by day"

(15) The word सरजसम् is an Avyayîbhâva, meaning 'with the pollen' *i e* 'all,' as सरजसमभ्यवहरति ॥ The affix does not come when it is a Bahuvrîhi as सह + रजसा = सरजः पङ्कजम् ॥

(16) The word निःश्रेयस = निश्चितं श्रेयः 'sure (never failing) happiness' and is a Tatpurusha but not so in निःश्रेयान् पुरुषः ॥

(17) Then is the word पुरुषायुषम् a Genitive Tatpurusha = पुरुषस्यायुः ॥ 'limit of a man's life' Not so when it is a Dvandva, as पुरुषश्च आयुश्च = पुरुषायुषी ॥

The words (18) द्व्यायुषम् and (19) त्र्यायुषम् are Samâhâra Dvig compounds Therefore not here, द्वयोरायुः = द्व्यायुः, त्र्यायुः ॥

(20) The word ऋग्यजुषम् is a Dvandva Therefore, not here ऋग्यजुस्योन्मुग्धस्य = ऋग्यजुरुन्मुग्धः (य ऋचोयजूंषि मन्यते) ॥

The three words ending in उक्षन् are Karmadhâraya (21) जातोक्ष "a young bull," (22) महोक्ष "a big bull," (23) वृद्धोक्ष "an old bull" Not so when these are Bahuvrihi as जातोक्षा ब्राह्मणाः "Brahmanas possessing young bulls"

(24) The word उपशुनम् is an Avyayîbhâva = शुनः समीपम् ॥ Here the non-elision of the final syllable, and the change of व of श्वन् into उ (Samprasârana) are irregular

The word गोष्ठश्व is a Locative Tatpurusha, as गोष्ठे श्वा = गोष्ठश्वः ॥ "a dog in a cowpen, a slanderer"

९४६ । ब्रह्महस्तिभ्यां वर्चसः । ५ । ४ । ७८ ॥

अच् स्यात् । ब्रह्मवर्चसम् । हस्तिवर्चसम् ॥

पल्यराजभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पल्यवर्चसम् । राजवर्चसम् ॥

946 The affix ach comes after the word varchas, when preceded in a compound by the words Brahma or hasti

Thus ब्रह्मवर्चसम् 'Sanctity resulting from the contemplation of Brahma,' हस्तिवर्चसम् 'strength of an elephant' Varchas means 'light,' 'strength'

Vârt —So also when Varchas is preceded by the words palya and râjan as, पल्यवर्चसम्, राजवर्चसम् ॥ The word पल means 'meat,' पल्य 'meat-eater,' पल्यवर्चसम् "the strength of the meat eater"

९४७ । अवसमन्धेभ्यस्तमसः । ५ । ४ । ७९ ॥

अवतमसम् । सन्तमसम् । अन्धयतीत्यन्धं पचाद्यच् । अन्धं तमः अन्धतमसम् ॥

947 The affix ach comes after the word tamas, when preceded by the words ava, sam and andha, in a compound

Thus अवतमसम् 'slight darkness' सन्तमसम् 'great darkness' अन्धतमसम् 'complete darkness so as to obstruct the sight'

The word अन्ध is derived from the churâdi root अन्ध with the affix अच् of पचादि class (III 1 134 S 2896) ॥

९४८ । श्वसोवसीयःश्रेयसः । ५ । ४ । ८० ॥

वसुशब्दः प्रशस्तवाची । ततः ईयसुनि वसीयः । श्वस्शब्द उत्तरपदार्थप्रशंसामाशीर्विषयतामाह । मयूरव्यंसकादित्वात्समासः । श्वोवसीयसम् । श्वः श्रेयसं ते भूयात् ॥

948 The affix ach comes after the words vasîyas and śreyas, when they follow the word śvas in a compound

Thus श्वोवसीयसम्, श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥ The word वसीय is derived from वसु meaning "praiseworthy," 'rich," by adding the affix ईयसुन् (V 3 57 S 2005) The word श्वः is usually employed in blessing or praising the object expressed by the second term These compounds belong to the class of Mayuravyaṁsakâdi (II 1 72 S 754) Thus श्वः श्रेयसं ते भूयात्=शोभनं श्रेयस्ते भूयात् ॥ The word श्वोवसीयसम् is a synonym of श्वः श्रेयसम् ॥

९४९ । अन्ववतप्ताद्रहसः । ५ । ४ । ८१ ॥

अनुरहसम् । अवरहसम् । तप्तरहसम् ॥

949 The affix ach comes after the word rahas, when it follows anu, ava, and tapta in a compound

Thus अनुरहसम् 'secluded' अवरहसम् 'a little secluded' तप्तरहसम् 'a hot place of seclusion' *i e* which is very strongly secluded, which is too hot for another to enter'

९५० । प्रतेरुरसः सप्तमीस्थात् । ५ । ४ । ८२ ॥

उरसि प्रति प्रत्युरसम् । विभक्त्यर्थेऽव्ययीभावः ॥

950 The affix ach comes after the word uras, when it follows the word prati in a compound, and it has the sense of the locative

Thus प्रत्युरसम्—उरसि वर्त्तते 'against the heart' This is an Avyayîbhâva compound, the indeclinable having the force of a vibhakti (II 1 6 S 652)

Note —Why do we say "when having the sense of the locative?" Observe प्रत्युर =प्रतिगतमुर ॥

९५१ । अनुगवमायामे । ५ । ४ । ८३ ॥

एतन्निपात्यते दीर्घत्वे । अनुगवं यानम् । यस्य चायाम इति समास ॥

951 The word anugava is irregularly formed by adding the affix ach, and has the sense of "suited to the length of the cows"

Thus अनुगवं यान "the chariot suited to the length of the oxen" This compound is formed by II 1 16 S 670

Note —Why do we say when meaning "the length?" Observe, गवां पश्चाद् = अनुगु ॥

९५२ । द्विस्तावा त्रिस्तावा वेदिः । ५ । ४ । ८४ ॥

अच्प्रत्ययष्टिलोपः समासश्च निपात्यते । यावती प्रकृतौ वेदिस्ततो द्विगुणा त्रिगुणा वाऽश्वमेधादौ तत्रेदं निपातनम् । वेदिरिति किम् । द्विस्तावती त्रिस्तावती रज्जुः ॥

952 The words dvistâvâ and tristâvâ are irregularly formed, when qualifying a vedi or 'altar'

The affix अच् is added and the final syllable (*i e* टि) is elided Thus द्विस्तावा वेदि "an altar twice as big as an ordinary one" त्रिस्तावा वेदि "thrice as big as an ordinary altar" Such big altars are used in important sacrifices like Aśvamedha &c The words are compounds of द्वि and त्रि plus तावत् meaning "as much Why do we say "when applied to an altar"? Observe द्विस्तावती रज्जु , त्रिस्तावती रज्जु ॥

९५३ । उपसर्गादध्वन । ५ । ४ । ८५ ॥

प्रगतोऽध्वानं प्राध्वो रथः ॥

953 The affix ach comes after the word adhvan, preceded by an upasarga in a compound

Thus प्रगतोऽध्वानं = प्राध्वो रथ , 'a chariot'

Note —Why do we say "when preceded by an Upasarga"? Observe परमाध्वा उत्तमा ध्वा ॥

९५४ । न पूजनात् । ५ । ४ । ६९ ॥

पूजनार्थात्परेभ्य समासान्ता न स्यु । सुराजा । अतिराजा ॥

स्वतिभ्यामेव * ॥ नेह । परमराज ।

पूजनात्किम् । गामतिक्रान्तोऽतिगव । बहुव्रीहौ सक्थ्यक्ष्णोरित्यत प्रागेवाय निषेध । नेह । सुसक्थ । स्वक्ष ॥

954 The samâsânta affixes are not applied to those words, the first member of which is a word expressing praise

The present rule prohibits the application of the samâsânta affixes when such words are preceded by a word expressing praise Thus V 4 91 S 788 ordains the affix टच् when the word राजन् enters a compound, as, महा + राजन् = महा + राजन् + टच् = महाराज, and not महाराजा ॥ But सुराजा 'a good king' अतिराजा, 'an excellent king'

Vârt —The word expressing praise must be सु or अति and not any word expressing praise in general Therefore, the prohibition does not apply in परमराज and परमगव ॥

Why do we say 'a word expressing praise'? Observe अतिगव 'a fool,' literally 'one who surpasses a bull in folly' This prohibition applies up to sutra V 4 113 S 852 exclusive Thus सुसक्थ 'having handsome thighs,' स्वक्ष, 'having beautiful eyes' here the affix षच् (V 4 113 S 852) is not prohibited

९५५ । किम क्षेपे । ५ । ४ । ७० ॥

क्षेपे य किंशब्दस्तत पर यत्तदन्तात्समासान्ता न स्यु । कुत्सितो राजा किंराजा । किंसखा । किंगौ । क्षेपे किम । किंराज । किंसख । किंगव ॥

955 The samâsânta affix is not applied to a word preceded by किम् in the sense of reproach

Thus किं + राजन् = किंराजन् as किंराजा यो न रक्षति "He is no king who does not protect" किंसखा योऽभिद्रुह्यति, किंगौर्यो न वहति ॥ (V 4 91 S 788 V 4 92, S 729 II 1 64 S 743) The compounding here takes place by Rule II 1 64 S 743

Why do we say 'when meaning reproach"? Observe कस्य राजा = किंराज, किंसख, किंगव ॥

९५६ । नञस्तत्पुरुषात् । ५ । ४ । ७१ ॥

समासान्तो न । अराजा । असखा । तत्पुरुषात्किम । अधुर शकटम् ॥

अथालुक्समास प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIV

ON NON ELISION OF CASE AFFIXES IN CERTAIN COMPOUNDS

९५८ । अलुगुत्तरपदे । ६ । ३ । १ ॥

अलुगधिकार प्रागानङ उत्तरपदाधिकारस्त्वापादसमाप्ते ॥

958 In the following upto VI 3 24 S 982 inclusive, is always to be supplied the phrase "the elision does not take place, before the second member of the compound"

Note —The words अलुक् 'there is no elision,' and उत्तरपदे "before the second member" are to be supplied in the subsequent sûtras Both these words jointly govern the sutras upto VI 3 24, S 982, while उत्तरपदे singly extends further upto that point whence commences the jurisdiction of अङ्ग (VI 4 1 S 200) Thus sutra VI 3 2 S 959 says "the affixes of the Ablative after 'stoka' &c" The present sutra should be read there to complete the sense, e g "the affixes of the Ablative after stoka &c, are not elided before the second member of the compound" Thus स्तोकान् मुक्त =स्तोकान्मुक्त, अल्पान्मुक्त ॥ Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्त स्तोकात्=नि स्तोक ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta does not apply here

९५९ । पञ्चम्या स्तोकादिभ्य । ६ । ३ । २ ॥

एभ्य पञ्चम्या अलुक स्यादुत्तरपदे । स्तोकान्मुक्त । एवमन्तिकार्थदूरार्थकृच्छ्रेभ्य ।
उत्तरपदे किम् । निष्क्रान्त स्तोकान्निस्तोक ।

ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि उपचाराद् ब्राह्मणानि, तानि शंसतीति ब्राह्मणाच्छंसी ऋत्विग्विशेष । द्वितीयार्थे पञ्चम्युपसंख्यानादेव ॥

959 The Ablative-ending after स्तोक &c is not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus स्तोकान्मुक्त, अल्पान्मुक्त, अन्तिकादागत, अभ्याशादागत, दूरादागत, विप्रकृष्टादागत, कृच्छ्रान्मुक्त ॥

Note —By I 2 46 S 179 a case inflected word when forming part of a compound is called prâtipadika, and by II 4 71 S 650 the endings of a Prâtipadika

are elided Therefore, in forming the compound of स्तोकात् मुक्त, the ablative ending required to be dropped The present sutra prevents that The words स्तोक &c, in the dual and plural are never compounded, and consequently this rule does not apply to them Thus स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्त, स्तोकेभ्य मुक्त are separate words and not compounds, for not being treated as compounds, these are not one Pada (एकपद) or one word, and do not have *one* accent, for in *one* word, there is only *one* acute Thus while स्तोकान्मुक्तं being *one* compound word will have *one* acute (VI 1 158, S 3650 VI 2 144 S 3878), the word स्तोकाभ्यां मुक्त being treated as *two* words will have separate acute accents The above compounding takes place by II 1 39 S 701

Why do we say "before the second member"? Observe निष्क्रान्त स्तोकात्=नि स्तोक ॥ The maxim of pratipadokta deos not apply here

Vârt —The word ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् should be enumerated in this connection Here also the Ablative is not elided Thus ब्राह्मणे विहितानि शस्त्राणि=ब्राह्मणानि, तानि शंसति=ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् "a kind of Ritvic priest"

Note —The object of making words like स्तोकान्मुक्त a compound is three fold First ऐकपद्यम् *i e* they become *one* word Thus the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्त will be स्तौकान्मुक्ति, the Taddhita affix being added to the whole Similarly the descendant of स्तोकान्मुक्ता (Feminine) will be स्तौकान्मुक्तेय ॥ Second ऐकस्वर्यम् *i e* one accent, thus स्तोकान्मुक्तं has acute on the final by VI 2 144 S 3878, read with VI 1 223 S 3734, VI 1 158 S 3650 Thirdly विशेषण योगाभाव *i e* the absence of adjective No separate adjective can be added to these words *separately*

Note —The śastras ordained in the Brahmanas are called also metaphorically ब्राह्मणानि॥ The priest who praises such śastras is called ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिन् Here the fifth case has the force of the Accusative, by virtue of this vartika The शस्त्र is a kind of hymn of praise The difference between sastra and stotra is thus explained प्रगीत मन्त्र साध्यगुणि निष्ठगुणाभिधान स्तोत्रम् । अप्रगीतमन्त्रसाध्यगुणिनिष्ठ गुणाभिधान शस्त्रम् ॥ One is sung with musical accompaniment, the other is merely recited These are the technical terms of the sacrificial Priests

९६० । ओज सहोऽम्भस्तमसस्तृतीयाया । ६ । ३ । ३ ।

ओजसाकृतमित्यादि

अञ्जस उपसख्यानम् * ॥ अञ्जसाकृतम् । आर्जवेन कृतमित्यर्थ ॥

पुसानुजो जनुषान्ध इति च * ॥ यस्याग्रज पुमान् स पुसानुज । जनुषान्धो जात्यन्ध ॥

960 The Instrumental endings after ओजस्, सहस्, अम्भस् and तमस् are not elided before the second member of a compound

Thus ओजसाकृतम्, सहसाकृतम्, अम्भसाकृतम्, तमसाकृतम् done with strength' &c,

Vârt —अञ्जस् also should be enumerated Thus अञ्जसाकृतम् 'done correctly'

Vârt —The compounds पुंसानुज and जनुषान्ध should also be mentioned Thus पुंसा हेतुनानुज =पुंसानुज 'having an elder brother' जनुषा हेतुनाऽन्ध = जनुषान्ध 'blind from birth' The word जनु is another name of जन्मन् 'birth'

९६१ । मनसः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ४ ॥

मनसागुप्ता ॥

961 After मनस् when the compound is a name, the Instrumental endings are not elided before the second member

Thus मनसागुप्ता ॥

Note —Why do we say when a Name'? Observe मनोदत्ता, मनोगुप्ता ॥

९६२ । आज्ञायिनि च । ६ । ३ । ५ ॥

मनस इत्येव । मनसा आज्ञातुं शीलमस्य मनसाज्ञायी ॥

962 Also before आज्ञायिन्, the Instrumental endings of मनस् are not elided

Thus मनसाज्ञायिन् = मनसाऽऽज्ञायितुं शीलमस्य ॥ One knowing by mind'

९६३ । आत्मनश्च । ६ । ३ । ६ ॥

आत्मनस्तृतीयाया अलुक् स्यात् ॥

पूरण इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ पूरणप्रत्ययान्ते उत्तरपदे इत्यर्थः । आत्मनापञ्चमः । जनार्दनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एवेति बहुव्रीहिर्बोध्यः ।

पूरणे किम् । आत्मकृतम् ॥

963 The Instrumental endings after आत्मन् are not elided

Vârtika —"When an Ordinal Numeral follows" should be added

Thus आत्मनापञ्चम, 'himself and four others'

Note —The Instrumental case here takes place under the Vârtika तृतीयाविधाने प्रकृत्यादीनामुपसंख्यानं (II 3 18 Vârt S 561) And the compounding takes place by II 1 30, S 692 by separating तृतीया of that aphorism and making it a separate sûtra or in this way —आत्मना कृतः पञ्चमः = आत्मनापञ्चम ॥

How do you explain the form आत्मचतुर्थ in अनार्हनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव ? It is a Bahuvrihi compound = आत्मा चतुर्थोऽस्य ॥

Why do we say 'when an ordinal numeral follows'? Observe आत्मकृतम्

९६४ । वैयाकरणाख्यायां चतुर्थ्याः । ६ । ३ । ७ ॥

आत्मन इत्येव । आत्मनेपदम् । आत्मनेभाषा । तादर्थ्ये चतुर्थ्येषा । चतुर्थीति योगविभागात्समास ॥

964 The Dative case-ending is not elided after आत्मन्, whenthe compound is the name of a technical term of grammar.

Thus आत्मनेपदम्, आत्मनेभाषा ॥ The compounding takes place by the yoga-bibhâga of sûtra II 1 36, S 698 and the force of the Dative is here that of tadartha If we do not read the anuvritti of आत्मन्, we can then dispense with the subsequent sûtra, for then it will mean "the Dative ending is not elided in a technical term of grammar"

९६५ । परस्य च । ६ । ३ । ८ ॥

परस्मैपदम् । परस्मैभाषा ॥

965 The Dative ending is not elided after पर, when the compound is the name of a technical term of grammar

Thus परस्मैपद "The Parasmaipada" &c

९६६ । हलदन्तात्सप्तम्याः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ९ ॥

हलन्ताददन्ताच्च सप्तम्या अलुक् संज्ञायाम् । त्वचिसार ॥

966 The Locative ending is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, when the compound is a Name

Thus त्वचिसार

९६७ । गवियुधिभ्यां स्थिर । ८ । ३ । ९५ ॥

आभ्या स्थिरस्य सस्य ष स्यात् । गविष्ठिर । अत्र गवीति वचनादेवालुक् । युधिष्ठिर । अरण्येतिलका । अत्र संज्ञायामिति सप्तमीसमास ॥

हृद्द्युभ्यां च * ॥ हृदिस्पृक् । दिविस्पृक् ॥

967 The स् of स्थिर is changed to ष् after the words गवि and युधि ॥

Thus गविष्ठिर 'firm in the sky'

Though गो does not end in a consonant and so VI 3 9 S 966 does not apply to it, yet it retains its Locative ending by the implication of this rule So also अ ending words as युधिष्ठिर and अरण्येतिलकाः ॥ The compounding takes place by II 1 44 S 721 and the 7th case affix is not elided by VI 3 9 S 966

Note —Why do we say "after a word ending in a consonant or अ"? Observe नद्यां कुक्कुटिका = नदीकुक्कुटिका, भूम्यां पाशः = भूमिपाशः ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe अक्षशौण्डः ॥

Vart —The Locative ending is not elided after हृद् and दिव्, as हृदिस्पृक्, दिविस्पृक् = हृदयं दिवं च स्पृशति ॥ The Locative has the force of accusative

This rule is an exception by anticipation to VIII 3 111 S 2123

९६८ । कारनाम्नि च प्राचां हलादौ । ६ । ३ । १० ॥

प्राचां देशे यत्कारनाम तत्र हलादावुत्तरपदे हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । मुकुटेकार्षापणम् । दृषदिमाषकः । पूर्वेण सिद्धे नियमार्थम् । कारनाम्न्येव प्राचामेव हलादावेवेति । कारनाम्नि किम् । अभ्यर्हितपशुः । कारादन्यस्यैतद्देयस्य नाम । प्राचां किम् । यूथपशुः । हलादौ किम् । अविकटोरणः । हलदन्तात्किम् । नद्यां दोहः नदीदोहः ॥

968 The Locative case-affix is not elided after a stem ending in a consonant or a short अ, in the name of a tax of the Eastern people, when the second member begins with a consonant

Thus मुकुटे कार्षापणम् दृषदिमाषकः ॥ All these are names of taxes, and would have retained the Locative ending even by the last rule The present rule makes a niyama or restriction, which is threefold, namely (1) when it is the name of a tax, and no other word, (2) when it belongs to the Eastern people and no other people, (3) and when the second member begins with a consonant

Why do we 'say when it is the name of a tax'? Observe अभ्यर्हितेपशु = अभ्यर्हितपशु ॥ It is the name of 'a duty or dues,' but not of a 'tax' Why do we say "of the Eastern people"? Observe यूथेपशु = यूथपशु ॥ Why do we say 'before a second member beginning with a consonant'? Observe

अविकटे उरण = अविकटोरण The word उरण means 'sheep' A kind of tribute consisting of sheep given in the rainy season (avikata = मेषसघात) ॥ Why do we say 'ending in a consonant or अ'? Observe नद्या दोह = नदीदोह ॥

९६९ । मध्याद्गुरौ । ६ । ३ । ११ ॥

मध्यगुरु ॥ अन्ताच्च* ॥ अन्तेगुरु ॥

969 The Locative case-affix is not elided after मध्य when गुरु follows

As मध्येगुरु 'A word of three syllables having a long one in the middle'

Vârt —So also after अन्त, as अन्तेगुरु ॥

९७० । अमूर्धमस्तकात्स्वाङ्गादकामे । ६ । ३ । १२ ॥

कण्ठेकाल । उरसिलोमा । अमूर्धमस्तकात्किम् । मूर्धशिख । मस्तकशिख । अकामे किम् । मुखे कामोऽस्य मुखकाम ॥

970 The Locative case-affix is not elided after a word denoting a part of the body (with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक), before every word other than काम ॥

Thus कण्ठ कालोऽस्य = कण्ठेकाल, उरसिलोमा ॥ Why do we say 'with the exception of मूर्धन् and मस्तक'? Observe मूर्धशिख, मस्तकशिख ॥ Why do we say 'other than काम'? Observe —मुखे कामोऽस्य = मुखकाम ॥

Note —When the first member does not denote the name of a part of the body, the rule does not apply as अक्षशौण्ड, nor does it apply when the first member does not end in a consonant or अ, as अङ्गुलित्राण, जङ्घाबलि ॥

९७१ । बन्धे च विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १३ ॥

हलदन्तात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । हस्तेबन्ध । हस्तबन्ध । हलदन्तेति किम् । गुप्तिबन्ध ॥

971. The Locative case-affix is optionally not elided after a word ending in a consonant or अ before बन्ध ॥

Thus हस्तबन्ध or हस्तेबन्ध ॥

Note —This declares an option, with regard to the last rule, in a Bahuvrihi when the first member is a स्वाङ्ग word, and also it is an option to VI 3 19 S 977 when the compound is a Tatpurusha, whether the first be स्वाङ्ग or not The word बन्ध is a घञ् formed word

Why do we say 'the first member ending in a consonant or vowel अ'? Otherwise [illegible] ॥

९७२ । तत्पुरुषे कृति बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १४ ॥

[illegible] ॥

972 In a Tatpurusha compound, when the second member is a word formed with a krit affix, the Locative ending is optionally preserved

As स्तम्बेरम 'an elephant' कर्णेजप "a secret traducer" But also कुरुचर ॥

९७३ । प्रावृट्शरत्कालदिवां जे । ६ । ३ । १५ ॥

प्रावृषिज । शरदिज । कालेज । दिविज । पूर्वस्यायं प्रपञ्च ॥

973 The Locative ending is retained after प्रावृट्, शरत्, काल and दिव्, when ज follows

Thus प्रावृषिज "produced in the rainy season, a storm" शरदिज, "autumnal," कालेज 'produced in proper time', "Heaven-born" This sûtra is but an extension or amplification of the previous sûtra

९७४ । विभाषा वर्षक्षरशरवरात् । ६ । ३ । १६ ॥

एभ्य सप्तम्या अलुक् जे । वर्षेज । वर्षज । क्षरेज । क्षरज । शरेज । शरज । वरेज । वरज ।

974 The Locative ending is optionally retained after वर्ष, क्षर, शर, and वर, when ज follows

Thus वर्षेज or वर्षज, क्षरेज or क्षरज "produced by distillation or from a cloud," शरेज or शरज, Kartikeya वरेज or वरज 'blessing born'

९७५ । घकालतनेषु कालनाम्न । ६ । ३ । १७ ॥

सप्तम्या विभाषाऽलुक् स्यात् । घे पूर्वाह्णेतरे । पूर्वाह्णतरे । पूर्वाह्णेतमे । पूर्वाह्णतमे । काले । पूर्वाह्णेकाले । पूर्वाह्णकाले । तन । पूर्वाह्णेतन । पूर्वाह्णतने ॥

975 The Locative ending is optionally retained after a word denoting time, ending in a consonant or अ, when तरप् or तमप्, or the word काल or the affix तन follows

The affixes तर and तम are called घ (1 1 22) Thus घ - पूर्वाह्णे तरे or पूर्वा

इतेर, पूर्वाह्णेतमे or पूर्वाह्णतमे ॥ काल—पूर्वाह्णेकाले or पूर्वाह्णकाले ॥ तन—पूर्वाह्णेतने or पूर्वाह्णतने ॥

Note —Why do we say 'after a time name'? Observe शुक्लतरे शुक्लतमे ॥ The condition that the preceding word should end in a consonant or अ applies here also Thus no option is allowed in रात्रितरायाम् ॥ The word काल means the word form काल and not time denoting words in general The affix तन is taught in IV 3 23 S 1391

९७६ । शयवासवासिष्वकालात् । ६ । ३ । १८ ॥

खेशय । खशय । ग्रामेवास । ग्रामवास । ग्रामेवासी ॥ ग्रामवासी ॥ हलदन्तादित्येव । भूमिशय ॥

अपो योनियन्मतुषु * ॥ अप्सु योनिरुत्पत्तिर्यस्य सोऽप्सुयोनि । अप्सु भवोऽप्सव्य । अप्सुमन्ताऽवाज्यभागौ ॥

976 The Locative ending is optionally retained before the words शय, वास and वासिन्, when the preceding word does not denote time, and ends in a consonant or short अ ॥

Thus खेशय, or खशय, ग्रामेवास or ग्रामवास, ग्रामेवासिन् or ग्रामवासिन् ॥ After a time name we have पूर्वाह्णशय ॥ After a vowel ending word (other than अ) we have भूमिशय ॥

Vârt —The Locative case-affix is retained after अप् when योनि, or the affix यत् or मतुप् follows Thus अप्सुयोनि, अप्सव्य अप्सुमन्तौ ॥ The affix यत् is added by treating अप् as belonging to the दिगादि class (अप्सु भव IV 3 54 S 1429) Some give अप्सुज and अप्सुचर as additional illustrations The two mantras अप्स्वग्ने सधिष्टव (Rig VIII 43 9) and अप्सु मे सोमो अब्रवीत् (Rig I 23 20, X 9 6) are called अप्सुमन्तौ verses the oblations offered with these are also so called

९७७ । नेन्सिद्धबध्नातिषु च । ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

इन्नन्तादिषु सप्तम्या अलुग्। स्थण्डिलशायी । साङ्काश्यसिद्ध । चक्रबन्ध ॥

977 The Locative ending is not preserved before a stem ending in इन्, before the word सिद्ध, and before a word derived from बन्ध् ॥

Thus स्थण्डिलशायिन् "an ascetic who sleeps on the bare sthandila or sacrificial ground" साङ्काश्यसिद्ध चक्रबन्धक ॥

Note —The compounding takes place by yoga vibhâga of sutra II 1 40 S 717 Some use the word चक्रबन्ध as an illustration under this rule. बन्ध then is derived by अच् of III 1 134 S 2896 The बन्ध ending in घञ् is governed by VI 3 13 S 971 This sutra is an exception to Tatpurusha VI 3 14 S 972 In the Bahuvrihi, option of S 971 takes place

The prohibition of this sutra applies to Tatpurusha compounds only

९७८। स्थे च भाषायाम् । ६ । ३ । २० ॥

समस्था अलुग्न । समस्थ । भाषायां किम् । कृष्णोऽस्याखरेष्ठः ॥

978 The Locative ending is not preserved before थ in the spoken language

Thus समस्थ ॥ Why do we say 'in the spoken language'? Observe आखरेष्ठ in the Veda, as in कृष्णोस्याखरेष्ठ ॥ स is changed to ष by VIII, 3, 106 S 3643

९७९ । षष्ठ्या आक्रोशे । ६ । ३ । २१ ॥

चौरस्य कुलम् । आक्रोशे किम् । ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥
वाग्दिक्पश्यद्भ्यो युक्तिदण्डहरेषु * ॥ वाचोयुक्ति । दिशादण्ड । पश्यतोहर ॥

आमुष्यायणाऽऽमुष्यपुत्रिकाऽऽमुष्यकुलिकेति च * ॥ अमुष्यापत्य आमुष्यायण । नडादित्वात्फक् । अमुष्य पुत्रस्य भाव आमुष्यपुत्रिका । मनोज्ञादित्वाद्वुञ् । एवमामुष्यकुलिका ॥

देवानांप्रिय इति च मूर्खे * ॥ अन्यत्र देवप्रिय ॥

शेपपुच्छलाङ्गूलेषु शुन * ॥ शुन शेप । शुन पुच्छ । शुनोलाङ्गूल ॥

दिवश्च दासे * ॥ दिवोदास ॥

979 The Genitive case-affix is retained, when the compound expresses an 'affront or insult'

Thus चौरस्यकुलम् ॥ Why do we say "when insult is meant"? Observe ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Vârt —The Genitive is not elided after वाक् when followed by युक्ति, after दिश् before दण्ड, and after पश्यत् before हर ॥ As, वाचोयुक्ति, दिशोदण्ड, पश्यतोहर ॥ पश्यन्तमनादृत्य हरति "a robber who steals in the very sight of the owner, such as a goldsmith" The compounding is by II 3 38 S 635

Vart —The Genitive affix is not elided in the following words आमुष्यायण, आमुष्यपुत्रिका and आमुष्यकुलिका ॥ अमुष्य is the Genitive Singular of the Pronoun अदस्, and is enumerated in the नडादि class (IV 1 99) and takes फक् in forming the Patronymic, अमुष्यापत्यम् = आमुष्यायण, अमुष्यपुत्रस्य भाव = आमुष्यपुत्रिका formed by वुञ् (V 1 133 S 1798) So also आमुष्यकुलिका ॥

Vârt —The Genitive affix is not elided in the compound देवानांप्रिय

Note —The author of Siddhanta Kaumudi says "when the sense is that of a fool, the affix is not elided in devanâm-priya" There is no authority for this, either in the Mahabhâshya or the Kaśikâ This was the title of the famous Buddhist monarch Aśoka, who would not have adopted it had it meant 'a fool' The phrase इति च मूर्खे has been added by Bhattoji Dikshita through Brahmanical spite The Tattvabodhini justifies it by saying that fools only worship Devas, the wise know themselves to be Brahma and so do not offer prayer to any lower spirit Fools are, therefore, the beloved of Devas

Vârt —The Genitive affix is not elided after श्वन् when शेप पुच्छ and लाङ्गूल follow it —शुनः शेप, शुनः पुच्छ, शुनोलाङ्गूल ॥ These are names of three Rishis

Vârt —The Genitive affix is not elided after दिव् when दास follows as दिवोदास ॥

९८० । पुत्रेऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । २२ ॥

षष्ठ्या पुत्रे परेऽलुग्वा निन्दायाम् । दास्याः पुत्र । दासीपुत्र । निन्दायां किम् । ब्राह्मणीपुत्र ॥

980 The genitive affix is optionally retained, when insult is meant, if पुत्र follows

Thus दास्याः पुत्र or दासीपुत्र ॥ Why do we say 'when insult is meant ? Observe ब्राह्मणीपुत्र ॥

९८१ । ऋतो विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्य । ६ । ३ । २३ ॥

विद्यासम्बन्धयोनिसम्बन्धवाचिन ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुक् । होतुरन्तेवासी । होतुः पुत्र । पितुरन्तेवासी । पितुः पुत्र ॥ विद्यायोनिसम्बन्धेभ्यस्तत्पूर्वोत्तरपदग्रहणम् * ॥ नेह । होतृधनम् ॥

981 The genitive affix is retained after a word ending in ऋ and expressing a relationship through study or blood

Thus होतुरन्तेवासिन्, होतुः पुत्र, पितुरन्तेवासिन् or पितुः पुत्र ॥

Vârtika —The relationship through 'study' or 'blood' should be between the first and the second member of the compound Therefore the rule does not apply to होतृधनम्, पितृधनम् होतृगृहम् पितृगृहम् ॥

९८२ । विभाषा स्वसृपत्योः । ६ । ३ । २४ ॥

ऋदन्तात्षष्ठ्या अलुग् वा स्वसृपत्योः परयो ॥

982 The genitive affix is optionally elided after a stem ending in ऋ, when स्वसृ and पति follow, the relationship between the two words being through study or blood.

Note —Thus मातुः स्वसा or मातुः ष्वसा, or मातृष्वसा, पितुः स्वसा or पितुः ष्वसा or पितृष्वसा ॥ When the affix is elided, then स is invariably changed to ष by VIII 3 84, S 984 and when it is not elided, then the change is optional (VIII 3 85 S 983) So also दुहितुः पति or दुहितृपति, ननान्दुः पति or ननान्दृपति ॥

९८३ । मातुः पितुर्भ्यामन्यतरस्याम् । ८ । ३ । ८५ ॥

आभ्यां स्वसुः सस्य षो वा स्यात् समासे । मातुः ष्वसा । मातुः स्वसा । पितुः ष्वसा । पितुः स्वसा । लुक्पक्षे तु ॥

983 The स् of स्वसृ is optionally changed to ष्, after मातुर् and पितुर् in a compound

Thus मातुः स्वसा, or मातुः ष्वसा, पितुः स्वसा or पितुः ष्वसा ॥ The words मातुर् and पितुर् end in र्, which is changed to visarga (See VIII 2 24 S 280) In fact, the word पितुर् is so exhibited in the sûtra itself, with a र्, the word मातु therefore, by the rule of साहचर्य is also to be understood as a र् ending word

The word समासे is understood here also Therefore not here मातुः स्वसा, when the words are used separately in a sentence

But when the genitive case affix is elided, then the following sûtra applies

९८४ । मातृपितृभ्यां स्वसा । ८ । ३ । ८४ ॥

आभ्यां परस्य स्वसुः सस्य षः स्यात्समासे । मातृष्वसा । पितृष्वसा । असमासे तु मातुः स्वसा । पितुः स्वसा ॥

984 The स् of स्वसृ is changed to ष् after मातृ and पितृ in a compound where the case-affix is elided

As मातृष्वसा, पितृष्वसा ॥ When there is no compounding then मातुः स्वसा and पितुः स्वसा That is there is not even the *optional* ष of sûtra VIII 3 85 S 983, when these words are used separately as a sentence

Thus we have three cases —

(1) अलुक् समासे as, मातुः स्वसा or मातुः ष्वसा "mother's sister"

(2) Ordinary समास, as, मातृष्वसा "mother's-sister"

(3) No samâsa, as मातुः स्वसा "mother's sister"

Here ends the chapter on Aluk Samâsa

अथ समासाश्रय विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXV

SOME RULES DEPENDING ON COMPOUNDS

९८५ । घरूपकल्पचेलड्ब्रुवगोत्रमतहतेषु ङ्योऽनेकाचो ह्रस्वः । ६ । ३ । ४३ ॥

भाषितपुंस्काद्यो ङी तदन्तस्यानेकाचो ह्रस्वः स्यात् घरूपकल्पप्रत्ययेषु परेषु चेलडादिषु चोत्तरपदेषु । ब्राह्मणितरा । ब्राह्मणितमा । ब्राह्मणिरूपा । ब्राह्मणिकल्पा । ब्राह्मणिचेली । ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा । ब्राह्मणिगोत्रेत्यादि । ब्रुवः पचाद्यचि वच्यादेशगुणयोरभावो निपात्यते । चेलडादीनि वृत्तिविषये कुत्सनवाचीनि ॥ तैः कुत्सितानि कुत्सनैरिति समासः । ङ्यः किम् । दत्तातरा । भाषितपुंस्कात्किम् । आमलकीतरा कुवलीतरा ॥

985 Before the affixes तर, तम, रूप, कल्प, and before the words चेल (with the feminine in ई), ब्रुव, गोत्र, मत and हत, a word ending in the feminine affix ङी becomes short, when the feminine consists of two or more syllables, and has an equivalent and uniform masculine.

Thus घ—ब्राह्मणितरा, ब्राह्मणितमा ॥ ब्राह्मणिरूपा, ब्राह्मणिकल्पा, ब्राह्मणिचेली, ब्राह्मणिब्रुवा, ब्राह्मणिगोत्रा, ब्राह्मणिमता and ब्राह्मणिहता ॥ घ, रूप and कल्प are affixes, चेलट् &c are words as second members, ब्रुव is formed by अच् (III 1 134 S 2896) added to ब्रू, guṇa and वच substitution being prevented anomalously The words चेल &c denote censure as regards the livelihood of the person The compounding in the case of these takes place by II 1 53 S 732

Why do we say "ending in ई (ङी)"? Observe दत्तातरा, गुप्तातरा ॥ Why do we say "consisting of more than one syllable"? Because words of one syllable *optionally* become shortened by the next rule Why do we say "having a corresponding masculine"? Observe आमलकीतरा, कुवलीतरा, where आमलकी and कुवली denote trees and are invariably feminine, having no equivalent masculine forms

Note —The affixes तरप् and तमप् are called घ (I 1 22 S 2003) They denote superlative comparative degrees रूपप् is added in denoting praise (V 3 66 S 2021) चेल is derived from चिल वसने 'to dress' It means 'garment' At the end of a compound it denotes bad, wicked, vile The word is read in पचादि class as चेलट् (III 1 134 S 2896) The ट् indicates that the Feminine is with ङीप् (IV 1, 15 S 470)

In ब्राह्मणितरा there is not masculation as required by VI. 3 35 S 836 because of the prohibition of VI. 3 41 S 842.

९८६ । नद्या शेषस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ४४ ॥

अङ्यन्तनद्या ङ्यन्तस्यैकाच घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा । ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा । स्त्रितरा स्त्रीतरा ॥

कृन्नद्या न * ॥ लक्ष्मीतरा ॥

986 In all the remaining feminine words called Nadî (I 4 3 S 266 and 4 S 303), the substitution of short vowel before घ &c under the preceding circumstances is optional

What are the शेष or the remnants? They are of two sorts First — Those feminines which are not formed by long ई (ङी), and are called Nadî, and secondly —feminines which end in long ई but consist of one syllable Thus ब्रह्मबन्धूतरा or ब्रह्मबन्धुतरा, स्त्रितरा, or स्त्रीतरा ॥ The rule of masculation also does not apply

Vart —Nadi words formed by कृत् affixes are excepted as लक्ष्मीतरा, तन्त्रीतरा formed by the Unâdi affix ई (Un III 158, 160)

९८७ । उगितश्च । ६ । ३ । ४५ ॥

उगितः परा या नदी तदन्तस्य घादिषु ह्रस्वो वा स्यात् । विदुषितरा । ह्रस्वाभावपक्षे तु तसिलादिष्विति पुंवत् । विद्वत्तरा । वृत्त्यादिषु विदुषीतरेत्यप्युदाहृतं तन्निर्मूलम् ॥

987 The feminine ई (ङी) added to a word formed by a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory उ or ऋ, is optionally shortened before घ &c (VI 3 43 S 985)

Thus विदुषितरा ॥ It is formed by the Taddhita affix क्वसु ॥ In the alternative when there is no shortening, there is masculation under VI 3 35 S 836, when we get the form विद्वत्तरा ॥

In the Kâśikâ, Prakriyâ Kumudi &c, the alternative form given is विदुषीतरा । This is not valid for the long ई can never come, as the rule of पुंवत् (S 836) will at once apply in this alternative

Note:—Or this latter form विद्वत्तरा may be considered to have been evolved from विद्वत्, to which is added the affixes denoting comparison, and then the feminine affix in denoting a feminine

९८८ । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखयदण्लासेषु । ६ । ३ । ५० ॥

हृदयं लिखतीति हृल्लेखः । हृदयस्य प्रियं हृद्यम् । हृदयस्येदं हार्दम् । हृल्लासः । लेखेत्यणन्तस्य ग्रहणम् । अणि तु हृदयलेखः । लेखग्रहणमेव ज्ञापकम् उत्तरपदाधिकारे तदन्तविधिर्नास्तीति ॥

988 हृद् is substituted for हृदय, before लेख and the affixes यत् and अण and before लास ॥

Thus हृदयं लिखति = हृल्लेख, हृदयस्य प्रिय = हृद्यम् हृदयस्येदम् = हार्दम, हृदयस्य लासो = हृल्लास ॥ The word लेख here is derived by अण् affix from लिख ॥ Before the word लेख formed by घञ् affix this substitution does not take place, as हृदयलेख ॥ The inclusion of लेख in this sûtra proves the existence of this maxim "उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्तग्रहणम् ॥

Paribhasha —" An affix, when employed in a rule in which the word-उत्तरपदे is valid, i e in a rule of VI 3 1 S 958 does not denote a word-form ending with the affix"

Note —As a general maxim, an affix denotes, whenever it is emloyed in Grammar, a word form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself (प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहित स्तदादे स्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्) ॥ Thus the word य अय &c in VI 2 144 means a word ending in य affix &c But in this 3rd chapter of the sixth Book, so for as the jurisdiction of उत्तरपदे goes, an affix does not denote a word form ending in that affix, on the above maxim उत्तरपदाधिकारे प्रत्ययग्रहणे न तदन्त ग्रहणम् ॥ On the contrary, the affix denotes its own form Thus तर तम and तन in VI 3 17 S 975 do not denote a word ending in these affixes This rule we infer from the fact that in the present sûtra VI 3 50, the author declares "हृद् is the substitute of हृदय when the word लेख, and the affixes यत् अण्, and लास follow" Had the affix अण् here meant the word form ending in अण् then there would have been no necessity of using the word लेख in the sûtra, as लेख is formed with the अण् affix See Sûtra IV 3 23 S 1391 for the affix तन ॥

९८९ । वा शोकष्यञ्रोगेषु । ६ । ३ । ५१ ॥

हृच्छोक । हृदयशोक । सौहार्द्यम् । सौहृदय्यम । हृद्रोग । हृदयरोग । हृदयशब्दपर्यायो हृच्छब्दो ऽप्यस्ति । तेन सिद्धं प्रपञ्चार्थमिदम् ॥

989 हृद् is optionally the substitute for हृदय, when the words शोक, and रोग or the affix ष्यञ् follows

Thus हृच्छोक or हृदयशोक सौहार्द्यम् or सौहृदय्यम ॥ Here ष्यञ् is added, as हृदय belongs to Brâhmanâdi class V 1 124 S 1788 When हृद् is substituted there is Vriddhi of both the members सु and हृ by VII 3 19 S 1133 So also हृद्रोगः or हृदयरोग ॥ All these forms could have been got from हृत् which is a *full* word *sui generis*, having the same meaning as हृदय ॥ The substitution taught in this sûtra is rather unnecessary

९९० । पादस्य पदाज्यातिगोपहतेषु । ६ । ३ । ५२ ॥

एषूत्तरपदेषु पादस्य पद इत्ययन्त आदेश स्यात् । पादाभ्यामजतीति पदाजि । पदाति । अजत्य तिभ्यां पादे चेतीण् प्रत्यय । अजेर्व्यभावो निपातनात् । पदग । पदोपहत ॥

990 पद (Pada) is substituted for पाद (pâda) before आजि, आति, ग and उपहत ॥

Thus पदाजि = पादाभ्यामजति पदाति = पादाभ्यामतति ॥ आजि and आति are formed by इण from अज and अत् (Un IV 131), and irregularly अज् is not changed to वी though required by II 4 56 S 2292 before this affix So also पदग = पादाभ्यां गच्छति, पदोपहत = पादेनोपहत ॥

Note —The substitute is पद pada, ending in short अ, and not पद् 'pad' for had पद् been the substitute we could not form पद् + ग = पद्ग ॥ Moreover in the next sutra, the substitution taught is पद् (Pad) without the final अ, so the पद of this is with final अ ॥ The word पद has no case-affix as a sutra anomaly

९९१ । पद्यत्यतदर्थे । ६ । ३ । ५३ ॥

पादस्य पत्स्यादतदर्थे यति परे । पादौ विध्यन्ति पद्या शर्करा । अतदर्थे किम् । पादार्थमुदक पाद्यम् । पादार्घाभ्यां चेति यत् ॥

इके चरतावुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पादाभ्यां चरति पदिक । पर्पादित्वात् ष्ठन् ॥

991 पद् is substituted for पाद before the affix यत्, used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"

Thus पादौविध्यन्ति = पद्या शर्करा ॥ Why do we say 'when यत् is used in any sense other than that of "suited there to"? Observe पाद्यम् = पादार्थमुदक ॥ (see IV 4 83 S 1635 and V 4 25 S 2093)

Vart —Before the affix इक्, in the sense of 'he walks there by', पद् is substituted for पाद, as पादाभ्यां चरति = पदिक (IV 4. 10 S 1558) by ष्ठन् affix

Note —The word पाद in this sutra means 'the actual foot', a part of animal organism Therefore पद् is not substituted before the यत् of V I 34, S 1699 as द्विपाद्यम, त्रिपाद्यम् because पाद here denotes 'a measure'

९९२ । हिमकाषिहतिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५४ ॥

पद्धिमम । पत्काषी । पद्धति ॥

992 पद् is substituted for पाद before हिम, काषिन् and हति ॥

Thus पद्धिमम्, (= पादस्य शीत) पत्काषिन् (= पादचारिण) (with णिनि of III 2 78 S 2988) as in अथ पत्काषिणो यान्ति, and पद्धति (पदाभ्या हन्यते) ॥ हति is formed with क्तिन् (कर्मणि क्तिन्) ॥

९९३ । ऋच शे । ६ । ३ । ५५ ॥

ऋच पादस्य पत्स्याच्छे परे । गायत्री पच्छ शसति । पादपादमित्यर्थ । ऋच किम् । पाद॰ कार्षापण ददाति ॥

993 पद् is the substitute for पाद before the affix शस्, when the meaning is that of a Hymn (Rik)

Thus पच्छो गायत्रीं शसति = पाद पाद शसति, the affix शस् being added by V 4 43 S 2110 Why do we say 'when meaning a Hymn'? Observe पादश कार्षापण ददाति ॥

९९४ । वा घोषमिश्रशब्देषु । ६ । ३ । ५६ ॥

पादस्य पत् । पद्घोष । पादघोष । पन्मिश्र । पादमिश्र । पच्छब्द । पादशब्द ॥
निष्के चेति वाच्यम् * ॥ पन्निष्क । पादनिष्क ॥

994 This substitution of पद् for पाद is optional before घोष, मिश्र and शब्द ॥

Thus पद्घोष or पादघोष, पन्मिश्र or पादमिश्र, पच्छब्द or पादशब्द ॥

Vârt —So also before निष्क as पन्निष्क or पादनिष्क ॥

९९५ । उदकस्योद संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ५७ ॥

उदमेघ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ क्षीरोद ॥

995 उद is substituted for उदक, when the compound is a Name

Thus उदमेघ 'a person called Udamegha',

Note —The well-known Patronymic from this is औदमेघि ॥ Why do we say when it is a Name'? Observe उदकगिरि ॥

Vârt —उद is the substitute for उदक, when it stands as the second member of a compound and denotes a Name as क्षीरोद ॥

९९६ । पेषवासवाहनधिषु च । ६ । ३ । ५८ ॥

उदपेषपिनष्टि । उदवास । उदवाहन । उदधिघट । संज्ञे तु पूर्वेण सिद्धम् ॥

996. उद is substituted for उदक before पेष, वास वाहन and धि ॥

Thus उदपेष पिनष्टि formed by णमुल by III 4 38 S 3359 उदवास = उदकस्यवास so also उदवाहन ॥ उदक धीयतेऽस्मिन् = उदधि 'a water jar' The affix is कि III 3 93 S 3271) When the meaning is 'ocean', this form उदधि will be evolved by the preceding sutra, for then it is a sanjñâ or name

९९७ । एकहलादौ पूरयितव्येऽन्यतरस्याम् । ६ । ३ । ५९ ॥

उदकुम्भ । उदककुम्भ । एकेति किम् । उदकस्थाली । पूरयितव्येति किम् । उदकपर्वत ॥

997 उद is optionally substituted for उदक before a word beginning with a single consonant, and which expresses that which is filled with water

Thus उदकुम्भ, or उदककुम्भ, उदपात्रम् or उदकपात्रम् ॥ Why do we say 'एकहलादि' meaning 'a word beginning with a single simple consonant'? Because the rule does not apply to उदकस्थाली as the second member begins with a conjunct consonant Why do we say 'that which is filled with water'? Observe उदकपर्वत ॥

९९८ । मन्थौदनसक्तुबिन्दुवज्रभारहारवीवधगाहेषु च । ६ । ३ । ६० ॥

उदमन्थ । उदकमन्थ । उदौदन । उदकौदन ॥

998 उद is optionally substituted for उदक, before मन्थ, ओदन, सक्तु, बिन्दु, वज्र, भार, हार, वीवध, and गाह ॥

Thus उदकेन मन्थ = उदमन्थ or उदकमन्थ । उदकेनौदन, उदौदन or उदकौदन । सक्तु । उदकेन सक्तु उदसक्तु or उदकसक्तु । बिन्दु । उदकस्य बिन्दु, उदबिन्दु or उदकबिन्दु । वज्र । उदकस्य वज्र उदवज्र or उदकवज्र । भार । उदक बिभर्तीति उदभार । or उदकभार । हार उदक हरतीति, उदहार or उदकहार । वीवध । । उदकस्य वीवध, उदवीवध, or उदकवीवध । गाह । उदक गाहत इति, उदगाह or उदकगाह ॥

९९९ । इको ह्रस्वोऽङ्यो गालवस्य । ६ । ३ । ६१ ॥

इगन्तस्याङ्यन्तस्य ह्रस्वो वा स्यादुत्तरपदे । ग्रामणिपुत्र । ग्रामणीपुत्र । इक किम् । रमापति । अङ्य इति किम् । गौरीपति । गालवग्रहण पूजार्थम् । अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवृत्ते ॥

इयङुवङ्भाविनामव्ययाना च नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ श्रीमत । भ्रूभङ्ग । शुक्लीभाव ॥

अभ्रूकुसादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भ्रुकुस । भ्रूकुटि । भ्रूकुस । भ्रुकुटि । अकारोऽनेन विधीयत इति व्याख्यान्तरम् ॥ भ्रकुस । भ्रकुटि ॥ भ्रुवा कुसो भाषण शोभा वा यस्य स स्त्रीवेषधारी नर्तक । भ्रुव कुटि कौटिल्यम् ॥

999 According to the opinion of Gâlava, a short vowel is substituted, in a compound, before the second

member for the long इक् vowels (ई, ऊ, ॠ), unless it is the long vowel of the Feminine affix ई (ङी)

In other words, for ई, when it is not the Feminine affix ई (ङी) and for ऊ, a short and उ are substituted in a compound, before the second member Thus ग्रामणिपुत्र or ग्रामणीपुत्र, ब्रह्मबन्धुपुत्र or ब्रह्मबन्धूपुत्र ॥

Why do we say इक् vowels? Observe रमापति ॥ Why no we say 'not the long ई of the Feminine affix ङी'? Observe गौरीपति ॥ The name of Gâlava is mentioned pujârtha, for the anuvritti of 'optionally' was present in this sûtra

Vârt —It does not apply to Avyayîbhâva compounds, nor to those words which take इयङ् or उवङ् augment in their declension, as श्रीमद । भ्रूभङ्ग शुक्लीभाव ॥

Vart —It does however apply to भ्रूकुंस &c, as भ्रूकंस, or भ्रकुंस भ्रूकुटि or भ्रुकुटि ॥ Others say अ is substituted for भ्रू &c as भ्रकुंस and भ्रकुटि ॥ भ्रूकुंस means an 'actor,' literally "he who talks (kunse) by the contraction of the eye brows, or whose ornament (kunsa) are the eye brows" A male actor who plays the part of a female भ्रुकुटि means 'knitting of the eye-brows, or frown'

१००० । एक तद्धिते च । ६ । ३ । ६२ ॥

एकशब्दस्य ह्रस्व स्यात्तद्धिते उत्तरपदे च । एकस्या आगत एकरूप्यम् । एकक्षीरम् ॥

1000 The short is substituted for the long of एका, before a Taddhita affix, and when a second member follows

As एकस्या आगत=एकरूप्यम् ॥ So also एकस्या क्षीर=एकक्षीरम् ॥

Note —The shortening takes place of the Feminine word एका having the affix आ ॥ When एक is an adjective (गुणवचन) then the above forms could be evolved by the help of the rules of masculation, such as VI 3 35 S 836 i e when एक means the numeral one But when it means 'alone', then those rules will not apply The word एक is exhibited in the sûtra without any case affix as a Chhandas irregularity The examples given are of एका in the feminine, which alone can be shortened, and not of एक whose final is already short Nor can the rule of shortening be applied to ए of एक, for the rule applies to the *final* letter, and not to a vowel situated in the beginning of a word

१००१ । ङ्यापोः संज्ञाछन्दसोर्बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । ६३ ॥
रेवतिपुत्र । अजक्षीरम् ॥

1001 The short is diversely substituted for the feminine affixes ई and आ (ङी and आप्) in a Name and in the Vedas

As रेवतिपुत्र ॥ Sometimes not, as नान्दीकर । नान्दीघोष , । नान्दीविशाल ॥

So also in the Vedas, as कुमारिदा प्रदविंदा , sometimes the shortening does not take place, as फाल्गुनीपौर्णमासी, जगतीछन्द ॥

आप् ending words in Name अजक्षीरम्, शिलप्रस्थम्, sometimes there is no shortening, as, लोमकागृहम्, लामकाखण्डम् ॥ So also in the Vedas —अजक्षीरेण जुहोति, ऊर्णम्रदा पृथिवी विश्वधायसम् ॥ Sometimes there is no shortening, as, ऊर्णासूत्रेण कवयो वयन्ति ॥

१००२ । त्वे च । ६ । ३ । ६४ ॥

त्वप्रत्यये ङ्यापोर्वा ह्रस्व । अजत्वम् । अजात्वम् । रोहिणित्वम् । रोहिणीत्वम् ॥

1002 The feminine affixes ई and आ diversely become short, before the affix त्व ॥

Thus अजाया भाव =अजत्व or अजात्व, रोहिणित्व or रोहिणीत्वम ॥

Note —These are Vedic illustrations, no Names can be formed in त्व ॥

Now we take up the compounding of कारीषगन्ध्या + पुत्र ॥ In compounding these, tow words, the following rule applies

१००३ । ष्यङ सम्प्रसारण पुत्रपत्योस्तत्पुरुषे । ६ । १ । १३ ॥

ष्यङन्तस्य पूर्वपदस्य सम्प्रसारण स्यात्पुत्रपत्योरुत्तरपदयोस्तत्पुरुषे ॥

1003 There is vocalisation of the semivowel य् of the affix ष्यङ् (IV 1 78) when followed in a Tatpurusha compound, by the words पुत्र and पति ॥

Therefore कौमुदगन्ध्या + पुत्र = कौमुदगन्धि + पुत्र ॥ Then applies the next sûtra, by which इ is lengthened

Note —When the words पुत्र and पति are the second members, forming a Tatpurusha compound, there is samprasârana (vocalising the semi vowels) of the affix ष्यङ् of the preceding That is य् is changed into इ ॥ Thus करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धि (a Bahuvrihi compound taking the samasanta affix or rather substitute इ by V 4 127 S 866) करीषगन्धेरपत्यम् = करीषगन्धि + अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) = कारीषगन्ध ॥ The feminine of this will be formed by adding ष्यङ् (IV 1 78 S 1198) Thus we have कारीषगन्ध्या (see IV 1 78 S 1198) Now in forming the Tatpurusha

compound of this word with पुत्र or पति, the final या will be changed into इ and we have कारीषगन्धी पुत्र, कारीषगन्धीपति ॥ The आ of या becomes merged into इ (VI 1 108 S 330), and the short इ is lengthened (VI 3 139 S 1004) So also कौमुदगन्धीपुत्र or कौमुदगन्धीपति ॥

Why do we say "of the affix ष्यङ्"? Observe इभ्यापुत्र ।। क्षत्रियापुत्र ॥

Why do we say "when followed by पुत्र or पति"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याकुलम्, कौमुदगन्ध्याकुलम् ॥

Why do we say "when forming a Tatpurusha compound"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरस्य ग्रामस्य = कारीषगन्ध्यापतिरयं ग्राम ॥ It is a Bahuvrihi compound

The affix ष्यङ् is here the feminine affix ष्य followed by चाप् (आ) (see IV I 77 and 74)

१००४ । सम्प्रसारणस्य । ६ । ३ । १३९ ॥

सम्प्रसारणस्य दीर्घ स्यादुत्तरपदे । कौमुदगन्ध्याया पुत्र कौमुदगन्धीपुत्र । व्यवस्थितविभाषया ह्रस्वो न । स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जनेनेति तदादिनियमप्रतिषेधात् । परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्र । उपसर्जने तु तदादिनियमान्नेह । अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्र ॥

1004 The vowel substituted for a semivowel is lengthened, when it stands as the first member of a compound

As कौमुदगन्धीपुत्र । कौमुदगन्धीपति ॥ See VI 1 13 S 1003

करीषस्येव गन्धोऽस्य = करीषगन्धि (इ being added as samâsânta by V 4 136 and 137 S 875 and 876) The optional shortening ordained by VI 3 61 S 999 does not apply here, for that option is a definite and restricted option, moreover, on the maxim of परत्व, 'a subsequent rule superseding a precedent,' rule VI 3 61 is superseded by VI 3 139 S, 1004 and the rule VI 3 61 S 999 can not be revived by the maxim पुन प्रसङ्ग विज्ञान "occasionally the formation of a particular form is accounted for by the fact that a preceding rule is allowed to apply again, after it had previously been superseded, by a subsequent rule" For here the following maxim will prevent the revival, सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव "when two rules, while they apply simultaneously, mutually prohibit each other, that rule of the two which is once superseded by the other, is superseded altogether, and cannot, therefore, apply again, after the latter rule has taken effect"

A general maxim relating to all affixes is "an affix denotes whenever it is employed in Grammar, a word-form which begins with that to which that affix has been added, and ends with the affix itself प्रत्ययग्रहणे यस्मात् स विहितस्तदादेस्तदन्तस्य ग्रहणम्" ॥ This maxim, however, does not apply

in case of feminine affixes, whenever we have this rule "a feminine affix denotes whenever it is employed in a rule, a word-form which ends with that affix, but which need not necessarily begin with that to which the affix has been added, but where the word-form is subordinate स्त्रीप्रत्यये चानुपसर्जने न" ॥ Thus we have परमकारीषगन्ध्याया पुत्र = परमकारीषगन्धीपुत्र and so also परमकारीषगन्धीपति ॥ Not so when the word is an upasarjana or subordinate in a compound As अतिक्रान्ता कारीषगन्ध्याम् = अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापुत्र, अतिकारीषगन्ध्यापति ॥

१००५ । बन्धुनि बहुव्रीहौ । ६ । १ । १४ ॥

बन्धुशब्दे उत्तरपदे ष्यङ सम्प्रसारणं स्याद्बहुव्रीहौ । कारीषगन्ध्या बन्धुरस्येति कारीषगन्धीबन्धु । बहुव्रीहाविति किम् । कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धु कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धु । क्लीबनिर्देशस्तु शब्दस्वरूपापेक्षया ॥

मातज्मातृकमातृषु वा ॥ कारीषगन्धीमात । कारीषगन्ध्यामात । कारीषगन्धीमातृक । कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक । कारीषगन्धीमाता । कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । अस्मादेव निपातनान्मातृशब्दस्य मातजादेशः । नद्यृतश्च' (८३३) इति कब्विकल्पश्च । बहुव्रीहावेवेदम् । नेह । कारीषगन्ध्याया माता कारीषगन्ध्यामाता । चित्त्वसामर्थ्याच्चित्स्वरो बहुव्रीहिस्वरं बाधते ॥

1005 There is vocalisation of the affix ष्यङ् when the word बन्धु follows in a Bahuvrihî compound

Thus कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धुरस्य = कारीषगन्धीबन्धु ॥ So also कौमुदगन्धीबन्धु ॥

Why do we say "when the compound is a Bahuvrihi"? Observe कारीषगन्ध्याया बन्धु = कारीषगन्ध्याबन्धु, which is a Tatpurusha compound

Though the word बन्धुनि is exhibited in the sûtra in the neuter gender, it is in fact a masculine word It is shown as neuter only as regards the word-form bandhu

Vart —There is vocalisation of ष्यङ् in a Bahuvrihi compound with मातच्, मातृक and मातृ optionally as कारीषगन्धीमातं or कारीषगन्ध्या मात, कारीषगन्धीमातृक or कारीषगन्ध्यामातृक, कारीषगन्धीमाता, कारीषगन्ध्यामाता ॥ All Bahuvrihi compounds ending in ऋ take the samâsânta affix कप्, so मातृ would have become मातृक by force of V 4 153, S 833 So the separate enumeration of मातृ and मातृक here shows that कप् is also optional The rule is cofined to Bahuvrihi compounds Therefore in Tatpurusha compounds there is no option, we have only one form, as कारीषगन्ध्यामाता "the mother of Kârishagandhyâ"

The indicatory च of मातच् makes the word take the udâtta on the last syllable (VI 1 163 S 3710), thus debarring the special accent of the Bahuvrihi (VI. 2. 1. S. 3735)

१००६। इष्टकेषीकामालानां चिततूलभारिषु । ६ । ३ । ६५ ॥

इष्टकादीनां तदन्तानां च पूर्वपदानां चितादिषु क्रमादुत्तरपदेषु ह्रस्वः स्यात्। इष्टकचितम्। पक्वेष्टकचितम्। इषीकतूलम्। मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्। मालभारी। उत्पलमालभारी ॥

1006 For the long vowel, a short is substituted, in इष्टका before चित, in इषीका before तूल, and in माला before भारिन् ॥

Thus इष्टकचितम्, इषीकतूलम् and मालभारिणी कन्या ॥ The rule of tadanta applies to इष्टका &c as they fall under Padâdhikâra So that the compounds ending in इष्टका &c are also governed by this rule as पक्वेष्टकचितम् मुञ्जेषीकतूलम्, उत्पलमालभारिणी कन्या ॥

१००७। कारे सत्यागदस्य । ६ । ३ । ७० ॥

मुम् स्यात्। सत्यङ्कारः। अगदङ्कारः।

अस्तोश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अस्तुङ्कारः ॥

धेनोर्भव्यायाम् * ॥ धेनुम्भव्या ॥

लोकस्य पृणे * ॥ लोकम्पृणः। पृण इति मूलविभुजादित्वात्कः ॥

इत्येऽनभ्याशस्य * ॥ अनभ्याशमित्यः। दूरतः परिहर्तव्य इत्यर्थः।

भ्राष्ट्राग्न्योरिन्धे * ॥ भ्राष्ट्रमिन्धः। अग्निमिन्धः ॥

गिलेऽगिलस्य * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलः। अगिलस्य किम्। गिलगिलः ॥

गिलगिले च * ॥ तिमिङ्गिलगिलः ॥

उष्णभद्रयोः करणे * ॥ उष्णङ्करणम्। भद्रङ्करणम् ॥

1007 मुम् is the augment of सत्य and अगद when the word कार follows.

As सत्यङ्कारः = सत्यं करोति or सत्यस्य कारः 'to take oath' So also अगदङ्कारः "a physician"

Vart —So also of अस्तु, as अस्तुङ्कारः "efficacious, working as a medicine"

Note —So also in Vedas, of भक्ष before कार—e g भक्षङ्कार, in secular language भक्षकार ॥

Vart —Of धेनु before भव्या, e g धेनुम्भव्या (धेनुर्भावी भव्या च) ॥

Vart —Of लोक before पृण, e g लोकम्पृणः filling or pervading the

world" As लोकम्पृणे परिमलै परिपूरितस्य ॥ पृण is formed by the affix क (III 2 5 S 2919 vart) added to the root पृण् ॥ as it belongs to the Mûla-vibhujâdi class

Vart —Of अनभ्यास before इत्य as अनभ्यासमित्य "to be shunned from afar"

Vart —Of भ्राष्ट्र and अग्नि, before इन्ध , as भ्राष्ट्रमिन्ध , अग्निमिन्ध 'one who fries or roasts"

Vart —A word before गिल takes मुम् augment, unless it is also गिल e g तिमिङ्गिल "a kind of fish which swallows a *timi*" But गिलगिल ॥

Vart —So also before गिलगिल, e g तिमिङ्गिलगिल ॥

Vart —Of उष्ण and भद्र before करण, e g उष्णंकरण and भद्रंकरण ॥

१००८ । रात्रेः कृति विभाषा । ६ । ३ । ७२ ॥

रात्रिंचर । रात्रिचर । रात्रिमट । रात्र्यट । अखिदर्थमिदं सूत्रम । खिति तु अरुर्द्विषदिति नित्यमेव वक्ष्यते । रात्रिंमन्य ॥

1008 The word रात्रि optionally takes मुम् before a word formed by kṛt-affix

As रात्रिंचर or रात्रिचर , रात्रिंमट or रात्र्यट ॥ This is an aprâpta vibhâshâ This sûtra applies to words not formed by a खित् affix The augment मुम् is compulsory by VI 3 67 S 2942 before a kṛit-affix having an indicatory ख, As, रात्रिंमन्य ॥ Here the affix खश् (III 2 83 S 2993) is added to the root मन् , and as it is a sârvadhâtuka affix, becasue it has an indicatory श, therfore the vikarana श्यन् is added.

१००९ । सहस्य सः संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । ७८ ॥

उत्तरपदे । सपलाशम् । संज्ञायां किम् । सहयुध्वा ॥

1009 स is substituted for सह, in a Name, when followed by another word in a compound

Thus सपलाशम् ॥ Why when it is a Name? Observe सहयुध्वा formed by क्वनिप् (III 2 96 S 3006) The ई is not added in the Feminine because of the vârtika under IV 1 7 S 456

१०१० । ग्रन्थान्ताधिके च । ६ । ३ । ७९ ॥

अनयोः परयोः सहस्य सः स्यादुत्तरपदे । समुहूर्तं ज्योतिषमधीते । सद्रोणा खारी ॥

1010 स is the substitute for सह, in a compound when followed by another word, when it has the sense of

'upto the end' (in connection with a literary work) or 'more'

Thus सकल=कलान्त ज्योतिषमधीते ॥ So also समुहूर्तम्=(मुहूर्तान्तम्) ॥ ससमह (=समहान्तम्) व्याकरणमधीते ॥ These are all Avyayîbhâva compounds by °अन्त वचने (II 1 6 S 652) Therefore, when a word, denoting time, is the second member, सह would not be changed to स, because of the prohibition in VI 3 81 S 660 The present sûtra removes that prohibition by anticipation, with regard to time denoting words even, when the meaning is that 'of the end of a book' When the sense is that of 'more,' we have सद्रोणाखारी समाषः कार्षापणः । सकाकिणीको माष ॥

१०११ । द्वितीये चानुपाख्ये । ६ । ३ । ८० ॥

अनुमेये द्वितीये सहस्य स स्यात् । सराक्षसीका निशा । राक्षसी साक्षादनुपलभ्यमाना निशयाऽनुमीयते ॥

1011 स is the substitute for सह, when it is in connection with a word which refers to a second object, which latter, however, is not directly perceived

Note —Of the two things which are generally found co-existing, 'the non-principal is called the 'second' or द्वितीय ॥ That which is perceived, observed or is known is called उपाख्य, that which is not perceived &c is अनुपाख्य *i e* what is to be inferred That is, when the second object is to be inferred from the presence of the first, स is added to such second word Thus साग्नि' (कपोत) 'a pigeon which points out that conflagration has taken place some where' सपिशाचा वात्या 'a storm wind which announces the Pisâchas'

सराक्षसीका निशा Here the fire, the Pisâcha or the Râkshasas are not directly perceived, but their existence is inferred from the presence of the pigeon, storm wind and night In सराक्षसीका, there is added कप् by V 4 153 S 833

१०१२ । समानस्य छन्दस्यमूर्धप्रभृत्युदर्केषु । ६ । ३ । ८४ ॥

समानस्य स स्यादुत्तरपदे नतु मूर्धादिषु । अनु भ्राता सगर्भ्यः । अनु सखा सयूथ्यः । यो न सनुत्यः । तत्रभव इत्यर्थे सगर्भसयूथसनुताद्यत् । अमूर्धादिषु किम् । समानमूर्धा । समानप्रभृतयः । समानोदर्काः । समानस्येति योगो विभज्यते । तेन सपक्ष साधर्म्यं सजातीयामित्यादि सिद्धमिति काशिका । अथवा सहशब्द सदृशवचनोऽप्यस्ति । सदृश सख्या ससखीति यथा । तेनायमस्वपदविग्रहो बहुव्रीहिः । समान पक्षोऽस्येत्यादि ॥

1012 स is the substitute of समान in the Chhandas but not before मूर्धन्, प्रभृति and उदर्क ॥

Thus अनुभ्राता सगर्भ्य अनुसखा सयूथ्य, योन सनुत्य (IV 4 114 S 3460) समानो गर्भ = सगर्भ तत्र भव = सगर्भ्य formed by यत् affix IV 4 114 S 3460 Why do we say 'not before मूर्धन् &c' Observe समानमूर्द्धा, समानप्रभृतय, समानोदर्का ॥

"The sutra should be divided into two *viz*, समानस्य forming one sûtra, and छन्दस्यमूर्द्ध &c, another This we do in order to get the forms सपक्ष, साधार्म्यम्, सजातीयम् &c, in secular language also" Thus says the author of the Kâśikâ

Or we may say the word सह means also सदृश, as we have already seen in the word ससखा (= सदृश सख्या) Therefore the above are Bahuvrîhis, which should be analysed thus समान पक्षोऽस्य = सपक्ष &c Here स is an elliptical form of सह meaning sadrisa See VI 3 82 S 849 by which सह is changed to स ॥

Note —This sutra is a Vaidic rule and ought to have been taught by Bhattoji in the Vaidic chapter He has taught it here in order to show that by Yoga vîbhâga it can be applied to ordinary language also

But if the view be taken that in सपक्ष &c, the स is सह, then there is no necessity of Yoga vibhâga, for the Mâhâbhâshya has not shown this splitting of this particular sûtra

१०१३ । ज्योतिर्जनपदरात्रिनाभिनामगोत्ररूपस्थानवर्णवयोवचनबन्धुषु । ६ । ३ । ८५ ॥

एषु द्वादशसूत्तरपदेषु समानस्य स स्यात् । सज्योति । सजनपद इत्यादि ॥

1013 This substitution of स for समान् takes place before the twelve words ज्योतिस्, जनपद, रात्रि, नाभि, नामन्, गोत्र, रूप, स्थान, वर्ण, वयस्, वचन and बन्धु in the common language also

Thus सज्योति सजनपद, सरात्रि, सनाभि, सनामा, सगोत्र, सरूप, सस्थान, सवर्ण, सवया, सवचन, सबन्धु ॥

Note —सज्योतिस (neut) is the period of impurity which lasts up to the setting of the sun or the asterism in which the impurity commenced

१०१४ । चरणे ब्रह्मचारिणि । ६ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ब्रह्मचारिण्युत्तरपदे समानस्य स स्याच्चरणे समानत्वेन गम्यमाने । चरण शाखा । ब्रह्म वेदः ॥ तदध्ययनार्थं व्रतमपि ब्रह्म । तच्चरतीति ब्रह्मचारी । समान स सब्रह्मचारी ॥

1014 स is substituted for समान before ब्रह्मचारिन् when it denotes persons engaged in fulfilling a common vow of studying the Vedas

Thus समानो ब्रह्मचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥ चरणे in the sûtra means a शाखा or a department of Vedic study ब्रह्म means the Vedas He who has a common (samâna) branch (charana) is a sabrahmachâri The vow of studying the Veda, is also called ब्रह्म ॥ He who is engaged in the performance of that vow, is called ब्रह्मचारिन् ॥ समान refers to the vow of studying being common to both *i e* समाने ब्रह्मणि व्रतचारी = सब्रह्मचारी ॥

Note —सब्रह्मचारिन् therefore means a co student, one who reads the *same* Vedic portion as the other

१०१५ । तीर्थे ये । ६ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तीर्थे उत्तरपदे यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते समानस्य स स्यात् । सतीर्थ्य = एकगुरुक । समानतीर्थे वासीति यत्प्रत्यय ॥

1015 स is substituted for समान, before तीर्थ, when the affix यत् is added to it

Thus सतीर्थ्य = समान तीर्थ वासी (IV 4. 107 S 1658) 'a fellow student,' *i. e* whose preceptor is one and the same person who are studying under a common teacher The affix यत् is added by IV 4 107 S 1658

१०१६ । विभाषोदरे । ६ । ३ । ८८ ॥

यादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते इत्येव । सोदर्य । समानोदर्य ॥

1016 The substitution of स for समान is optional before उदर when the affix यत् is added to it

सोदर्य or समानोदर्य (IV 4. 108 S 1659)

१०१७ । दृग्दृशवतुषु । ६ । ३ । ८९ ॥

सदृक् । सदृश ॥

दृक्षे चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सदृक्ष । वतुरुत्तरार्थं ॥

1017. स is substituted for समान before दृक्, दृश् and the affix वतु ॥

Thus सदृक्, सदृशः ॥ The affixes कञ्, and क्विन् are added to दृश् under III, 2 60 S 429 *Vârt* which give us the forms दृक् and दृश ॥

Vart —So also before दृक्ष as सदृक्ष ॥ दृक्ष is formed by क्स affix under III 2 60S 429 Vârtika

The affix वतु is taken for the sake of the subsequent sûtra

१०१८। इदंकिमोरीश्की । ६ । ३ । ९० ॥

दृग्दृश्वतुषु इदम ईश किम की स्यात् । ईदृक । ईदृश । कीदृक् । कीदृश । वतूदाहरणं वक्ष्यते । दृक्षे च । ईदृक्ष । कीदृक्ष ॥ आ सर्वनाम्नः ॥ दृक्षे च । तादृक् । तादृश ॥ तावान् । तादृक्ष । दीर्घ । मस्योत्वे । अमूदृक् । अमूदृश । अमूदृक्ष ॥

1018 ई is substituted for इदम् and की for किम् before the words दृक , दृश् and the affix वत् ॥

Thus ईदृक् ईदृश and इयान् , कीदृक्, कीदृश and कियान् ॥

Note —ईवत् and कीवत् are changed to ई+इयत् and की+इयत् by V 2 40 S 1841 and the long ई is elided by VI 4 148 S 311 and we get इयत् and कियत् ॥

Vârt —So also before दृक्ष, as ईदृक्ष and कीदृक्ष ॥

So also when the rule VI 3 91 S, 430 applies and आ is added to pronouns, as तादृक्, तादृश , तावान् and तादृक्ष ॥

So also in the case of the Pronoun अदस् when it takes the long ऊ (VII 3 91 S 430), and म and उ substitutions (VIII 2 80 S 419) as— अमूदृक् , अमूदृश , अमूदृक्ष ॥

१०१९। समासेऽङ्गुलेः सङ्ग । ८ । ३ । ८० ॥

अङ्गुलिशब्दात्सङ्गस्य सस्य मूर्धन्य स्यात्समासे । अङ्गुलिषङ्ग । समासे किम् । अङ्गुले सङ्ग ॥

1019 ष् is substituted for the स् of सङ्ग after the word अङ्गुलि in a compound

Thus अङ्गुलिषङ्ग ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe अङ्गुले सङ्ग ॥

Note —The word सङ्ग is exhibited in the sutra in the nominative case The force is here that of Genitive i e सङ्गस्य ॥

१०२०। भीरोः स्थानम् । ८ । ३ । ८१ ॥

भीरुशब्दात् स्थानस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । भीरुष्ठानम् । असमासे तु । भीरो स्थानम् ॥

1020 ष् is substituted for the स् of स्थान when preceded by भीरु in a compound

Thus भीरुष्ठानम् ॥ The word "compound" is understood here also, otherwise भीरो स्थान ॥

१०२१ । ज्योतिरायुषः स्तोमः । ८ । ३ । ८३ ॥

आभ्यां स्तोमस्य सस्य मूर्धन्यः स्यात्समासे । ज्योतिष्टोमः । आयुष्टोमः । समासे किम् । ज्योतिषः स्तोमः ॥

1021 The स of स्तोम is changed to ष् after ज्योतिस् and आयुस् in a compound

As ज्योतिष्टोम, आयुष्टोम ॥ Why do we say 'in a compound'? Observe ज्योतिषः स्तोमः where there is no compounding

१०२२ । सुषामादिषु च । ८ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्यः । शोभनं साम यस्य सुषामा । सुषन्धिः ॥

1022 The स् is changed to ष् in the words सुषामन् and the rest

Thus सुषामा ब्राह्मणः = शोभनम् साम यस्य असौ ॥ So also सुषन्धि ॥

Note —1 सुषामा, 2 नि षामा, 3 दु षामा, 4 सुषेध 5 निषेध (नि षेध), 6 दु षेध, 7 सुषधि, 8 नि षधि (निषधि), 9 दु षधि, 10 सुष्टु (सुष्टु), 11 दुष्टु (दुष्टु), 12 गौरिषक्थ संज्ञायाम् 13 प्रतिष्णिका, 14 जलाषाहम्, 15 नौषेचनम् (नौषेचनम्), 16 दुन्दुभिषेवणम् (दुन्दुभिषेचनम्, °षेवनम्) 17 एति संज्ञायामगात्, 18 हरिषेण, 19 नक्षत्राद्वा, रोहिणीषेण ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

Some of the above words would have been governed by the prohibition in VIII 3 111, S 2123 others would never have taken ष, hence their inclusion in this list The word सु is here a karmapravachaniya (I 4 94 S 555) and निर् and दुर् also are not upasargas, because they are so only in connection with the verbs गम and क्री, so VIII 3 65 S 2270 does not apply to सेध preceded by निर् and दुर् ॥ The word सेध here is a घञ् formed word, from षिधु हिंसा संराद्धौ, if it be derived from षिध गत्याम्, then also, the word is included here in order to prevent the application of VIII 3 113 S 2278 The words सुषन्धि, दु षन्धि &c, are derived from धा with the prepositions सु and सम्, and the affix कि (III 3 92 S 3270), and the स of सम् is changed to ष ॥ The words सुष्टु दुष्टु are Unâdi formed words (Un I 25) The word गौरिषक्थ is a Bahuvrîhi, the स of सक्थि is changed to ष् and the Samâsânta षच् is added (V 4 113 S 852) The long ई of the first member is shortened by VI 3 63 S 1001 The change takes place when it is a Name The word प्रतिष्णिका is formed by adding the Preposition प्रति to the root स्ना, and the affix अङ् (III 3 106 S 3283), and we have प्रतिष्णा with टाप्, then क is added by V 3 73 S 2028 and आ shortened (VII 4 13 S 834) and इ added by VII 3 44 S 463 The word नौषेचन is formed by adding ल्युट् to सिच ॥ दुन्दुभिषेवण is also a ल्युट् formed word from सेवति or सीव्यति ॥ There are two sûtras in the above list They are explained below

१०२३ । एति संज्ञायामगात् । ८ । ३ । ९९ ॥

सस्य मूर्धन्य । हरिषेण ॥ एति किम् । हरिसक्थम् । संज्ञाया किम् । पृथुसेन । अगकारात्किम् । विष्वक्सेन । इण्कोरित्येव । सर्वसेन ॥

1023 The स् followed by ए and preceded by इण् or कु is changed to ष्, when the word is a name, and when the स is not preceded by ग् ॥

Thus हरय सेना अस्य = हरिषेण, परित सेना अस्य = परिषेण, so also वारिषेण, जानुषेणी ॥ Why do we say 'followed by ए'? Observe हरिसक्थम् ॥ Why do we say 'when a Name'? Observe पृथ्वी सेना यस्य स = पृथुसेनो राजा (VI 3 34 S 831) Why do we say 'when the स is not preceded by ग्'? Observe विष्वक् सेन ॥ The phrase इण्को (VIII 3 57 S 211) is understood here also, so the rule does not apply to सर्वसेन ॥

Note —This sutra is read in the list of Sushamâdi class (see the last sûtra 1022) so also the next sûtra They have been inserted in the Ashtâdhyâyi from the Ganapâtha

१०२४ । नक्षत्राद्वा । ८ । ३ । १०० ॥

एति सस्य संज्ञायामगकारान्मूर्धन्यो वा । रोहिणीषेण । रोहिणीसेन । अगकारात्किम् । शतभिषक्सेन । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1024 When the preceding word is the name of a Lunar mansion, the ष substitution for स under the above mentioned circumstances is optional

Thus रोहिणीषेण or रोहिणीसेन ॥ Why do we say 'when not preceded by ग?' Observe भिषक् सेन where the preceding letter is ग ॥

Note —These two sûtras 99 and 100 are really Gana-sûtras, being read in the सुषामादि Gana They have, since long, been raised to the rank of full sûtras

All cerebral ष changes, when not referable to any specific rule, should be classified under the Sushâmâdi gana

१०२५ । अषष्ठ्यतृतीयास्थस्यान्यस्य दुगाशीराशास्थास्थितोत्सुकोतिकारकरागच्छेषु । ६ । ३ । ९९ ॥

अन्यशब्दस्य दुगागमः स्यादाशीरादिषु परेषु । अन्यदाशी । अन्यदाशा । अन्यदास्था । अन्यदास्थित । अन्यदुत्सुक । अन्यदूति । अन्यद्राग । अन्यदीय ॥ अषष्ठीत्यादि किम् । अन्यस्याऽन्येन वाशी अन्याशी । कारके छे च नाय निषेध । अन्यस्य कारक अन्यत्कारक । अन्यस्यायमन्यदीय । गहादेराकृतिगणत्वाच्छ ॥

1025 अन्य, when not used in the Genitive or the Instrumental, gets the augment दुक (द्), before आशिस्, आशा, आस्था, आस्थित, उत्सुक, ऊति, कारक and राग, as well as before the affix छ (ईय)

Thus अन्या आशी = अन्यदाशी अन्या आशा = अन्यदाशा, अन्या आस्था = अन्यदास्था अन्य आस्थित = अन्यदास्थित , अन्य उत्सुक = अन्यदुत्सुक , अन्या ऊति = अन्यदूति , अन्य कारक अन्यत्कारक , अन्यो राग = अन्यद्राग ॥ So also with छ, as अन्यस्मिन् भवः = अन्यदीय ॥ It takes छ because it belongs to गहादि class (IV 2 138 S 1362) Gahâdi is Akritigana

Why do we say 'when not in the Genitive or the Instrumental'? Observe अन्यस्य आशी = अन्याशी , अन्येन आस्थित = अन्यास्थित &c With regard to the word कारक and the affix छ, the दुक् augment is universal, though अन्य may be even in the Genitive case &c as अन्यस्य कारकः = अन्यत् कारक , अन्यस्येदम् = अन्यदीयम् ॥ The unusual occurrence of two negatives in the sûtra (अषष्ठी and अतृतीया), implies this

१०२६ । अर्थे विभाषा । ६ । ३ । १०० ॥

अन्यदर्थ । अन्यार्थ ॥

1026 दुक् is optionally the augment of अन्य when अर्थ follows

As अन्यदर्थ or अन्यार्थ ॥

१०२७ । को कत्तत्पुरुषेऽचि । ६ । ३ । १०१ ॥

अजादावुत्तरपदे । कुत्सितोऽश्व कदश्व । कदन्नम् । तत्पुरुषे किम् । कूष्ट्रो राजा ॥ त्रौ च * ॥ कुत्सितास्त्रय कत्त्रय ॥

1027 कत् is substituted for कु in a Tatpurusha, when a word beginning with a vowel follows as the second member

As कदश्व , कदन्नम् ॥ Why do we say in a Tatpurusha? Observe कूष्ट्रो राजा ॥

Note —Why do we say "when the second member begins with a vowel"? Observe कुब्राह्मण , कुपुरुष ॥

Vart —कत् is substituted before त्रय, as कत्त्रय = कुत्सितास्त्रय ॥

१०२८ । रथवदयोश्च । ६ । ३ । १०२ ॥

कद्रथ । कद्वदः ॥

1028 कद् is substituted for कु before रथ and वद also.

Thus कद्रथ कद्वद ॥

१०२६ । तृणे च जातौ । ६ । ३ । १०३ ॥

कत्तृणम् ॥

1029 कत् is substituted for कु when तृण follows denoting a species

As कत्तृणा नाम जाति ॥ But कुत्सितानि तृणानि = कुतृणानि ॥

१०३० । का पथ्यक्षयो । ६ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कापथम् । काक्ष । अक्षशब्देन तत्पुरुष । अक्षिशब्देन बहुव्रीहिर्वा ॥

1030. का is the substitute of कु, before पथिन् and अक्ष ॥

Thus कापथम् and काक्ष ॥ The latter is a Tatpurusha, if the second word is *aksha*, and it is Bahuvrîhi also, if the second term is *akshi*

१०३१ । ईषदर्थे । ६ । ३ । १०५ ॥

ईषज्जल काजलम् । अजादावपि परत्वात्कादेश । काम्ल ॥

1031 का is the substitute of कु, when the meaning is 'a small'

As कामधुरम , कालवणम् । काजलम् "a little water" Though the second member may begin with a vowel, yet this substitution takes place, in spite of VI 3 101 S 1027 because this sutra is *subsequent* in order, as काम्लम् ॥

१०३२ । विभाषा पुरुषे । ६ । ३ । १०६ ॥

कापुरुष । कुपुरुष । अप्राप्तविभाषेयम् । ईषदर्थे हि पूर्वविप्रतिषेधान्नित्यमेव । ईषत्पुरुष । कापुरुषः ॥

1032 का is optionally substituted for कु when the word पुरुष follows

Thus कापुरुष or कुपुरुष ॥ This is an aprapta vibhasha In the sense of 'a little ईषत्', the substitution is compulsory and not optional, by the setting aside of the prior, as ईषत् पुरुष = का पुरुष ॥

१०३३ । कव चोष्णे । ६ । ३ । १०७ ॥

उष्णशब्दे उत्तरपदे कोः कव का च वा स्यात् । कवोष्णम् । कोष्णम् । कदुष्णम् ॥

1033 का and कव are optionally the substitutes of कु when उष्ण follows

As कवोष्णम्, कोष्णम् or कदुष्णम् ॥

१०३४। पृषोदरादीनि यथोपदिष्टम् । ६ । ३ । १०९ ॥

पृषोदरप्रकाराणि शिष्टैर्यथोच्चारितानि तथैव साधूनि स्यु । पृषत उदर पृषोदरम् । तलोप । वारिवाहको बलाहक । पूर्वपदस्य ब उत्तरपदादेश्च लत्वम् ॥

भवेद्वर्णागमाद्धस सिंहो वर्णविपर्ययात् । गूढोत्मा वर्णविकृतेर्वर्णनाशात्पृषोदरम् ॥

दिक्शब्देभ्यस्तीरस्य तारभावो वा * ॥ दक्षिणतारम् । दक्षिणतीरम् । उत्तरतारम् । उत्तरतीरम् ॥

दुरो दाशनाशदभध्येषूत्वमुत्तरपदादेः ष्टुत्वं च * ॥

दु खेन दाश्यत दूडाश । दु खेन नाश्यते दूणाश । दु खेन दभ्यते दूडभ । दभेर्खल् । दम्भेर्नलोपो निपात्यते । दु खेन ध्यायतीति दूढ्य । आतश्चोति क । ब्रुवन्तोऽस्या सीदन्तीति बृसी । ब्रुवच्छब्दस्य बृ आदेश सदेरधिकरणे डट् । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1034 The elision, augment and mutation of letters to be seen in पृषोदर &c, though not found taught in treatises of Grammar, are valid, to that extent and in the mode, as taught by the usage of the sages

The word यथोपदिष्टम् = शिष्टैरुच्चारितानि ॥ Thus पृषदुदरं यस्य = पृषोदरम्, पृषद् उद्यान यस्य = पृषोद्यानम् ॥ Here there is elision of त् ॥ So also वारिवाहक = बलाहक, here वारि is replaced by ब, and ल replaces व of वाहक, जीवनस्य मूत = जीमूत, here वन has been elided, शवाना शयन = श्मशानम्, here श्म replaces शव, and शान for शयन ॥ उर्द्ध खमस्य = उलूखलम्, here उलू replaces ऊर्ध्व, and खल replaces खम ॥ पिशित आश = पिशाच ॥

मह्या रौति = मयूर ॥ Here मही is replaced by मयू, and the final of ह is elided before the affix अच् ॥ And so on with अश्वत्थ, कपित्थ &c

The following verse enumerates the anomalies of Prishodara class compounds —

VERSE

The word हस is formed by the augment of a letter, the word सिंह is formed by the transposition of letters, the word गूढोत्मा is formed by mutation of letters, and the word पृषोदर is formed by the destruction of letters

Note —हस is formed from the root हन् with the affix अच् (of Pachâdi class III 1 134 S 2896), and the augment सक् हन्+सक्+अच्=हस ॥ From √हिंस् is formed सिंह by the Pachâdi अच् the letters ह and स change position *inter se*

Vârt —तीर becomes optionally तार after a word denoting direction, as दक्षिणतीरम् or दक्षिणतारम्, उत्तरतीरम्, or उत्तरतारम् ॥

Vârt —The final of दुर् is changed to उ before दाश, नाश, दभ and ध्यै and the first letters of these are changed to their corresponding cerebrals Thus दु खेन दाश्यते, नाश्यते, दभ्यते च =दूडाश, दूणाश, दूडभ ॥ In the last (दभ) there is elision of the nasal also These three words are formed by the affix खल् (III. 3 126 S 3305) दु खेन ध्यायति=दूढ्य ॥ Here is added the affix क to the root ध्या (ध्यै) preceded by the upapada दु, by III I 126 S 2898

वृषन्तोऽस्यां सीदन्ति=बृसी ॥ Here सद् takes the affix इट् in the locative, and वृष is replaced by बृ ॥ मुनीनामासनं बृसी "The seat of a sage is called bṛisî" (See Amarakosha II 7 46)

१०३५ । संहितायाम् । ६ । ३ । ११४ ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1035 In the following sûtras upto the end of the third pâda of the sixth Adhyâya, are to be supplied the following words —"In an uninterrupted flow of speech"

Note —Thus sûtra VI 3 135 S 3537 declares "अ at the end of a two-syllabic inflected verb becomes long in the Hymns" Thus विद्मा हि त्वा सत्पतिं शूर गोनाम् ॥ The word संहितायाम् should be read into that sûtra to complete the sense So that when the above words stand separately, we have विद्म, हि, त्वा, सत्पतिं, शूर, गोनाम् ॥

१०३६ । कर्णे लक्षणस्याविष्टाष्टपञ्चमणिभिन्नच्छिन्नच्छिद्रस्रुवस्वस्तिकस्य । ६ । ३ । ११५ ॥

कर्णशब्दे परे लक्षणवाचकस्य दीर्घ । द्विगुणाकर्ण । लक्षणस्य किम् । शोभनकर्ण । अविष्टादीनां किम् । विष्टकर्ण । अष्टकर्ण । पञ्चकर्ण । मणिकर्ण । भिन्नकर्ण । छिन्नकर्ण । छिद्रकर्ण । स्रुवकर्ण । स्वस्तिककर्ण ॥

1036 Before कर्ण, there is the substitution of a long vowel for the final of the preceding word, when it denotes a proprietorship mark on the ears of cattle, but not

when the words are वि, अष्टन्, पञ्चन्, मणि, भिन्न, छिन्न, छिद्र, स्रुव and स्वस्तिक ॥

Thus द्विगुणाकर्ण ॥ The word लक्षण here means any peculiar mark showing the proprietorship, put or made on the ears of animals Why do we say 'when it denotes such a mark'? Observe शोभनकर्ण od ॥ Why we say 'with the exception of विष्ट &c'? Observe विष्टकर्ण ॥ अष्टकर्ण, पञ्चकर्ण, भिन्नकर्ण, छिन्नकर्ण, छिद्रकर्ण, स्रुवकर्ण, स्वस्तिककर्ण and मणिकर्ण ॥

१०३७ । नहिवृतिवृषिव्यधिरुचिसहितनिषु क्वौ । ६ । ३ । ११६ ॥

क्विबन्तेषु एषु परेषु पूर्वपदस्य दीर्घः । उपानत् । नीवृत् । प्रावृट् । मर्माविद् । नीरुक् । अभीरुक् । ऋतीषट् । परीतत् । क्वाविति किम् । परिणहनम् । विभाषा पुरुष इत्यतो मण्डूकप्लुत्या विभाषानुवर्तते सा च व्यवस्थिता । तेन गतिकारकयोरेव । नेह । पटुरुक् । तिग्मरुक् ॥

1037 A long vowel is substituted for the final vowel of the preceding word, before the verbs नह्, वृत्, वृष्, व्यध्, रुच्, सह् and तन्, when these roots take the affix क्विप् ॥

Thus उपानह् (उपानत् Nom S), so also, परीणत्, नीवृत्, उपावृत्, (with vṛt) प्रावृट्, उपावृट्, (with vṛsh) मर्माविद्, हृदयाविद्, श्वाविद्, (with vyadh) नीरुक्, अभीरुक् (with tuch) ऋतीषट्, (with sah) परीतत् (with tan) The nasal is elided after तन् before क्वि (VI 4 40 S 2986), and by an extension of that rule, it is elided after तन् also Why do we say 'when क्वि follows'? Observe परिणहनम् ॥

In this sûtra we read the anuvritti of the word "vibhâshâ" ("optionally") from the aphorism VI 3, 106 S 1032, which does not govern the intervening ten sûtras, but applies to this VI 3 116 S 1037, by the method, called 'frog-leap' The option of this sûtra is, however, a vyavasthita vibhâsâ or a settled option Namely, it applies only when the upapadas are *gatis* or *kârakas* Therefore not here, पटुरुक् or तिग्मरुक् ॥

१०३८ । वनगिर्योः संज्ञायां कोटरकिंशुलुकादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११७ ॥

कोटरादीनां वने परे किंशुलुकादीनां गिरौ परे दीर्घः स्यात्संज्ञायाम् ॥

1038 For the final vowel of कोटर &c a long vowel is substituted before वन, and so also of किंशुलुक &c before गिरि, when the compound is a Name

Thus कोटर+वन ॥ Now applies the following sûtra

Note —Thus कोटरावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावणम्, सारिकावणम् ॥

So also किंशुलुकागिरि, अञ्जनागिरि, &c

The न is changed to ण in वन by VIII 4 4 S 1039 But असिपत्रवनम् and कृष्णगिरि as these words do not belong to the above classes

1 कोटर, 2 मिश्रक 3 सिध्रक 4 पुरग (पुरक), 5 शारिक (सारिक) ॥
1 किंशुलुक (किंशुलक) 2 शाल्व (साल्वक), 3 नड*, 4 अञ्जन, 5 भञ्जन 6 लोहित, 7 कुक्कुट ॥

१०३९ । वनं पुरगामिश्रकासिध्रकासारिकाकोटराग्रेभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ४ ॥

वनशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्य एभ्य एव णत्वं नान्येभ्यः । इह कोटरान्ता पञ्च दीर्घविधौ कोटरादयो बोध्याः । तेषां कृतदीर्घाणां णत्वविधौ निर्देशो नियमार्थः । अग्रशब्दस्य तु विध्यर्थः । पुरगावणम् । मिश्रकावणम् । सिध्रकावणम् । सारिकावणम् । कोटरावणम् । एभ्य एवेति किम् । असिपत्रवनम् । वनस्याग्रे अग्रेवणम् । राजदन्तादिषु निपातनात्सप्तम्या अलुक् । प्रातिपदिकार्थमात्रे प्रथमा । किंशुलुकागिरिः ॥

1039 The न of वन, is changed into ण, when preceded by the words puragâ, miśrakâ, sidhrikâ, sârikâ, kotarâ, and agre, as first members of the compound, and the whole compound is a name

The words पूर्वपदात् and संज्ञायाम् of the sûtra VIII 4 3 S 857 are to be read into this aphorism Thus पुरगावणम्, मिश्रकावणम्, सिध्रकावण, कोटरावणम् ॥ These are names of hells of various kinds अग्रेवणम् (II 2 31 S 902) शारिकावणम् ॥

The lengthening of the finals in the above five up to कोटर is by VI 3 117 S 1038 and the word कोटरादि of the last sûtra refers to these five words of the present sûtra Though the word अग्रे वण = अग्रेवनस्य is not a Name, yet the rule VI 3 9, S 966 applies to it and the case affix is not elided, because it is so read in Râjadantâdi list (II 2 31 S 902) The seventh-case affix is included in the meaning of a Prâtipadika, hence the word agre vanam is in the Nominative case So also किंशुलुकागिरि ॥

The substitution of ण for न with regards to the first five words would have taken place by the preceding Ashtâdhyâyî sûtra VIII 4 3 S 857 The separate enunciation of the rule with regard to the word वन, after these, shows that this is a restrictive or नियम rule, so far as the five words up to kotrâ are concerned But with regards to *agre* it is a vidhi The न of वन is changed into ण, when preceded by these words only and

no other Thus कुबेरवन, शतधारवनम्, असिपत्रवनम् ॥ The word agrevaṇam is not a Name, and therefore sutra 857 would not have applied to it. Hence with regard to agre the present sûtra is a vidhi or an original rule.

१०४० । वले । ६ । ३ । ११८ ॥

वलप्रत्यये परे दीर्घः स्यात्सञ्ज्ञायाम् । कृषीवल ॥

1040 The final of the preceding word is lengthened before the affix वल ॥

Thus कृषीवल ॥ This is formed by the affix वलच् (V. 2 112 S 1919)

१०४१ । मतौ बह्वचोऽनजिरादीनाम् । ६ । ३ । ११९ ॥

अमरावती । अनजिरादीनां किम् । अजिरवती । बह्वच किम् । व्रीहिमती । सञ्ज्ञायामित्येव । नेह । वलयवती ॥

1041 The final vowel of a word consisting of more than two syllables is lengthened before the affix मत्, when it is a name, but not of the words अजिर &c

Thus अमरावती ॥ These are formed by the affix मतुप् (IV 2 85 S 1304) The मत् is changed to वत्, by VIII 2 11 S 1899 Why 'with the exception of अजिर &c' Observe अजिरवती खदिरवती, पुलिनवती, हंसकारण्डवती, चक्रवाकवती ॥ Why do we say 'of a word consisting of more than two syllables'? Observe व्रीहिमती ॥ The phrase "when it is a name" has been read into the sûtra When the word is not a name, there is no lengthening As वलयवती ॥

1 अजिर, 2 खदिर, 3 पुलिन, 4 हंस, 5 कारण्डव (हंसकारण्डव) 6 चक्रवाक ॥

१०४२ । शरादीनां च । ६ । ३ । १२० ॥

शरावती ॥

1042 The final vowel of शर &c is lengthened before मत् when it is a Name

As शरावती, वंशावती ॥ The म of मत् is changed to व because it is Name (VIII 2 11, S 1899) But not so after व्रीहि &c as these belong t यवादि class (VIII 2 9 S 1897)

1 शर, 2 वंश, 3 धूम, 4 अहि, 5 कपि, 6 मणि, 7 मुनि, 8 शुचि, 9 हनु ॥

१०४३ । इको वहेऽपीलोः । ६ । ३ । १२१ ॥

इगन्तस्य दीर्घः स्याद्वहे । ऋषीवहम् । कपीवहम् ॥ इकः किम् । पिण्डवहम् । अपीलोः किम् । पीलुवहम् ॥

अपील्वादीनामिति वाच्यम् ॥ दारुवहम् ॥

1043 The final इ and the उ of a word, with the exception of पीलु, are lengthened before वह ॥

Thus ऋषीवहम्, कपीवहम्, मुनीवहम् ॥ Why do we say 'ending in इक् vowels'? Observe पिण्डवहम् ॥ Why not of पीलु? Observe पीलुवहम् ॥

Vart.—It should be stated "with the exception of पीलु and the rest." As दारुवहम् ॥

१०४४ । उपसर्गस्य घञ्यमनुष्ये बहुलम् । ६ । ३ । १२२ ॥

उपसर्गस्य बहुलं दीर्घः स्याद्घञन्ते परे न तु मनुष्ये । परीपाकः । परिपाकः ॥ अमनुष्ये किम् । निषादः ॥

1044 The final vowel of a Preposition is diversely lengthened, before a word formed by the krit-affix घञ्, but not when the compound denotes a human being

Thus परीपाक or परिपाक ॥

Note—It does hot take place, as प्रसेव, प्रसार ॥ It is lengthened before साद and कार, when building is meant, as प्रासाद and प्राकार, ॥ Otherwise प्रसाद and प्रकार ॥ Optionally in वेश &c as प्रतिवेश or प्रतीवेश, प्रतिरोध or प्रतीरोध ॥

Why do we say, "when human beings are not meant"? Observe निषाद "The caste Nishâda" It is formed by घञ् under sûtra III 3 121 S 3300 (निषीदत्यस्मिन् पापम् इति निषादः) ॥ The word प्रतीहार 'gate-keeper' is apparently an exception

१०४५ । इकः काशे । ६ । ३ । १२३ ॥

इगन्तस्योपसर्गस्य दीर्घः स्यात्काशे । वीकाशः । नीकाशः । इकः किम् । प्रकाशः ॥

1045 A Preposition ending in इ or उ lengthens its final before काश ॥

As वीकाश, नीकाश, ॥ काश is formed by अच् (III 1 134 S 2896) Why do we say 'ending in इ or उ'? Observe प्रकाश where the Preposition does not end in इक् ॥

१४६ । अष्टन संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२५ ॥

उत्तरपदे दीर्घ । अष्टापदम् । संज्ञायां किम् । अष्टपुत्र ॥

1046 A lōng vowel is substituted for the final of अष्टन् before the second member, when the compound is a name

Thus अष्टापदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when the compound is a name'? Observe अष्टपुत्र where the compound is not a name

१०४७ । चिते कपि । ६ । ३ । १२७ ॥

एकचितीक ॥

1047 The final vowel of चिति is lengthened before the affix कप ॥

Thus एकचितीक ॥ The कप् is added by V 4, 154 S 891

१०४८ । नरे संज्ञायाम् । ६ । ३ । १२६ ॥

विश्वानर ॥

1048 The final of विश्व is lengthened before नर, when the compound is a name

Thus विश्वानर, but विश्वनर = विश्वे नरा यस्य when it is not a name

Note —The word viśva is understood here from the preceding Ashtâdhyâyî sûtra VI 3 128 S 379

१०४९ । मित्रे चर्षौ । ६ । ३ । १३० ॥

विश्वामित्र । ऋषौ किम् । विश्वमित्रो माणवक ॥

शुनो दन्तदंष्ट्राकर्णकुन्दवराहपुच्छपदेषु दीर्घो वाच्य * ॥ श्वादन्त इत्यादि ॥

1049 The final of विश्व is lengthened before मित्र when it is the name of a Rishi.

As विश्वामित्र 'the sage Viśvâmitra' Why do we say 'the name of a Rishi?' Observe विश्वमित्र 'a boy called Visvamitra'

Vart —The final of श्वन् is lengthened before the following दन्त दंष्ट्रा कर्ण, कुन्द, वराह पुच्छ and पद —as श्वादन्त, श्वादंष्ट्र, श्वाकर्ण, श्वाकुन्द, श्वावराह श्वापुच्छ, श्वापद ॥

Note —The word दंष्ट्रा is read in the Vartika with a long final आ ॥ Some

read it as short final and say श्वावृट् is a Bahuvrîhi where the final of श्व is lengthened, but the lengthening does not take place in a Tatpurusha

१०५० । प्रनिरन्तः शरेक्षुप्लक्षाम्रकार्ष्यखदिरपीयूक्षाभ्योऽसंज्ञायामपि ।८।४।५॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं स्यात् । प्रवणम् । कार्ष्यवणम् । इह षात्परत्वाण्णत्वम् ॥

1050 The न of वन is replaced by ण, even when the compound is not a Name, when it is preceded by the words pra, nir, antar, śara, ikshu, plaksha, âmra, kârshya, khadira, and pîyûkshâ

Thus प्रवणम्, कार्ष्यवणम्, ॥ The word is कार्ष्य and not कार्श्य, and it is this ष that causes the ण change

Note —The word vana is understood from the preceding Ashṭâdhyâyî sûtra VIII 4 4 S 1049

१०५१ । विभाषौषधिवनस्पतिभ्यः । ८ । ४ । ६ ॥

एभ्यो वनस्य णत्वं वा स्यात् । दूर्वावणम् । दूर्वावनम् । शिरीषवणम् । शिरीषवनम् ।

द्व्यक्षरत्र्यक्षरेभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नेह । देवदारुवनम् ॥

इरिकादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः * ॥ इरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

1051 The न of वन is optionally replaced by ण, when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound and which denotes a perennial herb or a forest tree

Note —When the pûrvapada is a word denoting ओषधि or a perennial herb, or denoting a वनस्पति or a tree, and it has a change producing or alterant letter, then the न of वन is replaced by ण ॥ The word vanaspati is defined in Amarakosha as those trees which produce fruits without flowering, such as fig trees &c (udumbara) The शिरीष is not a vanaspati in this sense because it has visible flowers and fruits both But the word vanaspati in the sûtra is taken here as syonymous with 'tree' in general See note below This is an optional rule

Thus —दूर्वावनम् or दूर्वावणम्, Here दूर्वा is the name of ओषधि ॥ Similarly शिरीषवन or शिरीषवणम्, is an example of vanaspati

Vart —This rule applies when the first word is a dissyllabic or trisyllabic word. Therefore the change does not occur in देवदारुवनम् ॥

Vart —Prohibiton should be stated with regard to the words इरिका &c As इरिकावनम् । मिरिकावनम् ॥

Note —Though there is a distinction, botanically speaking, between a वृक्ष and a वनस्पति, yet in this sutra, the word वनस्पति includes वृक्ष also

Kârika —Technically speaking वनस्पति is a tree that bears fruit apparently without a flower, as a fig tree udumbara वृक्ष is a tree that bears both flower and fruit, ओषधि is an annual herb, that dies after the ripening of the fruit, and creepers and tubercles are called वीरुध ॥

१०५२ । वाहनमाहितात् । ८ । ४ । ८ ॥

आरोप्य यदुह्यते तद्वाचिस्थान्निनिमित्तात्परस्य वाहननकारस्य णत्वं स्यात् । इक्षुवाहणम् । आहितात्किम् । इन्द्रवाहनम् । इन्द्रस्वामिकं वाहनमित्यर्थः । वहतेर्ल्युटि वृद्धिरिहैव सूत्रे निपातनात् ॥

1052 The न of वाहन is changed into ण, when an alterant letter, producing the change, occurs in the first member of a compound, denoting the thing carried

Thus इक्षुवाहणम् 'a sugar cart

The thing which being placed on a cart is carried, is called, आहित ॥

Why do we say "denoting the thing carried" Observe इन्द्रवाहनम् "a vehicle belonging to Indra

The word वाहन is formed by adding ल्युट् to वह, and the vriddhi lengthening of the penultimate is valid by the nipâtana of this sûtra.

१०५३ । पानं देशे । ८ । ४ । ९ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य पानस्य नस्य णत्वं स्याद्देशे गम्ये । क्षीरं पानं येषां ते क्षीरपाणा उशीनराः । सुरापाणा प्राच्याः । पीयते इति पानम् । कर्मणि ल्युट् ॥

1053 The न of पान is changed into ण, when it occurs as the second member of a compound, the first member of which contains an alterant letter causing change, and the whole compound denotes a country or a people

The word पान meaning "that which is drunk" is formed by the affix ल्युट III 3 113 S 2811 The force of the affix is to denote the object. Thus क्षीरपाणा उशीनरा = क्षीरपाणं येषां 'the milk-drinking Usînaras' सुरापाणा प्राच्या 'the wine drinking Prâchyas'

Note —Why do we say "when denoting a country"? Observe दाक्षिपानं the drink of the Dâkshis

The words उशीनर and the rest are applied to persons also through the medium of being country-names

१०५४ । वा भावकरणयो । ८ । ४ । १० ॥

पानस्येत्येव । क्षीरपानम् । क्षीरपाणम् ॥

गिरिनद्यादीना वा * ॥ गिरिनदी । गिरिणदी । चक्रनितम्बा । चक्रणितम्बा ॥

1054 Optionally when the compound denotes a condition or an instrument, the न of पान is changed into ण, when it is a second member, the cause of change occurring in the first member in a compound

Thus क्षीरपाणम् or क्षीरपानम् "drinking of milk" is an example of भाव or condition

Note —Similarly क्षीरपाण or क्षीरपान कंस 'a vessel for drinking milk' This is an example of करण or instrument

Vart —Optionally so in the case of गिरिनदी &c Thus गिरिनदी or गिरिणदी, चक्रनितम्बा or चक्रणितम्बा ॥

१०५५ । प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिषु च । ८ । ४ । ११ ॥

पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तात्परस्य एषु स्थितस्य नस्य णो वा स्यात् । प्रातिपदिकान्ते, माषवापिणौ । नुमि, व्रीहिवापाणि । विभक्तौ, माषवापेण । पक्ष, माषवापिनावित्यादि । उत्तरपद यत्प्रातिपदिक तदन्तस्यैव णत्वम् । नेह । गर्गाणा भगिनी गर्गभगिनी । अत एव नुम्ग्रहण कृतम् । अकृते तु नुम्विधानासङ्गतेर्हि नुम् नत्तरपदस्य । किंच । व्रीहिवन्नित्यादौ हिवनुमो णत्वायमपि नुम्ग्रहणम् । प्रन्वनमित्यादौ तु क्षुभ्नादित्वान्न ॥

युवादेर्न * ॥ रम्ययूना । परिपक्वानि ॥ (एकाजुत्तरपदे ण ॥ नित्यमित्युक्तम् । वृत्रहणौ । हरिं मानयताति हरिमाणी । नुमि क्षीरपाणि । विभक्तौ, क्षीरपेण । रम्यत्रिणा ॥)

1055 Optionally ण is substituted for न when it stands at the end of a Nominal-stem (Prâtipadika) or is the augment नुम or is न of a case-affix, (when the cause of change occurs in the first member of the compound)

Thus, to take the case a प्रातिपदिकान्त first माषवापिणौ or माषवापिनौ from माषवापिन् 'mâsha sowing' formed by णिनि under III 2 81 S 2991

To take the example of a नुम् augment, व्रीहिवापाणि or व्रीहिवापानि nominative plural neuter The augment नुम् is here added by VII 1 72 S 314 from व्रीहीन् वपयन्ति = व्रीहिवाप with कर्मण्यण्, the plural शि is added by VII 1 20 S. 312 and then नुम् ॥

To take the विभक्ति or case termination, माषवापेण or माषवापेन, ॥

The word प्रातिपदिकान्त means 'final in a Pratipadika' But here it means 'final in a prâtipadika which is a second member of a compound, the first member containing the cause of change' Therefore the change does not take place in गर्गाणां भगिनी = गर्गभगिनी "the sister of Garga" But गर्गभगिणी if the word is derived from गर्गभग 'the share of Garga', with the adjectival affix इन्, feminine इनी, meaning, "enjoying the share of Garga" In this case, like the word मातृभोगीणः fit to be possessed by a mother' the change will invariably take place The very fact that नुम् is taught separately in the rule leads to this inference The नुम् is ordained with regard to an *anga*, so it is a portion of the *anga* as a *whole* (whether such *anga* consist of a single word or several words glued into a compound), and *not* of the last word of the compound So the root हिवि takes नुम् and becomes हिन्व् (Bhuâdi root 622) This न् is changed to ण as in प्रहिण्वन् । But in प्रेन्वनम् no change takes place, as it belongs to kshubhnâdi class (VIII 4 39 S 792)

The word माषवापिणी or °नी is to be understood to have a final न्, the affix being added afterwards in accordance with the following maxim — (II 2 19) "It should be stated that Gatis, Kârakas, and Upapadas are compounded with bases that end with krit- affixes, before a case termination or a feminine affix has been added to the latter" गतिकारकोपपदानां कृद्भिः सह समासवचनं प्राक् सुबुत्पत्तेः ॥

Therefore the composition takes place first with the word ending in the krit affix, as माषवापिन् (माष + वापिन्) and thus the second term वापिन् is a Prâtipadika which ends in न्, and so the rule is applied to it, when th feminine affix is added

Similarly नुम् is not considered as the end portion of the *second* member of the compound, but as the end portion of the *full* compound word

Vart —Prohibition must be stated of the words युवा &c As दृढयूना (VI 4 133 vocalisation), क्षत्रिययूना ॥ प्ररिपक्वानि is a gati-samas, दार्घाह्नी शरत् ॥

१०५५ । क । एकाजुत्तरपदे णः । ८ । ४ । १२ ॥

(वृत्ति ॥ एकाजुत्तरपदं यस्य तस्मिन्समासे प्रातिपदिकान्तनुम्विभक्तिस्थस्य पूर्वपदस्थान्निमित्तादुत्तरस्य नकारस्य नित्यं णकार आदेशो भवति ॥)

1055 A. In a compound, the second member of which is a monosyllable, there is ण invariably in the room of न of the second member, provided that the न is at the end of a

prâtipadika, or is the augment नुम्, or occurs in a vibhakti, and when the first member contains a cause of change

This sûtra has already been read as Sûtra 307 see page 171 It is repeated here to complete the context This is an obligatory rule, as we have used the word nityam in explaining it See Sutra 307

Thus वृत्रहणौ 'the Vrtra-killer' = वृत्रहन्तवन्तौ with क्विप् (III 2 87 S 2998) So also हरिं मानयति = हरिमाणी "Hari worshipper" क्षीरपाणि "Drinkers of milk' सुरापाणि 'drinkers of wine' are examples of नुम् VII 3 88, क्षीरेण and रम्यविणा are examples of case terminations

Note —The word रम्यवि 'a beautiful bird', is a compound of रम्य and वि (रम्यश्चासौ विश्च) ॥ The णा is Instrumental Singular (VII 4 120 S 244)

Why the letter ण is repeated in this sûtra while its anuvritti was understood from the context? It is repeated in order to show that this is not an optional but an obligatory rule In fact, it shows that the anuvritti of वा 'optional' ceases, and does not extend further

१०५६। कुमति च। ८। ४। १३॥

कवर्गवत्युत्तरपदे प्राग्वत्। हरिकामिणौ। हरिकामाणि। हरिकामेण॥

1056 In a compound, the second member of which contains a guttural, (there is ण in the room of न, that follows anything which standing in the prior member is qualified to cause the change, provided the न be at the end of a prâtipadika, or be the augment नुम्, or occur in a vibhakti)

If the second part of a compound contains a letter of the class क, the change is obligatory, even though the second part be not monosyllabic As हरिकामिणौ, नुम् —हरिकामाणि॥ विभक्ति —हरिकामेण॥

१०५७। पदव्यवायेऽपि। ८। ४। ३८॥

पदेन व्यवधानेऽपि णत्वं न स्यात्। माषकुम्भवापेन। चतुरङ्गयोगेन॥

अतद्धित इति वाच्यम् *॥ आर्द्रगोमयेण॥ शुष्कगोमयेण॥

1057 The न् is not changed to ण when a Pada intervenes between the cause of the change and the word containing the न॥

The word इपद्व्यवाय is a compound meaning पदेन व्यवाय 'separated by a Pada' Thus माषकुम्भवापेन चतुरङ्गयोगेन ॥ Here the Padas कुम्भ, and अङ्ग, intervening, the change does not take place

Vart —It should be stated when there is separation by a Pada, except in a Taddhita Prohibition does not apply to words like आर्द्रगोमयेण, शुष्कगोमयेण ॥

Note —Here गो takes the affix मयट् by IV 3 145, S 1525 and the word गो is a Pada by I 4 17, S 230 and it intervenes between मय and the first word The author of Mahabhâshya however does not approve of this Vartika According to him the पदव्यवाय means पदे व्यवाय ॥

१०५८ । कुस्तुम्बुरूणि जाति । ६ । १ । १४३ ॥

अत्र सुण्निपात्यते । कुस्तुम्बुरु धान्याकम् । क्लीबत्वमतन्त्रम् । जाति किम् । कुतुम्बुरूणि । कुत्सितानि तिन्दुकीफलानीत्यर्थ ॥

1058 The word कुस्तुम्बुरु is irregularly formed with the augment सुट् and means 'a species of herb'.

The कुस्तुम्बुरु is the name of coriander i e धान्यक, the seeds are also so called The exhibition of the word in the sûtra in the Neuter gender does not, however, show that the word is always Neuter Why do we say when meaning a species of herb? Observe कुतुम्बरूणि = कुत्सितानि तुम्बुरूणि) ॥ The word तुम्बुरु here means the fruit of the ebony tree

१०५९ । अपरस्परा क्रियासातत्ये । ६ । १ । १४४ ॥

सुण्निपात्यते । अपरस्परा सार्था गच्छन्ति । सततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्तीत्यर्थ । क्रियेति किम् । अपरपरा गच्छन्ति । अपरे च परे च सकृदेव गच्छन्तीत्यर्थ ॥

1059 The word अपरस्परा is formed by the augment सुट when the sense is that of 'uninterrupted action

Thus अपरस्परा सार्था गच्छन्ति = सन्ततमविच्छेदेन गच्छन्ति ॥ Why do we say 'un-interrupted action'? For, when the continuity of action is not meant, we have अपरपरा सार्था गच्छन्ति = अपरे परेच सकृदेव गच्छन्ति ॥

Note—The सातत्य comes from सतत, by adding ष्यञ् to form the abstract noun, सततस्य भाव (V 1 123 S 1787) = सातत्य ॥ How do you explain सततम्, it ought to be सन्ततम्? The म् of सम् is optionally elided before तत, on the strength of the Kârika —"the म् of अवश्यम् is elided before a word ending in a kritya affix, the म् of तुम् is elided before काम and मनस् , the म् of सम is elided optionally before हित and तत, the final म of मास is elided before पाक or पचन ॥" As (1) अवश्य कर्तव्य = अवश्यकर्तव्य (2) भोक्तुम् काम = भोक्तु काम , भोतुमन ॥ (3) सम्हित = सहित, सम् तत = सतत ॥ (4) मास् पाक , मास् पचनम् ॥

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१०६० । गोष्पदं सेवितासेवितप्रमाणेषु । ६ । १ । १४५ ॥

सुट् सत्व षत्वं च निपात्यते । गावः पद्यन्तेऽस्मिन्देशे स गोभिः सेवितो गोष्पदः । असेविते गोष्पदान्यरण्यानि । प्रमाणे गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । सेवितेत्यादि किम् । गोः पदं गोपदम् ॥

1060 The word गोष्पद is formed by सुट्, when meaning a locality visited or not visited by cows, or when it means a quantity

Thus गोष्पदो देशः = गावः पद्यन्ते यस्मिन् देशे स गोभिः सेवितो देशः ॥ So also अगोष्पदान्यरण्यानि ॥ The word गोष्पद by itself does not mean 'not visited by cows' Therefore the negative particle is added to give that sense So also गोष्पदमात्रं क्षेत्रम् । Here the word has no reference to cow, but to the quantity of land Why do we say 'a locality visited &c' For when it has not the above senses, the form is गोः, पदम् = गो पदम् ॥

Note —What is the use of the word असेवित in the sûtra, the word गोष्पद will give अगोष्पद by adding the negative particle, न गोष्पद = अगोष्पद ? The force of नञ् compound is that of सदृश " like that but not that" As अब्राह्मण means "a man who is a Kshatriya &c not a Brahmana, but does not mean a stone &c" Therefore अगोष्पद with नञ् would mean "a place like a pasture land but in which cows do not graze, but in which there is a possibility of cows grazing" But it is intended that it should refer to a place where there is no such possibility, hence असेवित is used Therefore, deep forests where cows can never enter, are called अगोष्पद ॥

१०६१ । आस्पदं प्रतिष्ठायाम् । ६ । १ । १४६ ॥

आत्मयापनाय स्थाने सुट् निपात्यते । । आस्पदम् । प्रेति किम् । आपदापदम् ॥

1061 The word आस्पद is formed by सुट् when meaning 'a place or position'

The word प्रतिष्ठा means 'firm place established position, rank dignity authority' Thus आस्पदम् अनेन लब्धम् ॥ Why do we say when 'meaning a place'? Observe आ पदार्थं = आपदम् ॥

१०६२ । आश्चर्यमनित्ये । ६ । १ । १४७ ॥

अद्भुते सुट् । आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत । अनित्ये किम् । आचर्यं कर्म । शोभनम् ॥

1062 The word आश्चर्य is formed by सुट्, when meaning something 'unusual'

The word आश्चर्य is formed by adding the affix यत् to the verb चर with

the preposition आङ् and the augment सुट्॥ Thus आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जीत॥ Why do we say 'unusual'? For when not having this sense, we have आश्चर्यं कर्म शोभनम्॥

१०६३। वर्चस्केऽवस्करः। ६। १। १४८॥

कुत्सितं वर्चो वर्चस्कम् अन्नमलं तस्मिन् सुट्। अवकीर्यत इत्यवस्करः। वर्चस्के किम्। अवकरः॥

1063 The word अवस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning "excrement"

That which has bad lustre is called वर्चस्क (कुत्सित)॥ It applies to the ejected food To the root कॄ is added the affix अप् (III 3 57 S 3232), the preposition अव and irregularly the सुट्॥ Thus अवस्करोऽन्नमलम्॥ The place where the excreta lie (the rectum) is also so called When not having this sense, we have अवकरः॥

१०६४। अपस्करो रथाङ्गम्। ६। १। १४९॥

अपकरोऽन्यः॥

1064 The word अपस्कर is formed with सुट् meaning 'the part of a chariot'

This word is also derived from कॄ with the preposition अप and the affix अप् (III 3 57 S 3232) and सुट् augment When not having this meaning we have अपकर॥

१०६५। विष्किरः शकुनिर्विकिरो वा। ६। १। १५०॥

पक्षे विकिरः। वावचनेनैव सुड्विकल्पे सिद्धे विकिरग्रहणं तस्यापि शकुनेरन्यत्र प्रयोगो माभूदिति वृत्तिस्तन्न। भाष्यविरोधात्॥

1065 The word विष्किर is formed with सुट् optionally when denoting a kind of bird, the other form being विकिर॥

This word is formed by adding the affix क (III 1 135 S 2897) to कॄ with the preposition वि and the augment सुट्॥ The word विकिर also refers to birds only, a kind of cock The phrase शकुनिर्विकिरो वा is added from the Vârtika and is no part of the original sûtra Thus सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किरा कुक्कुटादृते॥ "Though the sûtra विष्किरोवाशकुनौ would have given the optional form विकिर, the specific mention of this form in the sûtra indicates that विकिर always means 'bird' and nothing else. Otherwise विकिर would have

referred to something other than a bird"—this opinion of Kâśikâ is not valid, as it is opposed to the Mahâbhâshya

१०६६। प्रतिष्कशश्च कशे ।६।१।१५२॥

कश गतिशासनयोरित्यस्य प्रतिपूर्वस्य पचाद्यचि सुट्। निपात्यते षत्व च। सहाय पुरोयायी वा प्रतिष्कश इत्युच्यते। कशे किम्। प्रतिगत कशा प्रतिकशोऽश्व। यद्यपि कशेरेव कशा तथापि कशेरिति धातोर्ग्रहणमुपसर्गस्य प्रतेर्ग्रहणार्थम्। तेन धात्वन्तरोपसर्गान्न॥

1066 To the root कश 'to go, to punish', is added the augment सुट्, when preceded by the preposition प्रति, the form being प्रतिष्कश॥

The word प्रतिष्कश is formed by adding अच् affix (III 1 134) to the root, with the prefix प्रति॥ Thus ग्राममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्व प्रतिष्कश 'I shall inspect the town to day, be thou my emissary' The word प्रतिष्कश means "a messenger, a herald, an emissary" Why do we say "to the *root* कश"? Observe प्रतिगत कशा = प्रतिकशोऽश्व 'a horse guided by the whip' Here though कशा is derived from कश, yet the augment does not take place, because the augment comes to the *root* कश्, and not to a derivative word

१०६७। प्रस्कण्वहरिश्चन्द्रावृषी।६।१।१५३॥

हरिश्चन्द्रग्रहणममन्त्रार्थम्। ऋषीति किम्। प्रकण्वो देश। हरिचन्द्रो माणवक॥

1067 The words प्रस्कण्व and हरिश्चन्द्र are formed by सुट्, meaning the two Rishis of that name

Thus प्रस्कण्व ऋषि, हरिश्चन्द्र ऋषि॥ The word हरिश्चन्द्र could be formed by VI 1 151 S 3527 in the Mantra, here it refers to other than Mantras Why do we say 'Rishis'? For when not referring to Rishis, we have प्रकण्वो देश, (कण्व पाप तदग्रगत यस्मात्), हरिचन्द्रो माणवक (हरि चन्द्रो यस्य मुग्धस्य)॥

१०६८। मस्करमस्करिणौ वेणुपरिव्राजकयो।६।१।१५४॥

मकरशब्दोऽव्युत्पन्नस्तस्य सुडिनिश्च निपात्यते। वेण्विति किम्। मकरो ग्राह। मकरी समुद्र॥

1068 The word मस्कर means 'a bamboo', and मस्करिन् means 'a mendicant monk'

When not having these meanings, the form is मकर॥ This is an underived nominal stem, having no derivation, to which सुट् is added when 'a bamboo' is meant, and the affix इनि in addition, when a mendicant is to be expressed and thus we have मस्कर and मस्करिन्॥ Why do we say "when

meaning a bamboo or a mendicant" Observe मकरोग्राह "an alligator", मकरि समुद्र "an ocean"

Some say the word मकर is a derivative word, being derived from कृ 'to do' with the negative particle मा and the affix अच्, the long आ being shortened Thus मा क्रियते येन प्रतिषिध्यते=मस्कर 'a bamboo or stick by which the prohibition is made' So also by adding इनि in the sense of तच्छील्य to the root कृ preceded by the upapada मा, we get मस्करिन् ॥ Thus मा करणशील =मस्करी "a monk who has renounced all works" A mendicant always says 'माकुरुत कर्माणि शान्तिर्वः श्रेयसी"—'Do no works ye men, for peace is your highest end"

१०६९ । कास्तीराजस्तुन्दे नगरे । ६ । १ । १५५ ॥

ईषत्तीरमस्यास्तीति कास्तीर नाम नगरम् । अजस्येव तुन्दमस्याति अजस्तुन्द नाम नगरम् । नगरे किम् । कातीरम् । अजतुन्दम् ॥

1069 The words कास्तीर and अजस्तुन्द are names of cities

Why do we say 'names of cities'? For when not meaning cities we have कातीरम् (ईषत् तीरमस्य), and अजतुन्दम् (अजस्येव तुन्दमस्य) ॥

१०७० । कारस्करो वृक्ष । ६ । १ । १५६ ॥

कार करोतीति कारस्करो वृक्ष । अन्यत्र कारकर । केचित्तु कस्कादिष्विद पठन्ति न सूत्रेषु ॥

1070 The word कारस्कर means 'a tree'

This word is formed from कार+कृ+ट (III 2 21)=कारस्कर ॥ When not meaning a tree, the form is कारकर ॥ Some do not make this a separate sutra, but include it in the next aphorism Some read it in Kashkâdi (VIII 3 48 S 144)

१०७१ । पारस्करप्रभृतीनि च सज्ञायाम् । ६ । १ । १५७ ॥

एतानि ससुट्कानि निपात्यन्ते नाम्नि । पारस्कर । किस्किन्धा ।

तद्बृहतो करपत्योश्चोरदेवतयो सुट् तलोपश्च* ॥ प्रात्पूर्व चत्वेन दकारोपि बोध्य । तद्बृहतोर्ई-कारतकारौ लुप्यते । करपत्योस्तु सुट । चोरदेवतयोरिति समुदायोपाधि । तस्कर । बृहस्पति ॥

प्रायस्य चित्तिचित्तयो * ॥ प्रायश्चित्ति । प्रायश्चित्तम् वनस्पतिरित्यादि । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1071 The words पारस्कर &c are Names

These words are irregularly formed by adding सुट ॥ Thus पारस्कर 'a country called Pâraskara' किष्किन्धा 'N of a cave'

Vartika—तस्कर 'a thief' and बृहस्पति N of a deity' are formed by inserting सुट in the compounds of तत् कार, बृहत् + पति and eliding त् ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning a thief and a diety'? Observe तत्कार, बृहत्पतिः ॥ The words चौर and देवता are used in the Ganapâtha merely for the sake of diversity, the word सञ्ज्ञा would have connoted that

Vart—Before the words चित्ति and चित्त is added the augment सुट् when प्राय precedes Thus प्रायश्चित्तम्, प्रायश्चित्ति ॥

1 पारस्करो देशः, 2 कारस्करो वृक्षः, 3 रथस्या नदी 4 किष्कु प्रमाणम् 5 किष्किन्धा गुहा 6 तद्बृहतोः करपत्योश्चौरदेवतयोः सुट् तलोपश्च (तस्कर चौरः, बृहस्पतिः = देवता), 7 प्रात् तुम्पतौ गवि कर्तरि (प्रस्तुम्पति गौः) ॥ आकृतिगण ॥

प्रस्तुम्पति गौः ॥ When the root तुप तुम्प to injure' is preceded by the prepositon प्र, there is added सुट् to प्र when the agent of the verb is a cow Why do we say when the agent is cow'? Observe प्रतुम्पति वनस्पतिः ॥ In प्रस्तुम्पति the सुट is added to a finite verb, which is thus conjugated —प्रस्तुम्पति गौः, प्रस्तुम्पतो गावौ, प्रस्तुम्पन्ति गावः ॥

This is an âkritigana.

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अथ तद्धितापत्याधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TADDHITA PATRONYMIC AFFIXES.

१०७२ । समर्थानां प्रथमाद्वा । ४ । १ । ८२ ॥

इद पदत्रयमाधिक्रियते । प्राग्दिश इति यावत् । सामर्थ्य परिनिष्ठतत्वम् । कृतसधिकार्यत्वमिति यावत् ॥

1072 The Taddhita affixes, on the alternative of their being employed at all, come after the word that is signified by the first of the words in construction in an aphorism

All the three words, *viz* (1) समर्थाना of the words in construction (2) प्रथमात् 'after the first , (3) वा 'on the alternative,' exert a governing influence on the subsequent aphorisms, up to the aphorisms which leave to the words their own denotation that is to say up to the end of the second chapter of the fifth Book , before the beginning of the sûtra प्राग्दिशो विभक्ति (V 3 1 S 1947) The word sâmarthya means the word form after it has undergone the Sandhi operation *i e* in its parinishthata state The word parinishthata means a completed word, *i e* a word on which sandhi operation has been performed, and so it has completed its junction Thus सु + इस्थित = सुस्थित ॥ Add इञ्, and we have सौस्थिति and not सौ + इस्थित = साइस्थिति (S 1088) The anuvritti of वा however extends further than S. 1947

This sûtra has been thus rendered by Dr Bohtlingk "when henceforth the meaning is specified in which an affix is to be added, then one should know that the rule applies to the first of those words which are associated with one another in sense, and that the affix is optional"

Note —The fifteen sutras that follow, teach the rules which are generally applicable to all Taddhitas We shall take up the further explanation of this sûtra in S 1088

१०७३ । प्राग्दीव्यतोऽण् । ४ । १ । ८३ ॥

तेन दीव्यतीत्यत प्रागणधिक्रियते ॥

1073 The affix अण् should be understood to come after whatever we shall teach hereafter, upto the aphorism tena dîvyati &c

Up to the aphorism IV 4 2 S 1550, the affix अण has a governing influence, except where it is specifically superseded by any particular rule This aphorism may be looked upon either as an adhikâra sutra or a paribhâsha sutra or a vidhi sutra

१०७४ । अश्वपत्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८४ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्यात् प्राग्दीव्यतीयेष्वर्थेषु । वक्ष्यमाणस्य ण्यस्यापवाद ॥

Note —This is an exception to the aphorism, IV 1 85 S 1077 by which the affix ण्य would have come after words ending with '*pati*' The present sutra enjoin अण instead

The following is a list of words belonging to अश्वपत्यादि class —

1 अश्वपति, 2 ज्ञानपति, 3 शतपति, 4 धनपति, 5 गणपति 6 स्थानपति 7 यज्ञपति 8 राष्ट्रपति, 9 कुलपति, 10 गृहपति, (पशुपति) 11 धान्यपति, 12 धन्वपति 13 बन्धुपति, 14 धर्मपति 15 सभापति, 16 प्राणपति, 17 क्षेत्रपति ॥

१०७५ । तद्धितेष्वचामादे । ७ । २ । ११७ ॥

ञिति णिति च तद्धिते परेऽचामादेरचो वृद्धि स्यात् ॥

1075 The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ् or ण् follows

Note —As गार्ग्य from गर्ग+यञ, so also वात्स्य ॥ दाक्षि (दक्ष+इञ्), प्लाक्षि, औपगव (with अण् from उपगु) कापटव &c This debars the Vriddhi of VII 2 115 S 254 and VII 2 116, S 2282 as त्वाष्ट्र from त्वष्टृ, and जागत from जगत् ॥

१०७६ । किति च । ७ । २ । ११८ ॥

किति तद्धिते च तथा । अश्वपतेरपत्यादि आश्वपतम् । गाणपतम् । गाणपत्यो मन्त्र इति तु प्रामादिकमेव ॥

1076 The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the stem, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory क् follows

Note —As नाडायन with फक् , so also चारायण (IV 1 99 S 1101), and आक्षिक and शालाकिक with ठक् (IV 4 1 S 1548)

Thus अश्वपति + अण् = आश्वपतम् (VII 2 117 S 1075) The इ of पति is elided by VI 4 142 S 311 So also गाणपतम् ॥

The form गाणपत्यं as used by Haradatta in गाणपत्यो मन्त्र is wrong

Note —The Tattvabodhini, however, justifies this use of Haradatta

१०७७। दित्यदित्यादित्यपत्युत्तरपदाण्ण्यः । ४ । १ । ८५ ॥

दित्यादिभ्य पत्युत्तरपदाच्च प्राग्दीव्यतीयेऽर्थेषु ण्य स्यादणोऽपवादः । दैत्य । अदितेरादित्यस्य वा आदित्य । प्राजापत्य ।

यमाच्चेति काशिकायाम् * ॥ याम्य ॥

पृथिव्या ञाञौ * ॥ पार्थिवा । पार्थिवी ॥

देवाद्यञञौ * ॥ दैव्यम् । दैवम् ॥

बहिषष्टिलोपो यञ्च * ॥ बाह्य ॥

ईकक्च * ॥ बाहीक ॥

स्थाम्नोऽकार * ॥ अश्वत्थाम । पृषोदरादित्वात्सस्य त ॥

अवार्थे तु लुग्वाच्य * ॥ अश्वत्थामा ॥

लोम्नोऽपत्येषु बहुष्वकार. * ॥ बाह्वादीञोऽपवाद । उडुलोमा । उडुलोमान् । बहुषु किम् ॥ औडुलोमि ।

गोरजादिप्रसङ्गे यत् * ॥ गव्यम् । अजादिप्रसङ्गे किम् । गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य आगत गोरूप्यम् । गोमयम् ॥

1077 The affix ण्य comes, in the various senses taught here-in-after antecedently to tena dîvyati &c, after the proper names, Diti, Aditi, and Aditya, and that which has the word पति as its final member

Thus दिति + ण्य = दैत्य॰ 'the son of Diti' आदित्य 'the descendant of Aditi' The form आदित्य may also denote the son of आदित्य or sacred to Aditya. आदित्यम् 'sacred to Aditya' Similarly with words ending with पति, as प्रजापति + ण्य = प्राजापत्य, so also सैनापत्यम् ॥

Vârt —So also after the word यम, as, याम्य ॥ This Vartika is found in the Kâsika and not in the Mahâbhâshya

Note —In the Chhandas, after tha words वाच्, मति ,and पितृमत् comes the affix ण्य ॥ As, वाच्यम् (Vs, 13 58) मात्यम् and पैतृमत्यम् ॥

Vârt —The affixes ञ and अञ् come after the word पृथिवी ॥ Thus पृथिवी + ञ = पार्थिव, पृथिवी + अञ् = पार्थिव ॥ The resulting forms are the same, but the feminine of the former will be पार्थिवा by IV 1 4, S 454 and that of the latter पार्थिवी applying IV 1, 15 S, 470,

Vart —The affixes यञ् and अञ् come after the word देव 'a god' As दैव्यम् or दैवम् 'divine'

Vart —There is elision of the final syllable of बहिस्, before the affix यञ्, as बहिस्+यञ्=बाह्य 'external'

Vart —And the affix ईकक् may be employed As बहिस्+ईकक्= बाहीक 'external' (VII 2 118, S 1076)

Note —In the Chhandas it takes the affix ईकञ् as बाहीक the difference being in the accent (VI 1 197 S 3686)

The word बहिस् is an अव्यय, and the above vârtika declares that its टि portion is elided This very fact indicates by implication, that the टि of other Avyayas need not necessarily be elided before those affixes, before which the base is called भ *bha* In fact the following *vârtika* अव्ययानां भमात्रे टिलोपः (the टि of the *avyaya* base is elided) given under sûtra VI 4 144 (the टि of the base *bha* is elided when a *taddhita* affix follows) is not a universal rule Thus from the *avyaya* आरात् we get आरातीय &c, here the टि is not elided

Vart—Of the word स्थामन् the टि is replaced by अ, as अश्व+स्थामन् अश्वत्थाम ॥ The स is changed to त as the compound belongs to Prishodarâdi class

Vart —But there is elision of the Taddhita affix अ after स्थामन् when the sense is that of 'existence' only, as अश्वत्थामा ॥ The word अश्वत्थामन् means अश्वस्येव स्थामयस्य "whose strength is like that of a horse" It is a Bahuvrihi

Vârt —The टि of लोमन् is replaced by अ in the plural, when the patronymic affixes follow, as उडुलोमा, उडुलोमान् ॥ Why do we say "in the plural number"? Witness औडुलोमि, (IV 1 96 S 1096)

Vârt —When an affix beginning with a vowel presents itself after the word गो let the affix यत् be substituted for it. Thus what is descended (or produced, &c) from गो is expressed by गव्यम् (VI, 1 79 S 63), Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe गोभ्यो हेतुभ्य or आगत= गोरूप्यम् and गोमयम् ॥

Note —These affixes ण्य &c taught in this sûtra will come to the exclusion of all the other affixes here-in-after taught which are employed in especial senses Thus अण् is employed especially to denote a descendant But after the words दिति &c अण् will not be employed, but ण्य as दैत्य 'a descendant of दिति' ॥ So also वानस्पत्यम् (=वनस्पतीनाम् समूह), to the exclusion of IV 2 37 S 1243 &c, In fact the rule विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यम् (I 4 2 S 175) does not hold here

If that be so, how do you explain the form दैतेय ॥ This word is not directly formed from the word दिति but from दिती, the feminine of the word दिति

formed by the affix ङीष् (IV I 45, the word क्लिति being formed by the Kin-affix क्तिन् and therefore it will take ङीष् in the feminine) To the feminine word इला is added ढक् and we get ऐलेय ॥ The Paribhâshâ प्रातिपदिकग्रहणे लिङ्गविशिष्टस्यापि ग्रहणम् (a rule of grammar which applies to a masculine applies also to the same word in the feminine) is not of universal application, as this very illustration shows Others consider the form ऐलेय as incorrect, as not to be found either in the Mahabhâshya or any Vârtika

१०७८ । उत्सादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । ८६ ।

औत्स ॥

अग्निकलिभ्यां ढक् वक्तव्यः * ॥ अग्नेरपत्यादि आग्नेयम् । कालेयम् ॥

1078 The affix अञ् comes after the word उत्स &c in the various senses taught antecedently to tena-divyati &c.

This debars the affix अण् taught in IV 1 83 S 1073 as well as the especial affixes here in-after taught Thus उत्स + अञ् = औत्स आद्पान ॥ The following is the list of words belonging to उत्सादि class

1 उत्स, 2 उदपान, 3 विकर, 4 विनद, 5 महानद, 6 महानस 7 महाप्राण, 8 तरुण, 9 तलुन, । 10 बष्कयासे, । 11 पृथिवी, 12 धेनु, 13 पङ्क्ति, 14 जगती, 15 त्रिष्टुप्, 16 अनुष्टुप्, 17 जनपद, 18 भरत, 19 उशीनर, 20 ग्रीष्म, 21 पीलुकुण, । 22 उदस्थान देशे । 23 पृषदंश, 24 भल्लकीय, 25 रथन्तर, 26 मध्यन्दिन, 27 बृहत्, 28 महत्, 29 सत्वत्, 30 कुरु 31 पञ्चाल, 32 इन्द्रावसान, 33 उष्णिह्, 34 ककुभ्, 35 सुवर्ण 36 देव, 37 ग्रीष्मादच्छन्दसि ॥

Note —The word ग्रीष्म in the above list, takes this affix, when it does not mean 'a metre of prosody' Therefore it is not so here ग्रैष्मी त्रिष्टुप् 'The Graishmi Trishtup metre' But ग्रैष्म 'belonging to summer' The word छन्दस् here means 'metre,' and not Veda The word बष्कयासे = बष्कय असे, the phrase असे meaning असमासे, (स being the name given to समास by Ancient Grammarians) Thus the compound will be गोबष्कयि ॥ The Paribhâshâ ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्त विधिप्रतिषेध does not apply here Therefore, tadantavidhi applies here and we have आधेनवम् (अधेनूनाम् समूह) ॥ The word उदस्थान takes अञ् when meaning a 'place' as औदस्थानो देश, otherwise औदस्थानि 'the son of Udasthâna' The word पृषत् takes अञ् when meaning 'a share', otherwise it will take अण्, as पार्षतोऽश ॥

Vârt —The affix 'ḍhak' always comes after the words Agni and Kali, in the various senses of the affixes called Prâgdivyatîya (See IV. 2 8, S 1209) आग्नेयम् and कालेयम् meaning 'born of Agni' and 'of Kali' respectively

Here ends the section of affixes that denote patronymics &c in general.

१०७९ । स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां नञ्स्नञौ भवनात् । ४ । १ । ८७ ॥

धान्यानां भवन इत्यतः प्रागर्थेषु स्त्रीपुंसाभ्यां क्रमान्नञ्स्नञौ स्तः । स्त्रैणः । पौंस्नः । वत्यर्थे न । स्त्रीपुंवच्चेति ज्ञापकात् । स्त्रीवत् । पुंवत् ॥

1079 The affixes नञ् and स्नञ् come after the words स्त्री and पुंस respectively, in the senses specified in the aphorism reckoning from this one as far as "dhânyânâm bhavane kshetre khañ" (V 2 1 S 1802)

Thus स्त्री + नञ् = स्त्रैणम् 'feminine'.

Note —The sense of the affixes taught in the Fourth Book, and Chapter I of the Fifth Book, are various Therefore, the word स्त्रैणम् will have all those various significations, thus, it will mean either स्त्रीषु भव (IV 3 53 S 1428), 'existing in females', or स्त्रीणां समूह (IV 2 37 S 1243) 'a collection of females', or स्त्रीभ्य आगत (IV 2 74 S 1453) 'what has come from females', or स्त्रीभ्यो हित (V I 5 S 1665) 'suitable for females' &c

Similarly पुंस + स्नञ् = पौंस्नम् 'masculine, or existing in males, or a collection of males, or what has come from males, or suitable for males &c'

These affixes, however, are not to be employed in the sense of the affix वत् taught in V 1 115 S 1778 For Panini himself uses the form पुंवत् (and not पौंस) in sutra VI 3 34, S 831 thus indicating by implication (ज्ञापक) that in the sense of वत्, I 2 66 S 932 the affix स्नञ् is not to be used Thus स्त्रीवत् । The forms स्त्रीत्व स्त्रीता पुंस्त्व and पुंस्ता are exceptional See V 1 121 S 1783 The स् of पुंस् is elided before स्नञ् by VIII 2 23 S 54, had it not been elided, one affix नञ् would have been taught in the sûtra, and not two

१०८० । द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये । ४ । १ । ८८ ॥

द्विगोर्निमित्तं यस्तद्धितोऽजादिरनपत्यार्थः प्राग्दीव्यतीयस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृतः पुरोडाशः पञ्चकपालः । द्विगोर्निमित्तस्येति किम् । पञ्चकपालस्येदं खण्डं पाञ्चकपालम् । अजादि किम् । पञ्चगर्गरूप्यम् । अनपत्ये किम् । द्वयोर्मित्रयोरपत्यं द्वैमित्रि ॥

1080. A Tadhita affix, ordained to come on account of the relation of the words being that of a Dvigu compound, is elided by luk, when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedant to tena dîvyati &c, but not so, the affix having the sense of a Patronymic.

The phrase प्राग् दीव्यत of IV 1 83 governs this aphorism also, and not the phrase भवनात् of the last Thus पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृत = पञ्चकपाल: the sacrificial rice cake 'prepared in five cups.'

Why do we 'of a Dvigu compound' The Dvigu compound with the sense of a Taddhita affix is formed under II 1 51 The affix will not, therefore be elided where it does not give rise to a Dvigu compound Thus पञ्चकपालस्येद = पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ "a piece belonging to the five cups"

Note —Or the genitive case in द्विगो may be taken as sthâna shashtî, the sense being 'there is the substitution of लुक् elision in the room of Dvigu', the word Dvigu being here taken by metonymy for the *affix* which gives rise to Dvigu Of course when two words have blended into a Dvigu compound, the affixes will not be elided after such a word, because it becomes a prâtipadika like others, as पाञ्चकपालम् ॥ If so, how is the affix elided in पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत = पञ्चकपाल ? This is not so, there is no Taddhita, and the word पञ्चकपाल can never be analysed into पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत ॥ If the latter sense is to be expressed, we must use a sentence, and no single word In fact three are the only valid forms, and they arise without adding of any Taddhita affix to पञ्चकपाली, viz पञ्चसु कपालेषु संस्कृत, पञ्चकपाल्या संस्कृत, and पञ्चकपाल (a Samahara Dvigu) A Samahâra and a Taddhitârtha Dvigu of these are analysed in the same way, while the third पञ्चकपाल्याम् संस्कृत will always remain a वाक्य and never give rise to a Taddhita

Why do we say 'beginning with a vowel'? Observe the affix is not elided in पञ्चभ्यो गर्गेभ्य आगत = पञ्चगर्गरूप्यम् or पञ्चगर्गमयम् ॥ Because the elision of those affixes only takes place which begin with a vowel, while rupa and maya begin with a consonant.

Why do we say "not so when the affix denotes a Patronymic"? Observe द्वैमित्रि a descendant of two Mitras' Here the patronymic affix is not elided, though the compound is a Dvigu

Note —Why do we say "when it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to *tena divyati*?" Observe द्वैपारायणिकः ॥

Note —How do you explain the non elision of the affix in त्रैविद्य, पाञ्चनद and द्वाद्कुल ? The word त्रैविद्य does not mean तिस्रो विद्या अधीते but त्रयवयवा विद्या, त्रिविद्या, त्रिविद्यामधीते = त्रैविद्य ॥ Similarly पाञ्चनद does not mean पञ्चसु नदीषु भव but पञ्चानाम् नदीनाम् समाहार = पञ्चनद, पञ्चनदे भव = पाञ्चनद ॥ So also with द्वाद्कुल ॥

१०८१ । गोत्रेऽलुगचि । ४ । १ । ८९ ॥

अजादौ प्राग्दीव्यतीये विवक्षिते गोत्रप्रत्ययस्यालुक् स्यात् । गार्गीया छात्रा । वृद्धाच्छ ॥

1081 The luk-elision of Patronymic (Gotra) affixes in the plural, which have been enjoined by Sutras II 4 63 S. 1146 and the rest, is prohibited, when the affix has an initial

vowel, and it has the sense of the various affixes taught antecedent to tena dîvyati &c (IV 4 2)

Thus the plural of गार्ग्य is गर्गा (II 4 64 S 1108). But the disciples of गर्गा will be formed by the affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) which is a prâgdîvyatîva affix, and for the purposes of adding this affix, the base will be considered to be गार्ग्य as if there was no elision Thus गार्ग्य + छ ॥

Here applies the next sûtra

१०८२ । आपत्यस्य च तद्धितेऽनाति । ६ । ४ । १५१ ॥

हल परस्यापत्ययकारस्य लोप स्यात्तद्धिते परे न त्वाकारे। गार्गीया । प्राग्दीव्यतीये किम्। गर्गेभ्यो हित गर्गीयम्। अचि किम्। गर्गेभ्य आगत गर्गरूप्यम् ॥

1082 The य, belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before a Taddhita, when it does not begin with an आ ॥

Thus गार्ग्य + छ = गार्गीया (VII 1 2 S 475) and not गर्गीया

Why do we say "when it has the sense of a prâgdivyatîya affix"? Thus गर्गेभ्यो हितम् = गर्गीयम् 'what is fit for the Gargas'

Note —Here the affix छ (V 1 1 S 1661) has the sense of 'suitable for that,' as taught in sutra V 1 5 S 1665 not one of the pragdîvyatîya senses Hence the *luk* elision is maintained

Why do we say "having an initial vowel"? Observe गर्गेभ्य आगतम् = गर्गरूप्यम् and not गार्ग्यरूप्यम् ॥ Here the affix रूप्य, a prâgdîvyatîya affix taught in sûtra IV 3 81 S 1461 does not begin with a vowel, therefore it is added to गर्ग and not गार्ग्य

१०८३ । यूनि लुक् । ४ । १ । ९० ॥

प्राग्दीव्यतीये अजादौ प्रत्यये विवक्षिते युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । ग्लुचुकस्य गोत्रापत्य ग्लुचुकायनि । वक्ष्यमाण फिन्। ततो यून्यण्। ग्लौचुकायन । तस्य छात्रोऽपि ग्लौचुकायन । अणो लुकि वृद्धत्वाभावाच्छोन ॥

1083 There is luk-elision of the Yuvan Patronymic forming affix (IV 1 163) when a prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added

The elision of the Yuvan affix must take place mentally, having done which, we should then look out for the proper Prâgdivyatîya affix to be added to the word form thus remaining

Thus the Patronymic from ग्लुचुक is ग्लुचुकायनि (IV 1 160 S 1184) with the affix फिन् to be taught hereafter The Yuvan of the latter is ग्लौचुकायन (IV 1 83 S 1073) with the affix अण् the word denoting the pupils of the latter is ग्लाचुकायना by (IV 2 112 S 1333 formed from ग्लुचुकायनि) When अण् is elided the word ग्लौचुकायन becomes ग्लुचुकायन, and as the first syllable has no Vṛiddhi letter now, there is no adding of छ in the sense of pupils, for छ is added by IV 2 114 S 1337 only after those words whose first syllable has a Vriddhi letter

१०८४। पैलादिभ्यश्च। २। ४। ५९॥

एभ्यो युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक्। पीलाया वेत्यण्। तस्मादणा द्व्यच इति फिञ्। तस्य लुक्। पैल पिता पुत्रश्च॥

तद्राजाच्चाणः॥ द्व्यञ्मगधेत्यण्णन्तादाङ्गशब्दादणा द्व्यच इति फिञो लुक्। आङ्ग पिता पुत्रश्च॥

1084 And after the words पैल &c, there is the लुक् elision of the युवन् affix

पीला+अण=पैल (IV 1 118 S 1121) 'The Gotra descendant of Pîlâ' पैल + फिञ् (IV 1 156 S 1180) The present rule intervenes, and the Yuvan affix फिञ् is elided, so पैल is both a Gotra and a Yuvan word

Note —Some say that the 'Paila &c, words are formed by the affix इञ्, (IV 1 95 S 1095) and then the luk elision of the Yuvan affix would be valid by the next rule 1085 They would limit the scope of the present sûtra to cases where the Gotra of the people is not known, the Prâchyas not being indicated

1 पैल 2 शालङ्कि 3 सात्यकि 4 सात्यकामि 5 राहवि 6 रावणि- 7 औदञ्चि 8 औदव्रजि 9 औदमधि 10 औदण्यञ्जि 11 औदमाङ्कि- 12 औदभृज्जि 13 दैवस्थानि 14 पैङ्गलायनी 15 राहक्षति 16 भौलिङ्गि- 17 राणि 18 औदन्यि 19 औद्गाहमानि 20 औज्जिहान 21 औदशुद्धि 22. तद्राजाच्चाणः

G sûtra —The Yuvan affix is elided after a word formed by the tadrâja affix अण्॥ Thus the word आङ्ग is formed by adding the affix अण् under IV 1 170 S 1188 to अङ्ग, to this is added फिञ् under IV 1 156 S 1180 This फिञ् is elided As आङ्ग meaning both father and son

१०८५। इञः प्राचाम्। २। ४। ६०॥

गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्ताद्युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तच्चेद्गोत्रं प्राच्यं भवति। पन्नागारस्यापत्यम्। अत

इञ्। यञिञोश्चेति फक्। तस्य लुक् पान्नागारि पिता पुत्रश्च। प्राच्या किम्। दाक्षि पिता। दाक्षायणः पुत्र॥

1085 After a word ending with the Gotra affix इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095) there is luk-elision of the Yuvan affix, when the Gotra of the people called Prâchya (Eastern) is denoted

पन्नागार + इञ्=पान्नागारि 'the Gotra descendant of Pannâgâra', after this the Yuvan affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) is elided by the present rule, and so पान्नागारि is both the father and the son Why do we say प्राच्याम्? The word प्राच्याम् here qualifies the word Gotra understood, and does not mean that it is an optional rule, 'in the opinion of Eastern Grammarians" When the Gotra of Prâchyas is not denoted, there is no elision Thus दाक्षि the Gotra descendant of Daksha, and दाक्षायण 'son of Dâkshi' (Yuvan)

१०८६। न तौल्वलिभ्यः। २। ४। ६१॥

तौल्वल्यादिभ्यः परस्य युवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात्। पूर्वेण प्राप्तः। तुल्वल। तत इञि फक्। तौल्वलि पिता। तौल्वलायन पुत्र॥

1086 After the words तौल्वलि: and the rest, there is not luk-elision of the Yuvan affix

तौल्वलि formed by इञ् added to तुल्वल is the name of the father and तौल्वलायन is the son of the former, formed by the Yuvan affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103)

1 तौल्वलि 2 धारणि 3 पारणि 4 रावणि 5 दैलीपि 6 दैवति 7 वार्कलि 8 नैवाति 9 दैवकि 10 दैवमित्रि 11 दैवमति 12 दैवयज्ञि 13 चाफट्टकि 14 वैल्वकि 15 वैकि 16 वैङ्कि 17 आनुहारति 18 आनुराहति 19 पौष्करसादि 20 आनुरोहति 21 आनुति 22 प्रादोहनि 23 नैमिश्रि 24 प्राडाहति 25 बान्धकि 26 वैशीति 27 आसिनासि 28 आहिंसि 29 आसुरि 30 नैमिषि 31 आसिबन्धकि 32 पौष्पि 33 कारेणुपालि 34 वैरकि 35 वैरकि 36 वैहति॥

१०८७। फक्फिञोरन्यतरस्याम्। ४। १। ९१॥

यूनि लुगिति निवृत्तम्। अचि लुकि प्राप्ते विकल्पार्थं सूत्रम्। कात्यायनस्य छात्रा कातीयाः। कात्यायनीयाः। यस्कस्यापत्यं यास्कः। शिवाद्यण्। तस्यापत्यं युवा यास्कायनिः। अणो द्व्यच इति फिञ्। तस्य छात्रा यास्कीयाः। यास्कायनीयाः॥

1087. There is optionally luk-elision of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् when a Prâgdîvyatîya affix beginning with a vowel is to be added

By the Sûtra IV 1 90 S 1083 all Yuvan affixes were told to be elided The present Sûtra declares an option in the case of the Yuvan affixes फक् and फिञ् ॥ Thus the Patronymic of कत is कात्य (IV 1 105 S 1107), the Yuvan of कात्य is formed by फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) कात्यायन ॥ Thus the word denoting the pupils of Kâtyâyana will be कातीया or कात्यायनीया ॥ Similarly of the affix फिञ् (IV 1 156 S 1180) Thus from यस्क, the Patronymic is यास्क (IV 1 112 S 1115) The Yuvan of the latter is यास्कायनि (IV 1 156 S 1180) The pupils of Yâskâyani will be called यास्कीया or यास्कायनीया ॥

१०८८ । तस्यापत्यम् । ४ । १ । ९२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तात् कृतसन्धेः समर्थादपत्येऽर्थे उक्ता वक्ष्यमाणाश्च प्रत्यया वा स्युः । उपगोरपत्यं औपगवः । आदिवृद्धिरन्त्योपधावृद्धी बाधते ॥

तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।
उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ १ ॥

योगविभागस्तु । भानोरपत्यं भानवः । कृतसन्धेः किम् । सौत्थितिः । अकृतव्यूहपरिभाषया सावुत्थितिर्मा भूत् । समर्थपरिभाषया नेह । वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य । प्रथमात्किम् । अपत्यवा-चकात्षष्ठ्यर्थे मा भूत् । वाग्रहणाद्वाक्यमपि । दैवयज्ञीति सूत्रादन्यतरस्याम्ग्रहणानुवृत्तेः समासोऽपि । उपग्वपत्यम् । जातित्वान् ङीष् । औपगवी । आश्वपत । दैत्य । औत्स । स्त्रैण । पौंस ॥

1088 (The affixes अण्, ण्य &c, already mentioned in IV. 1 83 S 1673 &c, and those which will be taught here-after, such as इञ् &c, denote) 'the descendant of some one', (and they come after a word in the the sixth case, which has completed its junction)

Note —This Sûtra points out the meaning of the affixes, and it refers to the affixes that have preceded, beginning from अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) e g अण्, ण्य, अञ् &c and to the affixes that follow such as इञ् &c The affixes herein taught, have the force of denoting descendant, when they are added to the word in construction which is in the genitive case

Thus we may either use the sentence उपगोरपत्यम्, or by adding अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) to the word उपगु (which has the 6th case-affix in construction in the above sentence), form औपगव "the offspring of Upagu" The word औपगवः is thus evolved

Note —उपगु + अण् = औपगु + अण् ॥ Now applies either VI 4. 146 S 847 causing guna of final उ, and VII 2 115 S 254 requiring the vṛiddhi of the final The following discussion shows why guna takes place to the exclusion of vṛiddhi though subsequent ओर्गुणः VI 4 146 S 847 ("for उ or ऊ of a bha stem, there is substituted guna before a Taddhita affix)" is debarred

by the *subsequent* sutra अचोञ्णिति VII 2 115 S 254 (' before the affixes having an indicatory ञ् or ण्, Vriddhi is substituted for the end vowel of a stem") for guna will find scope in चिचाय &c So let there be vṛiddhi of the final उ of उपगु ॥ This is one objection

Note —But if vriddhi is not allowed, and उ is gunated to ओ, and we have by sandhi उपगो+अ=उपगव्+अ then arises another difficulty, for the अ of ग now being penultimate requires vṛiddhi by अत उपधायाः VII 2 116 S 2282

Ans To remove both these difficulties the author says आदिवृद्धिरन्त्यो पधावृद्धी बाधेत "the vṛiddhi of the initial vowel taught by VII 2 117 S 1075 debars the two vṛiddhis, namely the vṛiddhi of the final required by VII 2 115 S 254 and the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ required by VII 2 116 S 2282",

Note —Because rule VII 2 117 S 1075 is *subsequent* to these two The vṛiddhis of the final and the penultimate find their free scope in गौ (the affix सु being णित् by VII 1 90 S 284 causes vriddhi of गो by VII 2 115), and पाचक with ण्वुल् added to पच् respectively where VII 2 116 applies. While the vṛiddhi of the initial will find its free scope in सौश्रुत from सुश्रुत ॥ But in त्वाष्ट्र from त्वष्टृ and जागत from जगत् the rules VII 2 115 and 116 appear simultaneously with VII 2 117, and in their case the vṛddhi of the *initial* takes effect, because that rule (VII 2 117 S 1075) is subsequent This we do on the maxim अकृतव्यूहाः &c as well as by the inference of finding the word पुष्करसत् in the list of Anuśatikâdi VII 3 20

Note —For if the *initial* Vṛiddhi (VII 2 117) did not debar the *penultimate* Vṛiddhi (VII 2 116 S 2282), then we would have got the form पौष्करसादि regularly by the *simultaneous* application of these two rules VII 2 116 and 117, S 2282 and 1075 without its being read in the Anuśatikâdi class But the very fact that it is so read indicates that these two Vṛiddhis cannot take place simultaneously

Verse —The general sûtra tasyedam (IV 3. 120 S 1500) would have included the particular case of tasyâpatyam (what is the necessity of the latter). It is made in order to prevent the application of Vriddhâch chhah (IV 2 114 S 1337) For छ of S. 1337 excludes the अण् of S 1500 in case of Vṛiddha words, but it is intended that it should not exclude that, even in Vṛiddha, hence the present sûtra The sense of apatya can be included in the word sesha of S 1392 and so the अण् of tasyedam can come in the sense of apatya. The separate present sûtra has for its object to make अण् applicable to Vṛiddha words (like bhânu)

Note—The tasyedam would certainly have included tasyâpatyam, for *idam* may be anything apatya &c The necessity for making a separate sûtra for apatyam is this The Vriddhâch chhah excludes the अण् of tasyedam, so that in case of Vriddha words we have छ instead of अण् ॥ But छ does not come after Vriddha words in the sense of apatya Hence this separate sûtra If it be said that neither the अण् of tasyedam nor its exception the छ of Vriddhâch chha can ever come in the sense of apatya, for they come in the śaishika senses only and apatya is not included in the śaishika sense, we reply, that there is nothing to prevent us from including the sense of apatya also in the śaishika sense, of sûtra IV 2 92 S 1392 Therefore, we come back to our former point that the necessity of this sûtra is really to make अण् applicable to Vriddha words Thus the son of भानु (a Vriddha word) will be भानव by the अण् of this sutra, and not भानवीय by छ of S 1337, which would have been the case had this sutra not existed, and had tasyedam IV 3 120 S 1500 been requisitioned to denote apatya also

By the general rule samartha-pada vidhih (II 1 1 S 647), the rule will not apply when the words are not in syntactical construction Thus the words उपगोरपत्यम् "Upagu's" "offspring" are not in syntactical construction in the following sentence —वस्त्रमुपगोरपत्यं चैत्रस्य "the dress of Upagu, the offspring of Chaitra"

Why do we say "after the *first* word"? That the affix should not come after the word denoting the offspring, with the force of a genitive case Thus in इन्द्रोदेवता अस्य हविष =ऐन्द्रं हविः, the affix is added to Indra in the first case in construction, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्यदेवदत्तस्य = औपगवोदेवदत्त or देवदत्तोऽपत्यमस्यौपगो = दैवदत्तिरुपगु should not be formed

By force of the word वा in IV 1 82 S 1072 we can have a sentence also As उपगोरपत्यम् ॥

And by drawing in the anuvritti of anyatarasyâm from the sûtra IV 1 81 S 1201, we have composition also in the other alternative As उपग्वपत्यम् ॥

The Patronymic being a jâti word takes ङीष् in the feminine. As औपगवी ॥

So also आश्वपत । दैत्य । औत्स । स्त्रैण । पौंस ॥

Note—In explaining IV 1 82 S 1072, we have used the words कृतसन्धिकार्यस्य "after the operation of sandhi or junction has been completed." Why have we used those words? Otherwise observe the anomaly Thus सु + उत्थित = सूत्थित, वि + ईक्षमाण = वीक्षमाण ॥ If the affix be not added to the form सूत्थित, but to सु + उत्थित, so also not to वीक्षमाण but to विईक्षमाण that is to say, if the affix be added before sandhi, then the resultant forms would be सौ उत्थिति =

साङ्कुस्थ्यानि and वार्यीक्षमाणि by force of वार्णादाङ्ग बलीय maxim, but the proper forms are सौस्थिति and वैक्षमाणि ॥

Q The rule of sandhi, though an operation relating to letters (a varṇa rule), yet being antaraṇga, will take effect *first*, and then the Vriddhi operation, which though an anga rule, is after all bahiranga with regard to sandhi , what is the necessity of using the word समर्थ at all in the sûtra IV, 1, 82 S 1072 or explaining it by कृतसन्धि ?

Ans The very fact that Pânini has used the word समर्थ in this aphorism, when it could well have been dispensed with, indicates the existence of the following maxim अकृतव्यूहा पाणिनीया "The followers of Pânini do not insist on the taking effect of a rule, when its cause disappears" (See p-30) Therefore had Pânini not used the word समर्थ in the sûtra IV. I. 82, S 1072 then by the application of the present maxim, the *antaranga* operation of sandhi would have been set aside by the bahiranga vṛiddhi and the forms would have been साङ्कुस्थिति and वार्यीक्षमाणि ॥ To prevent this समर्थ has been used.

Kârikâ तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ।
उत्सर्गं शेष एवासौ वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् ॥

Note —The Karikâ should be broken up in order to understand it. तस्येदमित्यपत्येऽपि ॥ The sûtra तस्येदम् (IV 3 120 S, 1500) will include this अपत्य also, for the word इदम् may be applied to all things like अपत्य, समूह, विकार &c. Therefore अ , will come, by force of that sûtra, in the sense of "descendant," why then make this separate sûtra tasyâpatyam ? If you say that this aphorism is necessary for the sake of sûtras अत इञ् &c (IV 1 95 S 1095), then why make a *separate* sûtra and not *join* it with the last ? Ans बाधनार्थं कृतं भवेत् ॥ The separate sûtra might have been made in order to debar the operation of the sûtra वृद्धाच्छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) . That sûtra supersedes तस्येदम्, and so in the case of apatyam also, छ would have applied instead of अण् where the base was a Vriddham word But that is not desired Hence the separate sûtra

If it be objected that "the अण् of tasyedam, and its apavâda the the affix छ of vṛiddhâch chhah, being śaishika affixes cannot come with the force of apatyam, because the word śaishika has been explained in IV, 2 92 S 1312 as *the sense different from that of descendant and the quadruple significance*, and so the above objection does not arise" To this the answer is

Ans उत्सर्गः शेष एवासौ ॥ This sense of apatya is an utsarga śesha The meaning is this Had there been no yoga vibhâga i e had tasyâ-

patyam not been separately enunciated, but made one sûtra with अत इञ् something like तस्यापत्यम् अत इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095), then it will govern those bases only that end in अ and the bases like बाहु &c (IV 1 95 and 96 S 1095 and 1096), and not bases like उपगु, and therefore with regard to the base उपगु there would be no rule of adding an apatya affix but the śaishika तस्येदम् ॥ Thus even an apatya denotation can become a śesha under the above circumstances It will be an utsarga śesha i e the remainder not covered by a general rule the general rule here by supposition being अतइञ &c Therefore अण् of तस्येदम् with the force of apatya, will come after Upagu, but it will be debarred in the case of भानु &c by the rule वृद्धाच्छ ॥ But if we make tasyâpatyam a separate sûtra, then there being no *śesha*, the छ will never come under any circumstances

Obj If it be said that for bases like उपगु &c, which are not Vriddham words, there will be no occasion for the addition of छ, and so there is no necessity of making a separate sûtra To this we reply

Ans वृद्धान्यस्य प्रयोजनम् The necessity of this sûtra is in the case of Vṛiddham bases like भानु., श्यामगु (श्यामा गावो ऽस्य) &c

Therefore there must be this separate sûtra Thus भानोरपत्य = भानव ॥

The summary of the above discussion is that this sûtra "tasyâpatyam" is made for the sake of Vṛiddham bases. Otherwise "tasyedam" would have been sufficient for bases like Upagu &c

Note —Now we take up the farther explanation of the sûtra samarthânâm prathamâd vâ '(IV. 1. 82 S 1072) Its explanation was postponed till now

The maxim समर्थ पदविधि (II 1 1 S 647) applies here also Thus वस्त्र मुपगोरपत्य चैत्रस्य "the garment of Upagu, the son of Chaitra". Here the two words उपगोरपत्यम् are not in construction, for उपगो governs वस्त्र and अपत्य is governed by चैत्रस्य, and so there is no affix

Why do we say "after the first"? The force of this question will be understood by the following considerations In the sûtra तस्यापत्यम् there are two words, तस्य and अपत्य, of these the first only can stand as a base to an affix, and not apatyam Therefore, when searching for the *base* to which the affix is to be added, we shall take तस्य ॥ Therefore, there is no necessity of using the word प्रथमात् at all.

Ans The words "after the first" are used in order to indicate that the affix will not be added to the word which is the *name* of the descendant, and referred to by the genitive word Thus the sûtra tasyâpatyam

is really ambiguous, for it literally means "let the affix अण् &c come in the sense of "*His son*" The affix may come after Upagu exhibited in the genitive case, or after the word which is the Proper name of the son of Upagu Thus if Devadatta be the name of the son of Upagu, then देवदत्त is उपगोरपत्यम्, then by tasyâpatyam, the affix might be added either to उपगु or to देवदत्त ॥ To prevent this, प्रथमात् is used in the sutra

Moreover as in the case of इन्द्रो देवता अस्य हविषः 'Indra is the devatâ of this offering" we add the affix to इन्द्र *denoted* by the genitive case under the rule सास्यदेवता (IV 2 24 S 1226), and get the form ऐन्द्र as applied to हविः, similarly उपगुरपत्यमस्य देवदत्तस्य "Upagu is the son of this Devadatta" we will have औपगवो देवदत्त "Devadatta Aupagava" i e "Devadatta whose son is Upagu", or in देवदत्तोपत्यमस्योपगो "Devadatta is son of this Upagu", we shall have दैवदत्तिरुपगु "Upagu whose son is Devadatta" Now this is not intended We cannot have औपगव in the sense of 'He whose son is Upagu", nor दैवदत्ति in the sense of "He whose son is Devadatta."

Why do we say "in the alternative"? Because the same idea may also be expressed by a sentence, thus we may say उपगोरपत्यं, instead of the taddhita formed word औपगव ॥

Note —The same idea may also be expressed by a compound word (samâsa), as उपग्वपत्यम् 'the son of Upagu' In fact, the samâsa rule here is not superseded by the Taddhita rule, as it otherwise would have been by I 4 2, S 175 because the anuvritti of अन्यतरस्याम् is understood here from sutra IV 1 81, S 1201 so that in the alternative when the Taddhita affix is not employed, the samâsa rules will find scope The word औपगव being a जाति denoting word (because jâti includes गोत्रं च चरणैः सह see Kârikâ to IV 1 83 S 518, therefore its feminine will be by ङीष् (VI 1 83) As औपगवी ॥

१०८९ । अपत्यं पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम् । ४ । १ । १६२ ॥

अपत्यत्वेन विवक्षितं पौत्रादि गोत्रसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1089 A descendant, being a grandson or a still lower offspring, is called Gotra

Note —When an offspring with reference to a person, is the son's son of that person or lower than that, it is called Gotra Thus the son of 'Garga' will be गार्गि, and the son or grandsons &c of गार्गि with reference to Garga will be गार्ग्य ॥ Similarly वात्स्य ॥

Why do we say 'a grandson or a still lower descendant'? The immediate descendant or the son will not be called Gotra Thus कौञ्जि, गार्गिः ॥

Note —Q The word अपत्य has been read uselessly in this sutra, for grandsons &c are apatyam or descendants? The sûtra could have been well stated as pautra pravriti gotram'

Ans Yes Therefore in explaining the sûtra, the author has said "apatyatvena vivakshitam" "when it is intended to speak of a person as a descendant." Why do we say "when it is intended to express"? As a matter of fact, even grand sons and lower descendants of Garga also will be denoted by the general patronymic गार्गि formed under the शेष rule गर्गस्येदम्, when no particular stress is laid on the *degree* of descent The Gotra denoting affix need not be added here

Others say that the force of vivakshita is that the grandsons &c should not get the designation *gotra*, but only their relationship Therefore औपगव though formed by अण् (not a gotra affix) is also a gotra word

१०९० । जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा । ४ । १ । १६३ ॥

वंश्ये पित्रादौ जीवति पौत्रादेर्यदपत्यं चतुर्थादि तद्युवसंज्ञमेव न गोत्रसंज्ञम् ॥

1090 But when one in a line of descent beginning with a father (and reckoning upwards) is alive, the descendant of a grandson or still lower descendant is called Yuvan only

Note —The word वंश means an uninterrupted series of family descent—or 'a line' One who occurs in such a line, like father &c, is called वंश्य ॥ When such a vanśva is alive then the descendant of a grandson &c is called Yuvan The pharse पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य in the sutra should be construed as पौत्रप्रभृतेर् यद् अपत्य 'He who is the descendant of a grandson &c' In the last sutra however this phrase पौत्रप्रभृत्यपत्य was properly construed by putting the word पौत्रप्रभृति in the case of apposition with अपत्यम् meaning "a descendant being a grandson &c" Thus the word Yuvan will be applied to a person who is at least fourth in the order of descent, from the *propositus* with reference to whom the derivative is made Thus गर्ग being the head, we have गर्ग ॥

अपत्यम्— {
गार्गिः (son or putra)
गार्ग्य (Gotra)
गार्ग्यायण (Yuvan) if Gârga or Gargi &c be alive)

The force of the word तु, in the sûtra is that it will be called Yuvan only, and not Gotra as well

१०९१ । भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि । ४ । १ । १६४ ॥

ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि जीवति कनीयान् चतुर्थादिर्युवा स्यात् ॥

1091. When an elder brother is alive, the younger brother gets the title of Yuvan, being the descendant of a grandson &c

Note —Even when a वंश्य like father &c is not alive (and a brother is not vanśya) the younger brother gets the designation of yuvan, when the elder brother is alive, thus. गार्ग्यायण ॥

The word वंश्य is confined to ancestors like father &c, so a brother can never be a vanśya, because he is not the source from which the other brother arises This sutra applies to cases when Vanśya is not meant Thus Gârgyâyana is the name of the younger brother with reference to the elder brother, Gargya, similarly Vatsyâyana, Dâkshyâyana, and Plâkshâyana

१०९२ । वान्यस्मिन् सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति । ४ । १ । १६५ ॥

भ्रातुरन्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति पौत्रप्रभृतेरपत्यं जीवदेव युवसंज्ञं वा स्यात् । एकं जीवतिग्रहणमपत्यस्य विशेषणम् । द्वितीयं सपिण्डस्य । तरब्निर्देश उभयोरुत्कर्षार्थं । स्थानेन वयसा चोत्कृष्टे पितृव्ये मातामहे भ्रातरि वा जीवति । गार्ग्यस्यापत्यम् गार्ग्यायण । गार्ग्यो वा । स्थविरेति किम् । स्थानवयोन्यूने गार्ग्य एव । जीवतीति किम् । मृते मृतो वा गार्ग्य एव ॥

वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम् * ॥ गोत्रस्यैव वृद्धसंज्ञा प्राचाम् । गोत्रस्य युवसंज्ञा पूजायां गम्यमानायाम् । तत्रभवान् गार्ग्यायण । पूजेति किम् । गार्ग्य ॥

यूनश्च कुत्सायां गोत्रसंज्ञेति वाच्यम् * ॥ गार्ग्यो जाल्म । कुत्सेति किम् । गार्ग्यायण ॥

1092 The living descendant of a grandson &c is called optionally a Yuvan, when a (more) superior sapinda other than a brother is alive.

The word जीवति is again read in this aphorism, though there is the anuvṛitti of जीवति also from IV 1 163 S 1090 This जीवति of the sûtra qualifies the word descendant, the जीवति which is understood by context qualifies the word sapinḍa The sapinḍa relationship extends up to seven degrees The word स्थविर means 'superior', and स्थविरतर is comparative and means 'more superior' that is to say, superior both by *degree* of descent and by *age*, such as an uncle, or a maternal grand-father or an elder brother &c when alive

Thus the descendant of गार्ग्य will be गार्ग्यायण or गार्ग्य ॥

Here the uncle or the brother of a grand-father being alive, the descendant is optionally called Yuvan or Gotra

Why do we say "superior"? When the person alive is lower either in degree or in age, then we have only one form गार्ग्य only Why do we say

'when alive?' When either the descendant of a grandson &c is dead or the superior sapinda is dead, then also we have one form गार्ग्य only

Vârtika —The Gotra is sometimes optionally regarded as Yuvan, when respectful reference to him is intended

The word Vriddha is another term for Gotra in the terminology of the ancient grammarians As तत्र भवान् गार्ग्यायण or गार्ग्य "you honored Gârgyâyana or Gârgya"

Why do we say 'when respectful reference is intended'? Observe, गार्ग्य ॥ The definition of Vṛiddham as given by other Grammarians is अपत्यमन्तर्हितम् वृद्धम् ॥

Vârt —The Yuvan is optionally spoken of as Gotra, when contemptuous reference to him is intended

Thus गार्ग्यो जाल्म or गार्ग्यायणो जाल्म ॥ When contempt is not intended, the only form is गार्ग्यायण ॥

१०९३ । एको गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ९३ ॥

गोत्रे एक एवापत्यप्रत्यय स्यात् । उपगोर्गोत्रापत्य औपगव । गार्ग्य । नाडायन ।

गोत्रे स्वैकोनसख्याना प्रत्ययाना परम्परा ।
यद्वा स्वस्तु पुनस्तेभ्योऽनिष्टोत्पत्ति प्रसज्यते ॥ १ ॥
अपत्य पितुरेव स्यात्तत प्राचामपीति च ।
मतभेदेन तद्धान्यै सूत्रमेतत्तथोत्तरम् ॥ २ ॥

पितुरेवापत्यमिति पक्षे हि उपगोस्तृतीये वाच्ये औपगवादिञ् स्यात् । चतुर्थे त्वजीवज्ज्येष्ठे धृतवश्ये औपगवे फक् । इत्थ फगिञौ फगिञौ परम्परया मूलाच्छततमे गोत्रे एकोनशत प्रत्यया स्यु । पितामहादीनामपीति मुख्यपक्षे तु तृतीय वाच्ये उपगोरणा इष्टे सिद्धेऽपि अण्णन्तादिञापि स्यात् । चतुर्थे फगिति फगिञा परम्परया शततमे गोत्रेऽष्टनवतिरनिष्टप्रत्यया स्यु । अतो नियमार्थमिद सूत्रम् । एवमुत्तरसूत्रेऽप्यूह्यम् ॥

1093 One descendant-denoting affix only is employed when a gotra descendant (how low-so-ever) is to be indicated

Note —The word Gotra is defined in sutra IV 1 162 and means the offspring beginning with the grandson There would have arisen the application of a separate affix in denoting the descendant of every one of such persons, the present sutra declares a restriction Thus the son of गर्ग is गार्गि (IV 1 93) The son of गार्गि (or in other words the grandson of गर्ग) is गार्ग्य (IV 1 105). This is formed by a Gotra affix Now the son of a गार्ग्य will also be called गार्ग्य, no

new affix will be added In fact, in denoting the Gotra descendants how low soever the affix यञ् will be added to the word गर्ग, though there may be several intermediate descendants Thus the sûtra restricts the application of the affix Or in another view of the matter, it may be said to restrict the base to which the affix is to be added Thus the son of गार्ग्य will be formed by adding the affix यञ् not to the base गार्ग्य (which would have been the case were IV 1 92 S 1088 strictly applied), but to the base गर्ग ॥ So that *one* base is to be taken and adhered to throughout, in applying Gotra affixes

Thus the Gotra descendant of उपगु is औपगव , of गर्ग is गार्ग्य , of नड is नाडायन ॥

Note —The word गोत्रे in the sûtra is in the singular number as the word denotes the whole class, i e all gotra descendants The word एक is a numeral. If the sûtra be translated thus —" when a Gotra descendant is intended to be expressed, then the descendant denoting affix should be one only "—then in the case of gotra descendant the *first* word only takes the affix, and not any other On the other hand, if the gotra affix can be added, even after the word has taken an apatya-affix, then there is not *one* affix in denoting a Gotra-descendant Hence the author has explained by saying " One descendant-denoting affix only is employed &c " The word apatya is read into the sûtra from the context, as it is the governing word of the whole section

Others explain the word एक as equivalent to प्रथम or first; and the *first* means the base which is devoid of any apatya-affix They explain the sûtra thus. " The first or the original word takes the apatya-affix in denoting Gotra "

Thus the son of Upagu is Aupagava, the gotra descendant will be also Aupagava The gotra-affix will be added to Upagu and not to Aupagava Thus the gotra-descendant will be formed by the affix अण् also, just as the immediate descendant (i e son) is formed by अण् , and not by इञ् ॥ For though औपगव ' son of Upagu " is a word which ends in अ, and therefore in forming a descendant from it the affix इञ् ought to be added by IV 1 95 S 1095, yet अण् is added by force of this sûtra There is no *specific* Gotra affix for this word उपगु ॥

Similarly गार्ग्य formed by यञ् of IV 1 105 S 1107 Here यञ् is specifically ordained to denote Gotra descendants, and therefore, there is not इञ् added by IV 1 95 S 1095, which is added only when an immediate descendant (i e son) is to be denoted Thus here we have two forms, the son of Garga is गार्गि, while the grandson and lower descendants will be गार्ग्य ॥ Thus गार्ग्य denotes not only the grandson of Garga, but the son of Gârgya as well The word denoting the son of Gârgya (the grandson of Garga) will not be formed by फक् added to गार्ग्य, because of the restriction of this rule since *one* affix only can be added. The affix फक् would have been added by IV 1 101 S 1103 in denoting the son of

Gârgya, for he is a Yuvan · as Gargyâyana But when he is considered as a Gotra descendant, then he will be called by the general name Gârgya

Similarly नाडायन formed by फक् under IV 1 99 S 1101 Here also फक् is specifically ordained to come after Nadâdi words, and therefore the general affix इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095) is precluded which now finds its scope in denoting the *immediate* descendant i e the son of Nada Thus Nâdi is son of Nada while Nâdayana is the grandson of Nada The son of Nadâyana will be Nâdâyana and not Nadâyani, with the इञ् of IV 1 95 S 1095 , because of the restriction of this sûtra which says only *one* affix is to be added

Verse —" In denoting a Gotra descendant, there is a succession of affixes, being either one less in number than the degree of the descendant or two less in number the undesirable occurrence taking place after all pratipadikas which are two less in number than the base "

" The word apatya (son or descendant can be used in relation) to the father only , and in relation to older (than father) also," according to diversity of opinions Hence the necessity of this sûtra, as ell as of the next sûtra, to remove these anomalies "

In the first alternative, when apatya is only of a father, (and we can not say " a grandfather's apatya ") , when the third in degree from Upagu is to be denoted, there must be added the affix इञ् to औपगव, (thus giving the form Aupagavi " the grand-son of Upagu ") Similarly to denote the fourth in degree, when the elder brother is not alive, and when the elder-members-of-the-family (vansya) are dead, the affix फक् is added (and we have औपगवायन) ॥ (The son of Aupagavâyana will be by iñ, Aupagavâyani, his son will be Aupagavâyana and so on) Thus by the constant recurrence of फक् and इञ् affixes alternately, in denoting a Gotra descendant hundredth in degree from the original उपगु, there will be ninty nine affixes

In the second alternative, when the word apatya can be applied with regard to grand-father &c (when we can say apatya of a grand father, &c)—and this is the valid alternative—the third in degree will be expressed by अण् added to उपगु , i e औपगव will express the grandson also of Upagu . and though thus the true and desired form is obtained, yet the affix इञ् will also come after अण् ending औपगव ॥ In denoting the fourth, the affix will be फक् and then will commence the recurrence of फक्, इञ् फक्, इञ् &c, and thus in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant, there will occur ninety eight undesirable affixes

Therefore, for the sake of making a niyama or restrctive rule, has this sûtra been enunciated

This must be understood in the next sûtra also

Note —*Objection* How could more than one affix be simultaneously applied in denoting *one* Gotra, and is not, therefore, this sûtra useless ?

Ans —No The following considerations show the necessity of this sûtra Now the person from whom the Gotra is to be calculated, is the first or propositus his son will be second, his grand son will be third, and so on The first or the Propositus takes no affix, in denoting the son or the *second* there will be *one* affix added, in denoting son's son or the *third*, two affixes will be added, and so on, so that in denoting the hundredth, ninety nine affixes will be added Thus the son of उपगु will be उपगु + अण् = औपगव ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of Aupagava will be औपगव + इञ् = औपगवि ॥ The son's son of Upagu or the son of औपगवि will be औपगवि + फक् = औपगवायन ॥ The fifth or the son of औपगवायन will be औपगवायन् + इञ् = औपगवायनि and then will commence the recurring series Thus 1 Upagu, 2 Aupagava, 3 Aupagavi, 4 Aupagavâyana, 5 Aupagavâyani, 6 Aupagavâyana, 7 Aupagavâyani, 8 Aupagavâyana, 9 Aupagavayani &c Thus the second in degree or son has *one* affix अण्, the third has *two* affixes, अण, and इञ, the fourth has *three* affixes अण्, इञ् and फक् the fifth has four affixes अण, इञ्, फक् and इञ् and so on Therefore the verse says, गोत्रे स्वैकोनसङ्ख्यानां प्रत्ययानां परम्परा "In a Gotra descendant there will be an uninterrupted succession (paramparâ) of affixes whose number will be *one less* (eka-una) than the *degree* of descent (स्व) of the person to be so denoted" This is one anomaly to remove which the present sûtra has been made

Though as a matter of fact the final अ and इ would have been always elided by यस्येति च (VI 4 148 S, 311), and the forms would not have shown the actual presence of the affixes अण् and इञ्, yet the *number* of affixes added will be always one less than the *degree* of descent

Another necessity of this sûtra is as regards the base to which the affix is to be added Thus the base or pratipadika in the case* of son is Upagu, in the case of grandson or third descendant is Aupagava, or *one* new base, in the case of the fourth descendant, the base is Aupagavi or *second* pratipadika and so that in the hundredth descendant there will be ninety eight new prâtipadikas, i e always *two* less than the degree of descent Therefore the verse says यद्वा स्वद्व्यून सङ्ख्येभ्यो ऽनिष्टोत्पत्तिः प्रसज्यते "Or the anomaly (anishta) arises in the case of those prâtipadikas which are less by two than the degree of descent" Thus in the case of third degree, there is one undesirable prâtipadika i e Aupagava i e the affix is added to Aupagava and not to Upagu in the case of fourth in degree there is another undesirable prâtipadika i e affix is added to Aupagavi and not to Upagu, and so on Thus the number of affix-taking undesirable stems increase with the degree of descent, their number being *two* less than the degree, therefore, the necessity of the present sûtra in order to restrict the number of stems to *one*

The above two difficulties, one of ninety nine affixes, and the other of ninety eight arises from the two meanings of the word apatya In one view the word अपत्य is restricted to the *son* of the father only and not to grand sons &c This is the view pre-eminently of the lexicographer Amara, who defines apatya thus —

आत्मजस्तनय सुनु सुत पुत्रस्त्रिया त्वमी ।
आहुर्दुहितर सर्वेऽपत्य तोक तयो समे ॥

In this view there will be ninety nine affixes, in denoting the hundredth in degree Gotra descendant

The other and siddhânta view is that apatya not only means the immediate descendants (son or daughter) but the grandson and grand daughter and lower descendants also Thus apatya is not only of father, but of those who are older (prâchâm) than father also, i e of grand father and great-grand father &c In other words the word apatya should be taken in its etymological sense i e "he who prevents the fall (patan) of another"—the presence of any descendant, how low so ever, prevents the *fall* of ancestors from heaven "न पतन्त्यनेनेति"—अपत्यम्" or यन्निमित्त यस्यापतन, तत् तस्यापत्यम् ॥ And as grandsons &c prevent the fall of grand-father &c so they are also called apatya (fall preventer) of grand father &c In fact, it in this wider sense of a "descendant," that the word apatya is used by Panini himself in the sutra apatyam pautra pravriti gotram (IV 1 162 S 1089)

१०९४ । गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । ९४ ॥

यून्यपत्ये गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादेव प्रत्यय स्यात् । स्त्रियां तु न युवसंज्ञा । गर्गस्य युवापत्यं गार्ग्यायण । स्त्रियां गोत्रत्वादेक एव प्रत्यय ॥

1094. When a descendant of the description denoted by Yuvan (IV 1 163 S 1090) is intended to be expressed, a new affix is attached, only after what already ends with an affix marking a descendant as low at least as a grandson (gotra) but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan, and no new affix is added

This is also a niyama or restrictive rule Thus the Yuvan of गार्ग्य is गार्ग्यायण (IV 1 101 S 1103) Similarly वात्स्यायन, दाक्षायण, प्लाक्षायण, औपगवि, नाडायनि ॥

Why do we say "but in the Feminine the word is not termed Yuvan"? Observe दाक्षी which is the Feminine of दाक्षि (Gotra) as well as of दाक्षायण (Yuvan), Similarly प्लाक्षी feminine of प्लाक्षि and प्लाक्षायण ॥ In short, Yuvan affixes are not added in the Feminine, If it is intended to denote a feminine descendant

of the kind Yuvan, the feminine word formed by the Gotra affix will denote such a descendant also

What is here prohibited i e is the term Gotra superseded by the term Yuvan? If it is a *niyama* rule, there will be no *niyama* with regard to the Feminine, as the prohibition is contained in the same sentence Therefore in the feminine, the Yuvan affix will not get the designation of Gotra, because Gotra name is debarred by Yuvan Name Therefore the Sûtra should be divided in two, e, g गोत्राद् यूनि प्रत्ययो भवति (2) ततोऽस्त्रियाम् । (2) After a Gotra formed word a new affix is added in denoting a Yuvan descendant, (2) but not so in the feminine In fact, the name Yuvan is prohibited in the feminine, therefore, the feminine will be known by Gotra always and never by Yuvan

१०९५ । अत इञ् । ४ । १ । ९५ ॥

अदन्तं यत्प्रातिपदिकं तत्प्रकृतिकात्षष्ठ्यन्तादिञ् स्यादपत्येऽर्थे । दाक्षि ॥

1095 The affix इञ comes after a Nominal-stem which ends in short अ, in denoting a descendant

This debars अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) Thus दक्षस्यापत्य=दाक्षि 'a descendant of Daksha'

Note —Why do we say short अ (for this is the force of the letter त् added to अ by I 1 69 and 70 S 14 and 15)? The descendant of शुभया or कीलालपा (words which end in long आ) will not be formed by the affix इञ् ॥

The descendant of दशरथ by this sûtra is दाशरथि, but the form दाशरथ formed by अण् is also met with As "प्रदीयताम् दाशरथाय मैथिली" 'Give Sita to the son of Daśaratha'

१०९६ । बाह्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ९६ ॥

बाहविः । औडुलोमि । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1096 The affix इञ is added in the sense of a descendant, after the words 'bâhu' &c

Thus बाहवि "a descendant of the clan of Bâhu" The words 'Bâhu &c, either do not end in short अ, thus making the last rule inapplicable, or if they end in short अ, then some other rule would have prohibited the application of इञ् ॥ Hence the necessity of the present sûtra So also औडुलोमि ॥

This is a class of words recognizable only by the form (आकृतिगण) ॥

1 बाहु, 2 उपबाहु, 3 उपवाकु, 4 निवाकु, 5 शिवाकु, 6 वटाकु, 7 उपनिन्दु (उपबिन्दु) 8 वृषली, 9 वृकला, 10 चूडा, 11 बलाका, 12 मूषिका, 13 कुशला, 14

भगला (छगला) 15 धुवका, 17 सुमित्रा, 18 दुमित्रा, 19 पुष्करसद्, 20 अनुहरत्, 21 देवशर्मन्, 22 अग्निशर्मन्, 23 भद्रशर्मन्, 24 सुशर्मन्, 25 कुनामन्, 26 सुनामन्, 27 पञ्चन्, 28 सप्तन्, 29 अष्टन्, 30 अमितौजस सलोपश्च, 31 सुधावत्, 32 उदञ्चु, 33 34 माष, 35 शराविन्, 36 मरीची, 37 क्षेमवृद्धिन्, 38 शृङ्खलतोदिन्, 39 खरनादिन्, 40 नगरमर्दिन्, 41 प्राकारमर्दिन्, 42 लोमन्, 43 अजीगर्त, 44 कृष्ण 45 युधिष्ठिर, 46 अर्जुन, 47 साम्ब, 48 गद, 49 प्रद्युम्न, 50 राम, 51 उदङ्क, 52 उदक संज्ञायाम् 53 सम्भूयाम्भसो सलोपश्च, 54 वृक, 55 चूडाल, 56 सलक ॥ आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥ तेन। 57 सात्वकि 58 आङ्गिध 59 ऐन्द्रशर्मि 60 आजधेनवि इत्यादि ॥

Vârt —The words बाहु &c must be Proper Names, being heads of Gotras from whom clans take their name otherwise the affix इञ् will not be applied Thus the son of a private person called बाहु will be बाहव ॥

Vârt —The operations to be effected upon words denoting relation are prohibited with regard to the same word forms when denoting Proper Names Thus the offspring of श्वशुर meaning 'father in law' is श्वशुर्य, but when it means a person called Śvaśura, then the derivative will be श्वाशुरि ॥

Note —The च in the sûtra indicates that other words not included in the list also take this affix Thus जाम्बि, ऐन्द्रशर्मि, आजधेनवि, आजबन्धवि, औडुलोमि ॥

१०९७। सुधातुरकङ् च। ४। १। ९७॥

चादिञ्। सुधातुरपत्यं सौधातकि ॥ व्यासवरुडनिषादचण्डालबिम्बानां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥

1097 The affix इञ् is placed after the word sudhâtṛi in denoting the descendant, and the ऋ of sudhâtṛi is replaced by the substitute अकङ् before this affix

Thus सुधातुरपत्यम्=सौधातकि 'the descendant of Sudhâtṛi'

Vârt —The substitute अकङ् replaces the finals of व्यास वरुड निषाद, चण्डाल and बिम्ब when the Patronymic इञ् is to be added Thus वैयासकि, वारुडकि। नैषादकि, चाण्डालकि, बैम्बकि ॥ In forming these words, the anomalous Vṛiddhi takes place by the following sûtra

१०९८। न य्वाभ्यां पदान्ताभ्यां पूर्वौ तु ताभ्यामैच्। ७। ३। ३॥

पदान्ताभ्यां यकारवकाराभ्यां परस्य न वृद्धिः किंतु ताभ्यां पूर्वौ क्रमादैचावागमौ स्तः वैयासकि। वारुडकिरित्यादि ॥

1098 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is not substituted for the first vowel in a compound, when it follows a word ending in य् or व्,

Why do we say "when a Gotra descendant is to be denoted?" Observe कौञ्जि "the son of Kunja" Here इञ् is added by IV 1 95 S 1095 in denoting an immediate descendant

११०१ । नडादिभ्य फक् । ४ । १ । ९९ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । नाडायन । चारायण । अनन्तरे नाडि ॥

1101 The affix फक् comes, in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the Nominal-stems नड् and the rest

Thus नाडायन (नड + फक् = नाड + आयन VII 2 118 S 1076 and VII 1 2 S 475) Similarly चारायण 'the grandson or a lower descendant of Naḍa or Chara" But the son of नड will be नाडि (IV 1 95)

The word शलङ्कु is changed to शलङ्क before this affix Thus शालङ्कायन ॥ The word शालङ्कि occurs in पैलादि class II 4 59, S 1084 The Yuvan affix is, therefore, elided after it, thus शालङ्कि is a common name for 'father' and 'son' It takes इञ् by IV 1 96, S 1096 as belonging to Bahvadi class which is an Akrti-gaṇa The word अग्निशर्मन् takes फक् when denoting the वृषगण gotra, e g आग्निशर्मायण = वार्ष्यगण्य, otherwise the form will be आग्निशर्मि ॥ The word कृष्ण will form कार्ष्णायन when a Brâhmaṇa is meant, otherwise कार्ष्णि, so also राणायन = वासिष्ठ, otherwise राणि ॥ The word क्रोष्टु is changed to क्रोष्ट as क्रौष्टायन ॥

1 नड, 2 चर (वर) 3 बक, 4 मुञ्ज 5 इतिक, 6 इतिश, 7 उपक, 8 एक, 9 लमक । 10 शलङ्कु शलङ्कं च । 11 सप्तल, 12 वाजप्य, 13 तिक । 14 अग्निशर्मन्वृषगणे । 15 प्राण, 16 नर, 17 सायक, 18 दास 19 मित्र, 20 द्वीप, 21 पिङ्गर, 22 पिङ्गल, 23 किंकर, 24 किङ्कल, 25 कातर, 26 कातल 27 काश्यप (कुश्यप) 28 काश्य 29 काल्य 30 अज, 31 अमुष्य (अमुष्म) 32 कृष्णरणौ ब्राह्मणवासिष्ठे । 33 अमित्र, 34 लिगु, 35 चित्र, 36 कुमार 37 क्रोष्टु क्रोष्ट च, 38 लोह, 39 दुर्ग 40 स्तम्भ, 41 शिंशपा, 42 अग्र, 43 तृण, 44 शकट, 45 सुमनस 46 सुमत 47 मिमत, 48 ऋच्, 49 जलधर, 50 अध्वर 51 युगधर, 52 हंसक, 53 दण्डिन्, 54 हस्तिन्, 55 पिण्ड, 56 पञ्चाल, 57 चमसिन्, 58 सुकृत्य, 59 स्थिरक, 60 ब्राह्मण, 61 चटक, 62 बदर, 63 अश्वल, 64 खरप, 65 लङ्क, 66 इन्ध, 67 अस्र, 68 कामक, 69 ब्रह्मदत्त, 70 उदुम्बर, 71 शोण, 72 अलोह, 73 दण्डप, 74 जतु, 75 अश्वक, 76 वानव्य 77 नाव्य, 78 अन्वजन, 79 अन्तजन, 80 इत्वरा, 81 अशक, 82 थाम, 83 काम, 84 वात ॥

११०२ । हरितादिभ्योऽञ ४ । १ । १०० ॥

एभ्योऽञन्तेभ्यो यूनि फक् । हारितायन । इह गोत्राधिकारेऽपि सामर्थ्याद्यूप्रत्ययम् । नहि गोत्रादपरो गोत्रप्रत्यय । बिदाद्यन्तर्गणो हरितादि ॥

1102 The affix फक् comes (in denoting a yuvan descendant) after the words हरित &c when they end in the affix अञ (IV 1 104)

The words हरित &c form a subdivision of बिद class, which class by IV 1 104 S 1106 takes the affix अञ् in forming Gotra words Thus the Gotra descendant of हरित will be हारित (हरित + अञ्) ॥ The son of हारित will be formed by this sûtra and not by IV 1 95 Thus हारित + फक् = हारितायन "the son of Hârita or the great grandson of Hârita" In fact, the force of the affix फक् of this Sûtra is that of a Yuvan affix, though it is taught in the chapter of Gotra affixes, because according to the general rule IV 1 98 *one* Gotra affix can be only added to a word, and the word हारित being already formed by a Gotra affix अञ् will not take again another Gotra affix फक् ॥ Therefore, फक् is here a Yuvan affix

१९०३ । यञिञोश्च । ४ । १ । १०१ ॥

गोत्रे यौ यञिञौ तदन्तात् फक् स्यात् । अनातीस्युक्तेरापत्यस्येति यलोपो न । गार्ग्यायण । दाक्षायण ॥

1103 The affix फक् is added in denoting a (Yuvan) descendant after a Nominal-stem (denoting a Gotra descendant and) formed by the affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥

The फक of this sûtra has, like that of the preceding sûtra, the force of a Yuvan affix, since it is to be added to words formed by the Gotra affixes यञ् and इञ् ॥ Thus गर्ग + यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) = गार्ग्य ॥ गार्ग्य + फक् = गार्ग्यायण " दक्ष + इञ् = दाक्षि , दाक्षि + फक् = दाक्षायण ॥

It is not every word that ends in यञ् or इञ्, which takes the Yuvan affix फक् but only that word where the affix यञ् or इञ् has the force of a Gotra affix Thus the affix यञ् is added by IV 3 10 S 1380 to denote proximity to a sea As द्वीप + यञ् = द्वैप्य ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥ Similarly by IV 2 80 S 1292 the affix इञ् is added to the words सुतगम &c, the force of the affix being चातुरर्थिक ॥ Thus सौतगमि ॥ This word will not take the affix फक् ॥

११०४ । शरद्वच्छुनकदर्भाद्भृगुवत्साग्रायणेषु । ४ । १ । १०२ ॥

गोत्रे फक् । अञिञोरपवाद । आद्यौ बिदादी । शारद्वतायनो भार्गवश्चेत् । शारद्वतोऽन्य । शौनकायनो वात्स्यश्चेत् । शौनकोऽन्य । दार्भायण आग्रायणश्चेत् । दार्भिरन्य ॥

1104 The affix फक् comes in denoting a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Śaradvat', Śunaka' and

'darbha', when they denote the descendants of Bhṛigu, Vatsa and Âgrâyana respectively

The first two words शरद्वत् and शुनक belong to बिदादि class, and therfore would by IV I 104 S 1106 have taken the affix अञ् in denoting Gotra, the present sûtra prohibits that in certain cases and enjoins फक् instead This debars the affixes अञ् and इञ् ॥ The affix फक् is a Gotra affix here

Thus शारद्वतायन = भार्गव otherwise शारद्वत (formed by अञ्) शौनकायन = वात्स्य, otherwise शौनक, दार्भायण = आग्रायण otherwise दार्भि, formed by इञ् (IV I 95)

१९०५ । द्रोणपर्वतजीवन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १०३ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रे फग् वा । द्रौणायन । द्रौणि । पार्वतायन । पार्वति । जैवन्तायन । जैवन्ति - अनादिरिह द्रोण । अश्वत्थाम्न्यनन्तरे तूपचारात् ॥

1105 The affix फक् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, optionally after the words 'Drona,' 'Parvata,' and 'Jîvanta'

This debars इञ् of IV I 95 Thus द्रौणायन or द्रौणि, पार्वतायन or पार्वति, जैवन्तायन or जैवन्ति ॥

The affix फक् is employed in denoting a remote (gotra) offspring and not an immediate descendant or son How is then अश्वत्थामा the son of Drona, called द्रौणायन and not द्रौणिः in the phrase "अश्वत्थामा द्रौणायनः"? The द्रोण here does not refer to the Drona of the Mahabhârât, but to some ancient founder of a clan of that name, and his descedants were called द्रौणायना ॥ In modern times, by an easy error, Aśvatthâmâ was called Draunâyana, owing to the similarity of sounds.

११०६ । अनृष्यानन्तर्ये बिदादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । १ । १०४ ॥

एभ्योऽञ् गोत्रे ये त्वत्रानृषयस्तेभ्य अनन्तरे । सूत्रे स्वार्थे ष्यञ् । बिदस्य गोत्रापत्यं बैदः । अनन्तरो बैदि । बाह्वादेराकृतिगणत्वादिञ् । पुत्रस्यापत्यं पौत्र । दौहित्र ॥

1106 The affix अञ् comes after the words 'Bida' &c, in denoting a remoter (Gotra) descendant but after those words of this class which are not the names of ancient sages, the affix अञ् has the force of denoting an immediate descendant

The word ânantarya in the sutra is formed by the affix ष्यञ् without changing the sense In fact आनन्तर्य is equal to अनन्तर 'an immediate descendant" Thus the Gotra descendant of Bida will be बैद, but the immediate descendant will be बैदि formed by इञ् of IV 1 96 S 1096, as it belongs to Bâhvâdi class which is an Akritigana Similarly the son of a son (putra) will be पौत्र ॥ So also दौहित्र ॥

Note —This Sutra consists of four words अनृषि "non-Rishi or not being the name of a sage", आनन्तर्ये 'in expressing an *immediate* descendant" बिदादिभ्य "after Bidâdi words" अञ् "the affix अञ्' Thus of the words falling in Bidadi class, the words like पुत्र 'son,' दुहित्र daughter,' ननान्दृ 'sister in law' are common nouns and not names of Rishis When the affix अञ् is added to these words, it has the force of denoting the immediate descendant Thus पुत्र + अञ् = पौत्र 'grand son' दुहितृ + अञ् = दौहित्र "daughter's son' But when added to other words which express the names of Rishis, the affix अञ् makes the Gotra descendants Thus बिद + अञ् = बैद 'the grandson or a descendant lower than that, of Bida '

How in a context relating to Gotra affixes we come to this two fold meaning of this sûtra ? To this we reply, that the phrase अनृष्यानन्तर्ये should be thus construed The word 'anrishi' is in the ablative case, the case affix being elided The word आनन्तर्य is the same as अनन्तर, the affix ष्यञ् being added without change of significance Therefore the words like पौत्र &c denote the *immediate* (anantara) descendants of पुत्र &c, and do not denote a remote descendant (gotra), nor a descendant in general Therefore, the above phrase means —'after a Bidâdi word which is not the name of a Rishi, the affix 'añ' is added in denoting an *immediate* descendant'

In denoting an immediate descendant or a descendant in general, the Rishi words बिद &c, will take other appropriate affixes Thus बिद forms बैदि 'a descendant of Bida' by IV 1 96 S 1096 इञ् and not by ऋष्यण् of IV 1 114, because बिद is supposed to belong to the Akritigana of Bâhvâdi

1 बिद, 2 उर्व, 3 कश्यप, 4 कुशिक 5 भरद्वाज 6 उपमन्यु, 7 किलात, 8 कन्दर्प (किदर्भ) 9 विश्वानर, 10 ऋष्टिषेण (ऋष्टिषेण) 11 ऋतभाग, 12 हर्यश्व, 13 प्रियक, 14 आपस्तम्ब, 15 कूचवार, 16 शरद्वत्, 17 शुनक (शुनक्) 18 धेनु, 19 गोपवन, 20 शिग्रु, 21 बिन्दु, 22 भोगक, 23 भाजन, 24 शमिक, 25 अश्वावतान, 26 श्यामक, 27 श्यानक, 28 श्यावलि, 29 श्यापर्णा, 30 हरित, 31 किदास, 32 बह्यस्क 33 अर्कजूष (अर्कलूक) 34 बध्योग, 35 विष्णु, 36 वृद्ध, 37 प्रतिबोध, 38 रचित, 39 रथीतर (रथन्तर) 40 गविष्ठिर, 41 निषाद, 42 शबर, 43 अलस, 44 मठर, 45 मृडाकु, 46 सृपाकु, 47 मृदु, 48 पुनर्भू, 49 पुत्र, 50 दुहितृ, 51 ननान्दृ। 52 परस्त्री परशु च। 53 किलालप, 54 सम्बक् श्यायक ॥

The word परस्त्री in the above list is replaced by परशु when taking the affix अञ् ॥ Thus परस्त्रिया अपत्यं = पारशव (the son of a Brāhmaṇa begotten on a Sudra woman, who though married to the Brāhmaṇa is परस्त्री 'a strange woman' owing to the great difference of race)

The word परस्त्री occurs in अनुशतिकादि (VII 3 20 S 1438) and कल्याण्यादि (IV 1 126 S 1131) classes also Therefore when the sense is 'a son begotten on another's wife' who is also called परस्त्री, the form will be पारस्त्रैणेय with double vriddhi of both members by VII 3 20 S 1438, which does not take place in the पारशव ॥

१९०७ । गर्गादिभ्यो यञ् । ४ । १ । १०५ ॥

गोत्र इत्येव । गार्ग्य । वात्स्य ॥

1107 The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words 'Garga' &c

Thus गार्ग्य, 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Garga', so also वात्स्य &c

गर्ग, 2 वत्स, । 3 वाजासे । 4 संस्कृति, 5 अज, 6 व्याघ्रपात्, 7 विदभृत्, 8 प्राचीनयोग, 9 अगस्ति, 10 पुलस्ति, 11 चमस 12 रेभ 13 अग्निवेश, 14 शङ्ख, 15 शट, 16 शक, 17 एक, 18 धूम, 19 अवट, 20 मनस्, 21 धनञ्जय, 22 वृक्ष, 23 विश्वावसु, 24 जरमाण 25 लोहित, 26 शसित, 27 बभ्रु, 28 वल्गु 29 मण्डु, 30 गण्डु, 31 शङ्कु 32 लिगु, 33 गुहलु 34 मन्तु 35 मङ्क्षु 36 अलिगु, 37 जिगीषु, 38 मनु, 39 तन्तु 40 मनायी, 41 सूनु 42 कथक, 43 कन्थक, 44 ऋक्ष, 45 तृक्ष (वृक्ष) 46 तनु 47 तरुक्ष, 48 तलुक्ष, 49 तण्ड, 50 वतण्ड, 51 कपिकत, 52 कत 53 कुरुकत, 54 भूत, 55 कुरुकत, 56 अनडुह, 57 कवि, 58 पुरुकुत्स, 59 शक्ति 60 कण्व, 61 शकल, 62 गोकक्ष, 63 अगस्त्य, 64 कुण्डिनी, 65 यज्ञवल्क, 66 पर्णवल्क, 67 अभयजात, 68 विरोहित 69 वृषगण, 70 रहूगण, 71 शण्डिल, 72 वर्णक (चणक) 73 चुलुक, 74 मुद्गल, 75 मुसल, 76 जमदग्नि, 77 पराशर, 78 जतूकर्ण, (जातूकर्ण) 79 महित, 80 मन्त्रित, 81 अश्मरथ 82 शर्कराक्ष 83 पूतिमाष, 84 स्थूरा, 85 अदरक (अररक) 86 एलाक, 87 पिङ्गल, 88 कृष्ण, 89 गोलन्द, 90 उलूक, 91 तितिक्ष, 92 भिषज (भिषज्) 93 भिष्णज, 94 भडित, 95 भण्डित 96 दल्भ, 97 चेकित, 98 चिकित्सित, 99 देवहू, 100 इन्द्रहू, 101 एकलू, 102 पिप्पल, 103 बृहदग्नि, 104 सुलोहिन्, 105 सुलाभिन् 106 उक्थ, 107 कुटीगु, 108 सहित, 109 पथ, 110 कन्थु 111 भुव, 112 कर्कटक, 113 हस्त 114 प्रचुल, 115 विलम्ब, 116 विष्णुज ॥

Note —The word मनु is found in the लोहितादि sublist of this class It ought to take ष्फ after यञ् in the feminine by IV 1 18, S 476, how then the form मानवी

in मानवी प्रजा ? The affix अञ् comes in denoting a Gotra offspring, but in denoting a descendant in general, this affix will not come, and hence no shpha also If so, then why the immediate descendant of जमदग्नि is called जामदग्न्य which is a name of Parasûram the son of Jamadagni or why Vyâsa the son of Parâsara is called पाराशर्य ? These are exceptions formed by गोत्ररूपाध्यारोप i e by superimposing of Gotra form on these Their proper apatya forms are by ऋष्यण् (IV 1 114 S 1117) i e जामदग्न and पाराशर ॥ In forming the plural of गार्ग्य the following rule applies —

११०८। यञञोश्च। २। ४। ६४॥

गोत्रे यदञन्तमञन्तं च तदवयवयोरेतयोर्लुक्स्यात्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । गर्गाः । वत्साः । बिदाः । ऊर्वाः । तत्कृते इति किम् । प्रियगार्ग्याः । स्त्रियां तु गार्ग्यः स्त्रियः । गोत्रे किम् । द्वैप्याः । औत्साः । प्रवराध्यायप्रसिद्धमिह गोत्रम् । तेनेह न । पौत्राः । दौहित्राः ॥

1108 And there is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) and अञ् (IV 1 104 S 1106) when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another, takes the plural, but not in the feminine

गर्ग+यञ्=गार्ग्य , plural गर्गाः 'the male Gotra descendants of Garga' So also वत्साः 'the male Gotra descendants of Vatsa', the singular being, वात्स्य ॥ Similarly, बिद+अञ्=बैद (IV 1 104 S 1106), plural बिदाः, similarly और्व singular, ऊर्वाः plural

Why do we say tat krite bahutve when the plural is of that word alone' ? But these affixes are not elided when the word forms part of a Bahuvrîhi compound Thus, प्रियगार्ग्याः 'those to whom Gârgya is beloved,' प्रियबैदाः 'those to whom Baida is beloved' Here the Plural is not of the word Gârgya, but of those who love Gârgya

These affixes will not be elided in the feminine Thus, गार्ग्यः is the feminine plural of गार्गी ॥

Why do we say "when these denote Gotra descendants"? Otherwise there will be no elision Thus द्वीप+अञ्=द्वैप्य 'living on the island,' plural द्वैप्याः, here the affix अञ् is not elided as it does not denote a Gotra So उत्स+अञ्=औत्स 'the pupil of Utsa,' plural औत्साः ॥ Here the Gotra is taken in the sense of a founder of a class, Pravara, i e what is read in pravara list and is not a Grammatical Gotra Hence this अञ is not elided in पौत्राः, दुहित्राः ॥

१९०९ । मधुबभ्रोर्ब्राह्मणकौशिकयो । ४ । १ । १०६ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् । माधव्यो ब्राह्मण । माधवोऽन्य । बाभ्रव्य । कौशिकऋषि । बाभ्रवोऽन्य । बभ्रुशब्दस्य गार्गादिपाठात्सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । गर्गादिपाठफल तु लोहितादिकार्थायम । बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

1109 The affix यञ् comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words मधु and बभ्रु, when the words so formed mean 'a Brâhmana' and 'a Kausika' respectively

Thus माधव्य = ब्राह्मण 'Brâhmana' Otherwise माधव "son of Madhu" बाभ्रव्य = कौशिक Rishi Otherwise बाभ्रव ॥

The word बभ्रु belongs to the Gargâdi class, so it would have taken yañ by the last sûtra also The present sûtra declares a niyama or restriction, viz बभ्रु takes यञ् then only when कौशिक is denoted Its being read in the Gargâdi class serves another purpose as it belongs to the sub class लोहितादि, the rule IV 1 18 S 476 becomes applicable to it, so that its feminine is formed by ष्फ ॥ Thus बाभ्रव्यायणी ॥

Note —In fact, it would have been better, if in the body of the Ganapâtha, instead of writing बभ्रु alone, there was बभ्रु कौशिके ॥ It would have saved the repetition of it in the present sûtra

१९१० । कपिबोधादाङ्गिरसे । ४ । १ । १०७ ॥

गोत्रे यञ् स्यात् । काप्य । बौध्य । आङ्गिरसे किम् । कापेय । बौधि ॥

1110 The affix यञ् comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words कपि and बोध, when the special descendants of the family of Angiras are meant.

Thus कपि + यञ् = काप्य 'the grand-son or a still lower descendant of 'Kapi' of the family of Angiras' So also बौध्य ॥

Why do we say of the family of Angiras? Observe कापेय (IV 1 122 S 1125) 'the gotra descendant of Kapi" so also बौधि formed by इञ् because it is a Non-Rishi word or because it belongs to Bâhvâdi (IV 1 96 S 1096) class

Note —The word कपि occurs in Gargâdi class The present sûtra declares a restriction i e the 'yañ' is to be applied only when Angirasa descendant is meant It is included in the Gargâdi class also for the purpose of applying IV 1 18 S 476 Thus काप्यायनी "grand-daughter or a still lower descendant of Kapi"

१११९ । वतण्डाच्च । ४ । १ । १०८ ॥

आङ्गिरस इत्येव । वातण्ड्य । अनाङ्गिरसे तु गर्गादौ शिवादौ च पाठाद्यञणौ । वातण्ड्य वातण्ड ॥

1111 The affix 'यञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant after the word 'वातण्ड,' when meaning a descendant, of Angirasa

Thus वातण्ड्य = आङ्गिरस, otherwise वातण्ड ॥

The word वतण्ड occurs both in the Gargâdi class (IV 1 105 S 1107) and in the Sivâdi class (IV 1 112 S 1115) It would have taken both affixes यञ् and अण ॥ The present sutra declares that when it means an Angirasa than वतण्ड will not take अण् of the शिवादि class and when it does not mean Angirasa, then it takes both those affixes e g वातण्ड्य and वातण्ड any decendant of Vâtanda

१११२ । लुक् स्त्रियाम् । ४ । १ । १०९ ॥

वतण्डाच्चेति विहितस्य लुक् स्यात् स्त्रियाम् । शार्ङ्गरवादित्वात् ङीन् । वतण्डी । अनाङ्गिरसे तु वातण्ड्यायनी । लोहितादित्वात् ष्फ । अणि तु वातण्डी । ऋषित्वाद्वक्ष्यमाण ष्यङ् न ॥

1112 The affix 'यञ्' is luk-elided in the feminine after the word 'वतण्डी' when meaning a female descendant of Angirasa

Thus from वतण्ड we get वातण्ड्य in the masculine As the word belongs to Sarangaravâdi class it takes ङीन् in the feminine by IV 1 73

In the feminine the यञ् is elided by luk, and we have वातण्ड्य + ङीन् (IV 1 73 S 527) = वतण्डी "a female descendant of Vatanda of the clan Angirasa" Why do we say "of Angirasa ?" Observe वातण्ड्यायनी formed with 'shpha' under lohitâdi rule (IV 1 18 S 476) When वतण्ड takes अण् under Sivâdi class, its feminine is वातण्डी ॥ Though the word is formed with अङ्, yet in the feminine, there is not ष्यङ् substitution (IV 1 78 S 1198), because Vatanda is a Rishi-Name

१११३ । अश्वादिभ्य फञ् । ४ । १ । ११० ॥

गोत्रे । आश्वायन ॥ पुंसि जाते * ॥ पुंसीति तु प्रकृतिविशेषणम् । जातस्य गोत्रापत्य जातायन । पुंसीति किम् । जाताया अपत्य जातेय ॥

1113 The affix 'फञ्' comes, in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the words अश्व &c

The anuvritti of āngirasa does not extend to this aphorism Thus अश्व + फञ् = अश्व + आयन (VII 1 2 S 475) = आश्वायन (VII 2 17 S 1075) 'the grandson or a still lower descendant of Asva'

Note —Similarly आश्मायन ॥ There are some words in this class which already have taken a patronymic affix, e g आत्रेय, बैल्व, and आनडुह्य ॥ After these words the affix फञ् of course has the force of a Yuvan affix The word आत्रेय is formed by अत्रि + ढक् (IV 1 I 122 S 1125) बैल्व = बिलि (a Rishi) + ण्यङ् (IV 1 171 S 1189), and आनडुह्य = अनडुह + यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1107) The word शाय takes phañ only when it denotes an Atreya, as शायायन otherwise शायि, with इञ् or शाय with अण् ॥

Vârtika —The word जात takes 'phañ' only when the offspring of a male is to be denoted as जातस्यापत्य = जातायन but जाताया अपत्य = जातेयः with ढक ॥

The word आत्रेय takes 'phañ' when denoting a Bhâradvâja as आत्रेयायन, otherwise it will take the affix इञ्, which will be elided by II 4 28, S 3 09 leaving the form आत्रेय ॥

The words भारद्वाज आत्रेय of the above list mean that when a person born in Atri Gotra is adopted by a person belonging to Bhâradvaja Gotra, then the affix is to be added he of course is an Atreya but gets a new Gotra of Bhâradvaja Thus भारद्वाजायन, otherwise the form will be भारद्वाज with अञ् of IV 1 104

1 अश्व 2 अश्मन् 3 शङ्ख 4 शूद्रक 5 विद 6 पुट 7 रोहिण 8 खर्जूर (खजूर) 9 खरजार 10 बस्त 11 पिञ्जूल 12 भण्डिल 13 भडिल 14 भण्डित 15 भडित 16 प्रकृत 17 रामोद 18 चान्त 19 काश 20 तीक्ष्ण 21 गोलाक 22 अर्क 23 स्वर 24 स्फुट 25 चक्र 26 श्रविष्ठ 27 पविन्द 28 पवित्र 29 गोमिन् 30 श्याम 31 धूम 32 धूम्र 33 वाग्मिन् 34 विश्वानर 35 कुट 36 शप आत्रेये 37 जन 38 जड 39 खड 40 ग्रीष्म 41 अर्ह 42 कित 43 विशप 44 विशाल 45 गिरि 46 चपल 47 चुप 48 दासक 49 वैल्व 50 (बैल्व) प्राच्य 54 धर्म्य 52 आनडुह्य 53 पुंसि जाते 54 अर्जुन 56 सुमनस् 57 दुर्मनस 58 मन 59 (मनस्) प्रान्त 60 ध्वन 61 आत्रेय भरद्वाजे 62 भरद्वाज आत्रेये 63 उत्स 64 आतव 65 कितव 66 वद 67 धन्य 68 पाद 69 शिव् 70 खदिर 71 भण्डिक 72 ग्रीवा 73 कुन 74 काण 75 नड 76 ग्रीष्य, 77 वह, 78 खेड, 79 नक्त 80 ओजस, 81 नम ॥

१११४ । भर्गात्त्रैगर्ते । ४ । १ । १११ ॥

गोत्रे फञ् । भार्गायणस्त्रैगर्त । भार्गिरन्य ॥

1114 The affix 'फञ्' comes in the sense of a Gotra descendant, after the word भर्ग, when the meaning is a Traigarta

Thus भार्गायण = त्रैगर्त , otherwise भार्गि (IV 1 95 S 1095)

१११५ । शिवादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । १ । ११२ ॥

गोत्र इति निवृत्तम् । शिवस्यापत्य शैव । गाङ्ग । पक्षे तिकादित्वात् फिञ् । गाङ्गायनि । शुभ्रादित्वाड्ढक । गाङ्गेय ॥

1115 The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words शिव &c

The anuvritti of the word गोत्रे (IV 1 98 S 1099) does not extend this sutra The affixes taught hereafter are generic patronymic affixes The affix अण् debars इञ् &c Thus शिव + अण् = शैव 'a descendant of Śiva'

Note —The word तक्षन् 'a carpenter' occurs in this class Being a common noun denoting an artisan, it would have taken the affix इण् by IV 1 153, the present sutra prevents that It does not, however, prevent the application of ण्य ordained by IV 1 152 S 1176 Thus तक्षन् + अण् = ताक्षण ॥ तक्षन् + ण्य = ताक्ष्ण्य ॥ The अ is elided by VI 4 134

The word गङ्गा occurs in this class, as well as in the Śubhrâdi class (IV 1 123 S 1126) and the Tikâdi (IV 1 154 S 1178) There are thus three forms of this word —गाङ्ग , गाङ्गायनि with फिञ् and गाङ्गेय with ढक् ॥

The word विपाशा occurs in this class as well as in the Kuñjâdi class (IV 1 98 S 1099) It has thus two forms वैपाश and वैपाशायन्य with chphañ

The affix अण् will come after a word consisting of two syllables, when it is the name of a river the affix ढक् (IV 1 121 S 1124) would have debarred the तस्मामिक अण् of (IV 1 113 1116) in case of patronymics formed from river names However it is not so, because of this prohibition The Patronymic from the river name त्रिवेणी would be formed by अण् (IV 1 113 S 1116), as त्रैवेण but this is replaced by त्रिवण ।

1 शिव 2 प्रोष्ठ 3 प्रोष्ठिक 4 चण्ड 5 जम्भ 6 भूरि 7 दण्ड 8 कुठार 9 ककुभ् (ककुभा) 10 अनभिम्लान 11 कोहित 12 सुख 13 सन्धि 14 मुनि 15 ककुत्स्थ 16 कहोड 17 कोहड 18 कहूय 19 कहय 20 रोध 21 कपिञ्जल (कुपिञ्जल) 22 खञ्जन 23 वतण्ड 24 तृणकर्ण 25 क्षीरह्रद 26 जलह्रद 27 परिल 28 पथिक 29 पिष्ट 30 हैहय 31 पार्षिका 32 गोपिका 33 कपिलिका 34 जटिलिका 35 बधिरिका 36 मञ्जीरक 37 38 मञ्जिरक 39 वृष्णिक 40 खञ्जार 41 खञ्जाल 42 कमार 43 रेख 44 लेख 45 आलेखन 46 विश्रवण 47 रवण 48 वर्तनाक्ष 49 ग्रीवाक्ष 50 विटप 51 पिटक 52 पिटाक 53 तृक्षाक 54 नभाक 55 ऊर्णनाभ 56 जरत्कारु 57 पृथा 58 उत्क्षेप 59 पुरोहितिका 60 सुरोहितिका 61 सुरोहिका

62 आर्यश्वेत (अर्यश्वेत) 63 सुपिष्ट 64 मसुरकर्ण 65 मयूरकर्ण 66 खर्जुरकर्ण 67 खदूरक 68 तक्षन् 69 ऋष्टिषेण 70 गगा 71 विपाश 72 यस्क 73 लह्य 74 द्रुह्य 75 अय स्थूण 76 तृणकर्ण (तृण कर्ण) 77 पर्ण 78 भलन्दन 79 विरूपाक्ष 80 भूमि 81 इला 82 सपत्नी 83 द्व्यचो नद्या 84 त्रिवेणी त्रिवण च ॥ 85 गोफिलिक, 86 रोहितिक 87 कबोध 88 गोभिलिक, 89 राजल, 90 तडाक, 91 वडाक 92 परल ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

१११६। अवृद्धाभ्यो नदीमानुषीभ्यस्तन्नामिकाभ्य । ४ । १ । ११३ ॥

अवृद्धेभ्यो नदीमानुषीनामभ्योऽण् स्यात् । ढकोऽपवाद । यामुन । नार्मद । चिन्तिताया अपत्य चैन्तित । अवृद्धेभ्य किम् । वासवदत्तेय । नद्यादि किम् । वैनतेय । तन्नामिकाभ्य किम् । शोभनाया अपत्य शौभनेय ॥

1116 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after words which are the names of rivers, or women, when such words are not Vriddham words, and when they are used as names and not as adjectives

ढक (IV 1 120 S 1123) is the general affix by which patronymics are formed from feminine bases The present sutra is an exception to that

Note —The word Vriddham in the sutra, does not mean the technical Patronymic of that name as defined in other Grammars and used in Sutras like IV 1 166, S 1092 but means the Vriddham as defined in this Grammar i e a word whose first syllable is a Vriddhi letter (1 1 73 S 523) The word अवृद्धाभ्य shows the *orthography* of the word to which the affix is to be added The word नदीमानुषीभ्य declares the *meaning* of that word and both attributes refer to one and the same base i e orthographically the base should have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable, and etymologically it should denote a man or a river The word तन्नामिकाभ्य applies both to the base and the affix

Thus यमुना—यामुन 'a son of the Yamunâ नार्मद 'son of the Narmadâ' These are all *names* of rivers Similary चैन्तित 'son of चिन्तिता' ॥

Why do we say 'when not a Vṛiddha word'? Observe वासवदत्तेय formed by ढक (IV 1 120 S 1123) Why do we say being 'names of *rivers* or *women*' Observe वैनतेय ॥ Why do we say "when it is a *name*?" Observe शोभनाया अपत्य=शौभनेय "the son of a beautiful woman'

१११७। ऋष्यन्धकवृष्णिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ११४ ॥

ऋषयो मन्त्रद्रष्टार । वासिष्ठ । वैश्वामित्र । अन्धकेभ्य, श्वाफल्क । वृष्णिभ्य वासुदेव । आनिरुद्ध । शौरिरिति तु बाह्वादित्वादिञ् । कुरुभ्य, नाकुल । साहदेव । इञ एवायमपवादो मध्येपवाद न्यायात् । अत्रिशब्दात्तु परत्वाड्ढक् । आत्रेय ।

1117 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem danoting the name of a Rishi, or the name of a person of the family of Ándhaka, Vrishni, and Kuru

This debars the affix इञ् ॥ The Rishis are like Vasishtha, Viśvâmitra &c Thus वासिष्ठ वैश्वामित्र ॥ So also श्वाफल्क, रान्धस being persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, and वासुदेव, आनिरुद्ध being persons belonging to the family of Vrishni The word शौरि however, is formed by इञ् because it belongs to Bâhvâdi class And नाकुल, साहदेव being persons belonging to the family of Kuru

This sûtra debars इञ् only, on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद ॥ The word अत्रि is the name of a Rishi, in forming its Patronymic, the present sûtra enjoins अण्, but IV 1 122 S 1125 enjoins ढक्, thus there being a conflict, we apply the maxim of interpretation contained in I 4 2 So that the Patronymic of अत्रि will be formed not by अण् but by ढक ॥ Thus आत्रेय ॥

Similarly उग्रसेन a person of Andhaka family, forms its patronymic औग्रसेन्य IV 1 152 by ण्य, and not by अण्, so also वैष्वक्सेन्य 'son of Vaishvaksena' a person of Vrishni family, so also भैमसेन्य 'son of Bhîmasena' a person of Kuru family

१११८ । मातुरुत्सङ्ख्यासभद्रपूर्वाया. । ४ । १ । ११५ ॥

सङ्ख्यादिपूर्वस्य मातृशब्दस्योदादेश स्यादण्प्रत्ययश्च । द्वैमातुर । सामातुर । षाण्मातुर । भाद्रमातुर । आदेशार्थ वचन, प्रत्ययस्तूत्सर्गेण सिद्ध । स्त्रीलिङ्गनिर्देशोऽर्थापत्त । तेन धान्यमातुर्न । सङ्ख्येति किम् । सौमात्र । शुभ्रादित्वाद्वैमात्रेय ॥

1118 The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word mâtri when it is preceded by a Numeral, or by the words सम् or भद्र, and the letter उ is substituted for the final ऋ of mâtri,

Thus from द्विमातृ we have द्वैमातुर "the son of two mothers i e the son of one and adopted by another" (द्विमातृ + अण् = द्वैमात् + उ + अ = द्वैमात् + उ + र् + अ I 1 51 S 70) Similarly षाण्मातुर, सामातुर and भाद्रमातुर ॥

This sûtra is made in order to teach the substitution of short उ for the ऋ of मातृ for the word मातृ would have taken the affix अण by the general rule IV 1 83 S 1073 The sûtra contains the word पूर्वाया in the feminine gender, showing by implication that the rule applies where the word मातृ denotes a female

Thus सम्मिमीते = समातृ 'he who measures together' Its patronymic will be सामात्र 'son of a fellow-measurer', because here the word मातृ does not mean 'mother', but a 'measure'

Nor the word धान्यमातृ 'barley measurer' will be affected by this rule Why do we say "when preceded by a Numeral &c" Observe सौमात्र 'son of Sumatri' The word वैमात्रेय is formed by IV 1 123 S 1126 as belonging to Śubhrâdi class

११११९ । कन्यायाः कनीन च । ४ । १ । ११६ ॥

ढकोऽपवादोऽण् तत्सन्नियोगेन कनीनादेशश्च । कानीनो व्यासः कर्णश्च । अनूढाया एवापत्यमित्यर्थः ॥

1119 The affix अण् comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कन्या, and when this affix is added, कनीन is the substitute of 'kanyâ'

Thus कन्याया अपत्य = कानीन 'the son of a virgin' viz Karna or Vyâsa This debars the ढक् of IV 1 121

Note —The word कन्या means 'a virgin' the son of a virgin is produced by immaculate conception मुनिदेवतामाहात्म्याद् या पुयोगेऽपि न कन्यात्वं जहाति, यथा कुन्ती, यथा सत्यवती ॥

११२० । विकर्णशुङ्गच्छगलाद्वत्सभरद्वाजात्रिषु । ४ । १ । ११७ ॥

अपत्येऽण् । वैकर्णो वात्स्यः । वैकर्णिरन्यः । शौङ्गो भारद्वाजः । शौङ्गिरन्यः । छागल आत्रेयः । छागलिरन्यः । केचित्तु शुङ्गेत्याबन्तं पठन्ति तेषां ढक् प्रत्युदाहरणम् । शौङ्गेयः ॥

1120 The affix अण् comes after the words विकर्ण, शुङ्ग, and छगल, when the sense is a descendant of the family of Vatsa, Bharadvâja and Atri respectively

Thus वैकर्ण = वात्स्य otherwise वैकर्णि ॥ शौङ्ग = भारद्वाज, otherwise शौङ्गि ॥ छागल = आत्रेय, otherwise छागलि ॥

In some texts the word शुङ्गा ending with the feminine affix चाप् is used and not शुङ्ग ॥ The former being a feminine word, its Patronymic will be शौङ्गेय, by IV 1 120 S 1123 when it does not mean a descendant of भरद्वाज ॥

११२१ । पीलाया वा । ४ । १ । ११८ ॥

तस्मात्त्रिकाण बाधित्वा द्व्यचइति ढकि प्राप्ते पक्षेऽण् विधीयते । पीलाया अपत्यं पैलः । पैलेयः ॥

1121 The affix अण् comes optionally after the word पीला in denoting a descendant

The word पीला being the name of a female would have taken अण् by IV 1 113 S 1116, but this अण् would have been prohibited by IV 1 121 S 1124 as it is a dissyllabic feminine word Hence the necessity of the present sutra Thus पैल or पैलेय 'son of Pila"

१११२ । ढक् च मण्डूकात् । ४ । १ ११६ ॥

चादण्। पचे इञ्। माण्डूकेय । माण्डूक । माण्डूकि ॥

1122 The affix ढक् comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the word मण्डूक as well as the affix अण् ॥

Thus we get three forms, मण्डुक + ढक् = माडुकेय , मडूक + अण् = माण्डूक मण्डूक + इञ् = माण्डूकि (IV 1 95)

११२३ । स्त्रीभ्यो ढक् । ४ । १ । १२० ॥

स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तेभ्यो ढक स्यात् । वेनतेय । बाह्वादित्वात्सौमित्रि । शिवादित्वात्सापत्न ॥

1123 The words ending in a feminine affix take the affix ढक् in forming their Patronymic

The word स्त्री in the aphorism means 'words ending in the feminine affixes टाप् &c,' That is, words ending in long आ and ई of the feminine Thus विनता + ढक् = वैनतेय (IV 1 2 S 183) So also सौपर्णेय "the son of Virata or Suparni" But the son of सुमित्रा will be सौमित्रि as it belongs to Bâhvâdi class (IV 1 96 S 1096) Similarly the son of सपत्नि will be सापत्न as it belongs to Śivâdi class (IV 1 112 S 1115)

But ऐडबिड and दारद formed by अण् meaning sons of इडबिड and दरद, for though these words are feminine, they do not *end in feminine affixes*

The affix ढक् comes after वडवा when meaning वृष ॥ Thus वाडवेय = वृष "bull" Here 'dhak' has not the patronymic force The patronymic will be वाडव 'the son of a mare'

The feminine words क्रुञ्चा and कोकिला take the affix अण् in forming the patronymic Thus क्रौञ्च "the son of a curlew" कौकिल 'the son of a cuckoo'

११२४ । द्व्यचः । ४ । १ । १२१ ॥

द्व्यचः स्त्रीप्रत्ययान्तादपत्ये ढक् । तन्नामिकाणोऽपवादः । दात्तेय । पार्थ इत्यत्र तु तस्येदमित्यण् ॥

1124 The affix 'dhak' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word ending in a feminine affix and consisting of two vowels

This debars the अण् of IV 1 113 S 1116

Thus दत्ताया अपत्य = दात्तेय 'the son of Dattâ' But the son of पृथा is however, पार्थ by अण् of IV 3 120 S 1500

Note —Why do we say 'having two vowels?' Observe यामुन "son of यमुना', which is a trisyllabic word and not disyllabic

११२५। इतश्चानिञः। ४। १। १२२ ॥

इकारान्ताद् द्व्यचोऽपत्ये ढक् स्यात् न त्विञन्तात्। दैलेय। नैधेय ॥

1125 The affix 'ढक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a dissyllabic Nominal-stem ending in short इ, but not, however, after a word ending in the patronymic affix इञ् ॥

The anuvritti of 'strî' does not extend to this aphorism The force of the word च in the sûtra is to draw the anuvritti of the word द्व्यच of the last sutra Thus दैलेय 'the son of Duli' नैधेय 'the son of निधि' ॥

Note —Why do we say "after a word ending in short इ"? Observe दाक्षि "the son of दक्ष" ॥ Here दक्ष though a dissyllabic word, yet ends in अ ॥

Note —Why do we say 'not ending in the patronymic affix इञ्'? Observe दाक्षायण 'the son of दाक्षि' ॥ Here though दाक्षि is a dissyllabic word ending in short इ, it does not take the affix ढक् for इ here is the affix इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095), so also प्लाक्षायन ॥ Why do we say having two vowels'? Observe मारीच 'son of मरीचि" ॥

११२६। शुभ्रादिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १२३ ॥

ढक् स्यात्। शुभ्रस्यापत्यं शौभ्रेय ॥

1126 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the stems शुभ्र &c

Thus शुभ्रस्यापत्य = शौभ्रेय ॥

Note —This debars इञ् and other affixes The word च in the sutra shows that some words not occurring in the list of शुभ्रादि may take the ढक् as it is an

आकृतिगण ॥ For though the words गंगा पाडव are not in the list, we find still forms like गागेय, पाण्डवेय &c

1 शुभ्र 2 विष्ट पुर (विष्टपुर) 3 ब्रह्मकृत, 4 शतद्वार, 5 शलाथल, (शलाचल) 6 शलाकाभ्रू, 7 लेखाभ्रू, (लेखाभ्र), 8 विकसा, (विकास), 9 रोहिणी, 10 रुक्मणी, 11 धर्मिणी, 12 दिशु, 13 शालूक 14 अजवस्ति 15 शकाधि, 16 विमातृ, 17 विधवा, 18 शुक 19 विश 20 देवतर 21 शकुनि, 22 शुक्र, 23 उग्र 24 शातल (शतल) 25 बन्धकी, 26 सृकण्डु 27 विसि 28 अतिथि 29 गोदन्त, 30 कुशाम्ब, 31 मकष्टु, 32 शाताहर 33 पवष्टुरिक 34 सुनामन् 35 लक्ष्मणश्यामयोर्वासिष्ठे। 36 गोधा, 37 कृकलास, 38 अणीव, 39 प्रवाहण, 40 भरत (भारत) 41 भरम, 42 मृकण्डु, 43 कर्पूर, 44 इतर, 45 अन्यतर, 46 आलीढ 47 सुदन्त, 48 सुदक्ष 49 सुवक्षस्, 50 सुदामन्, 51 कद्रू, 52 तुद, 53 अकशाय 54 कुमारिका, 55 कुठारिका, 56 किशोरिका, 57 अम्बिका, 58 जिह्माशिन् 59 परिधि, 60 वायुदत्त, 61 शकल, 62 शलाका, 63 खडूर, 64 कुबेरिका, 65 अशोका, 66 गन्धपिङ्गला, 67 खडोन्मत्ता, 68 अनुदृष्टिन्, (अनुदृष्टि) 69 जरतिन्, 70 बलिवर्दिन्, 71 विम, 72 बीज, 73 जीव, 74 श्वन्, 75 अश्मन्, 76 अश्व, 77 अजिर 78 शातावर, 79 शलाका, 80 कृकसा, 81 भरत, 82 मद्यष्टु, 83 ककल, 84 स्थूल, 85 मकशु, 86 यमष्टु, 87 कष्टु 88 मृकण्ड, 89 शुद 90 रुद, 91 कुशेरिका, 92 शवल, 93 अजिन ॥ The word Pravahana (39) which belongs to this class, is governed by the sutra 1129 in forming its derivative

११२७। विकर्णकुषीतकात्काश्यपे। ४। १। १२४।

अपत्ये ढक्। वैकर्णेय। कौषीतकेय। अन्यो वैकर्णि। कौषीतकि ॥

1127 The affix 'ढक्' comes after the words 'vikarna' and 'kushîta', when they mean the descendants of Kâśyapa

Thus वैकर्णेय and कौषीतकेय = काश्यप, otherwise we have वैकर्णि and कौषितकि formed by IV 1 95

११२८। भ्रुवो वुक् च। ४। १। १२५॥

चाड्ढक्। भ्रौवेय ॥

1128 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word भ्रू and the augment वुक् is added when this affix is to be applied

Thus भ्रू+ढक्=भ्रू+वुक्+ढक (I 1 46 S 36)=भ्रूव्+ढक=भ्रौवेय. (VII 1 2)

१९२९ । प्रवाहणस्य ढे । ७ । ३ । २८ ॥

प्रवाहणशब्दस्योत्तरपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धि, पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ढे परे ॥ प्रवाहणस्यापत्य प्रावाहणेय । प्रवाहणेय ॥

1129 Before the affix ढ (एय), the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member of **प्रवाहण**, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i e प्र) ॥

Thus प्रवाहणस्यापत्य = प्रावाहणेय or प्रवाहणेय ॥

Note —The affix ढक् IV 1 123 S 1126 is added, here Similarly प्रवाहणेयी भार्याऽस्य = प्रवाहणेयीभार्य (VI 3 39 masculation prohibited) Or we may translate the sutra as "Before the affix ढ, the vowel of प्र in प्रवाहण optionally gets Vriddhi", and omit the rest The masculation will still be prohibited by VI 3 41, S 842 (जाते) ॥

११३० । तत्प्रत्ययस्य च । ७ । ३ । २९ ॥

ढान्तस्य प्रवाहणस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धि, पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ॥ प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्य प्रावाहणेयि । प्रवाहणेयि ॥ बाह्यतद्धितनिमित्ता वृद्धिर्दाश्रयेण विकल्पेन बाधितु न शक्यते इतिसूत्रारम्भ ॥

1130 Even in a new derivative from **प्रवाहणेय** itself when formed with a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, there is vṛiddhi substitution for the first vowel of the second member, but optionally so for the first vowel of the first member

As प्रवाहणेयस्यापत्य = प्रावाहणेयि or प्रवाहणेयि, ॥ In other words, the external vriddhi might have been caused by इञ् is not able to supersede the internal optional vṛiddhi de-pendent upon ढ ॥ Hence a separate sutra

११३१ । कल्याण्यादीनामिनङ् । ४ । १ । १२६ ॥

एषामिनङादेश स्यात् ढक् च । काल्याणिनेय । बान्धकिनेय ॥

1131 The affix 'ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words **कल्याणी** &c and the substitute **इनञ्** takes the place of the final of these words before this affix

Note —In the case of those words in this list which end in a feminine affix, the present sûtra teaches merely the substitution of इनङ् for they would have taken the affix ढक् by IV 1 120 S 1123 But in the case of other words, the Sûtra teaches both the substitution of इनङ् and the addition of ढक् ॥

Thus कल्याणी + ढक् = कल्याणिन् + ढक् = काल्याणिनेय 'the son of Kalyânî' So also बान्धकिनेय ॥

1 कल्याणी, 2 सुभगा, 3 दुर्भगा, 4 बन्धकी, 5 अनुदृष्टि, 6 अनुसाति (अनुसृष्टि) 7 जरती, 8 बलीवर्दी 9 ज्येष्ठा 10 कनिष्ठा, 11 मध्यमा, 12 परस्त्री ॥

११३२ । कुलटाया वा । ४ । १ । १२७ ॥

इनङ्मात्र विकल्प्यते ढक तु नित्य पूर्वेणैव । कौलटिनेय । कौलटेय । सती भिक्षुकयत्र कुलटा । या तु व्यभिचारार्थं कुलान्यटति तस्या क्षुद्राभ्यो वेति पक्षे द्रक् । कौलटेर ॥

1132 The affix ढक्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word कुलटा, and इनङ् is optionally the substitute of the final before this affix

The word कुलटा has another meaning also of a nun Literally it means one who wanders (अटति) from one family (कुल) to another i e "a chaste woman but a beggar or (2) secondly an unchaste woman" This sutra is made to teach substitution only, for कुलटा would have always taken ढक् by the general rule IV 1 120 S 1123 Thus कुलटा + ढक् = कुलटिन् + ढक् = कौलटिनेय, or कौलटेय 'son of a chaste woman who is a beggar' This word कुलटा when meaning an unchaste woman, being a word denoting contempt, will take also the affix द्रक् by IV 1 131 S 1137 Thus कौलटेर ॥ In this case there are two forms only कौलटेर and कौलटेय and never कौलटिनेय ॥

Note —See Amarakosha II 6 26

११३३ । हृद्भगसिन्ध्वन्ते पूर्वपदस्य च । ७ । ३ । १९ ॥

हृदाद्यन्ते पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्ञिति णिति किति च । सहृदोऽपत्य सौहार्द सुभगाया अपत्य सौभागिनेय । सक्तुप्रधाना सिन्धव सक्तुसिन्धव । तेषु भव साक्तुसैन्धव ॥

1133 The Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of both (the first and second) members in a compound ending with हृद्, भग, and सिन्धु, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ण्, ञ् or क् ॥

As सुहृदयोऽपत्य = सौहार्दम्, सौभागिनेय (= सुभगाया अपत्य), ॥

Note —The words सुभगा and दुर्भगा occur in the Kalyanâ class (IV I 126 S 113) and the affix ढक् and इन् augment are added सुभग also occurs in Udgâtri class (V 1 129) That word, however, does not get the Vriddhi in the second member, as महते सौभगाय ॥ This is a Vedic anomaly

Similarly from सक्तुसिन्धव (= सक्तुप्रधाना सिन्धव) we have साक्तुसैन्धव (= सक्तुसिन्धुषु भव) ॥ The word सिन्धु occurs in Kachchhâdi class, and सैन्धव is formed by अण् ॥ The Tadanta-rule applies to words formed thereunder

The words सुहृद् and दुहृद् are anomalously formed by V 4, 150
The word sindhu means 'a country', 'a river' or an ocean'

१९३४ । चटकाया ऐरक् । ४ । १ । १२८ ॥

चटकस्येति वाच्यम् * ॥ लिङ्गविशिष्टपरिभाषया स्त्रिया अपि । चटकस्य चटकाया वा अपत्य चाटकैर ॥ स्त्रियामपत्ये लुग्वक्तव्य * ॥ तयोरेव स्त्र्यपत्य चटका । अजादित्वाट्टाप् ॥

1134 The word चटका takes the affix ऐरक् in forming the Patronymic

Thus चाटकैर 'son of Chatakâ'

Vârt —It should be rather stated that the word चटक (masc) takes the affix ऐरक् ॥ For if the rule be enunciated with regard to the word chataka, it would be extended to the feminine chatakâ also, by the maxim lingavishishta &c Thus चाटकैर 'son of Chataka'

Vârt —In forming a descendant denoting a female there is luk elision of the affix Thus the female descendant of चटका, will be चटका, the टाप् being added, as it belongs to the Ajadi class IV 1 4,*

१९३५ । गोधाया ढ्रक् । ४ । १ । १२९ ॥

गौधेर । शुभ्रादित्वात्पक्षे ढक् । गौधेय ॥

1135 The affix 'ढ्रक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word गोधा ॥

Thus गोधा + ढ्रक् = गौधेर ॥

Of the affix 'dhrak,' the letter ढ् is replaced by एय् (VII 1 2 S 475), क् causes Vriddhi (VII 2 118 S 1076) and makes the udatta accent fall on the final (VI 1 165 S 3712) Thus the real affix is एय्र, but the य is elided by VI 1 66 S 873 and so the affix that is actually added is एर ॥

This word गोधा occurs in the Śúbhrâdi class IV 1 123, S 1126 also, thus it takes the affix 'dhak' as well Thus गौधेय ॥

१९३६ । आरगुदीचाम् । ४ । १ । १३० ॥

गौधार । रकासिद्धे आकारोच्चारणमन्यतो विधानार्थम् । जडस्यापत्य जाडार । पण्डस्यापत्यं पाण्डार ॥

1136 The affix 'आरक्' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'गाधा,' according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians

Thus गौधार ॥ It might be objected that the affix आरक् contains the letter आ unnecessarily for रक् would have served the purpose as well, because गोधा ends in long आ already The objection is valid in the case of गोधा, but the very fact that Pânini uses this affix आरक, shows by implication, that there are other words also which take this affix and in whose case the affix रक् would not suffice Thus the words जड and पण्ड also take this affix, as जाडार, पाण्डार ॥ The mention of the name of Northern Grammarians is for the sake of showing respect only

११३७ । क्षुद्राभ्यो वा । ४ । १ । १३१ ॥

अङ्गहीना शीलहीनाश्च क्षुद्रास्ताभ्यो वा ढ्रक् । पक्षे ढक् । काणेर । काणेय । दासेर । दासेय ॥

1137 The affix ढ्रक्' comes optionally, in the sense of a descendant, after the feminine words denoting contemptible objects

The word क्षुद्रा means those who are defective or wanting in any bodily limb or organ, or who are low in social status and religious principles The anuvritti of ढ्रक् is to be read in this sûtra, and not of आरक्, though the latter immediately precedes it This sûtra debars ढक् which would come in the other alternative Thus काणेर 'the son of an one eyed woman', or काणेय, दासेर or दासेय 'son of a female slave'

११३८ । पितृष्वसुश्छण् । ४ । १ । १३२ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । पैतृष्वस्रीय ॥

1138 The affix 'छण्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पितृष्वसृ + छण् = पैतृष्वस्रीय, 'the son of the father's sister' The छ affix is replaced by ईय ॥

११३९ । ढकि लोपः । ४ । १ । १३३ ॥

पितृष्वसुरन्त्यलोप स्याड्ढकि । अत एव ज्ञापकात् ढक् । पैतृष्वसेय ॥

1139 The final vowel of 'पितृ-ष्वसृ' is elided when the affix 'ढक्', in the sense of a descendant, is added

Thus पितृष्वसृ + ढक् = पैतृष्वसेय ॥ This sutra teaches merely elision, but indicates by jñâpaka that the word पितृष्वसृ takes the affix 'dhak' also

११४० । मातृष्वसुश्च । ४ । १ । १३४ ॥

पितृष्वसुर्यदुक्तं तन्स्यापि स्यात् । मातृष्वस्रीय । मातृष्वसेय ॥

1140 So also, after the word 'मातृ-ष्वसृ' the affix 'छण्' is added, and the final is elided when 'ढक्' follows, in forming patronymics

Whatever has been taught in the sutras IV I, 132, 133 S 1138, 1139 above, as regards pitṛisvasṛi, apply to मातृष्वसृ also As मातृष्वस्रीय or मातृष्वसेय 'the son of a mother's sister'

११४१ । चतुष्पाद्भ्यो ढञ् । ४ । १ । १३५ ॥

1141 The affix 'ढञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the bases denoting quadrupeds

This debars अण् &c Thus कमण्डलु + ढञ् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra

११४२ । ढे लोपोऽकद्र्वाः । ६ । ४ । १४७ ॥

कद्रूभिन्नस्योवर्णान्तस्य भस्य लोपः स्यात् ढे परे । कामण्डलेय । कमण्डलुशब्दश्चतुष्पाज्जातिविशेषे ॥

1142 The ऊ or उ of a bha stem is elided before the affix एय (ढ), but not of the stem 'Kadrû'

Thus कामण्डलेय, but काद्रवेयो मन्त्रमपश्यत् ॥ Here the word कमण्डलु means a certain quadruped

११४३ । गृष्ट्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १३६ ॥

एभ्यो ढञ् स्यात् । अण्ढकोरपवाद । गार्ष्टेय । मित्रयोरपत्यम् । ऋष्यणि प्राप्ते ढञ् ॥

1143 The affix 'ढञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words, 'गृष्टि' &c

This debars अण् and ढक् &c Thus गार्ष्टेय , हार्ष्टेय ॥ The word गृष्टि when it means 'a cow' will of course get the affix ढञ् by the last sûtra The present sûtra applies when it does not mean a four-footed animal, but means 'a woman who has one child only'

1 गृष्टि, 2 हृष्टि, 3 बलि, 4 हलि, 5 विश्रि, 6 कुद्रि, 7 अजबस्ति, 8 मित्रयु ॥

The word मित्रयु also belongs to this class and takes ढञ् instead of अण् of Rishi (IV 1 113 S 1116) Thus मित्रयोरपत्यम्=मित्रयु+ढञ् ॥ Now the following sûtra would apply causing the substitution of इय् for the यु of मित्रयु ॥

११४४ । केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरिय । ७ । ३ । २ ॥

एषां यकारादेरिय् आदेशः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । इति इयादेशे प्राप्ते ॥

1144 When a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows, इय् is substituted for the य and यु of केकय, मित्रयु and प्रलय ॥

As कैकेय (=केकयस्यापत्य), with the affix अञ् (IV 1 168 S 1168) similarly मैत्रेयिका formed with वुञ् (V 1 134 S 1799) in the sentence मैत्रेयिकया श्लाघते ॥ The word Gotra in that sûtra V 1 134 S 1799 means a Rishi name for in ordinary parlance the name of a Rishi is called Gotra Similarly प्रालेयम (=प्रलयादागत) ॥ As प्रालेयमुदक ॥

Thus मित्रयु+ढञ्=मैत्र+इय्+एय ॥ This would give the form मैत्रेयेय , which is wrong Hence the following sûtra

११४५ । दाण्डिनायन हास्तिनायनाथर्वणिक जैह्माशिनेय वाशिनायनि भ्रौणहत्य धैवत्य सारवैक्ष्वाक मैत्रेय हिरण्मयानि । ६ । ४ । १७४ ॥

एतानि निपात्यन्ते । इति युलोपः । मैत्रेय । मैत्रेयौ ॥

1145 The following are irregularly formed, 1 Dândinâyana, 2 Hâstinâyana, 3 Âtharvanika, 4 Jaihmâśineya 5 Vâsinâyani 6 Bhraunahatya, 7 Dhaivatya, 8 Sârava, 9 Aikshvâka, 10 Maitreya and 11 Hiranmaya

Note —These words are thus derived (1 and 2) दाण्डिनायन and हास्तिनायन from दण्डिन् and हस्तिन् belonging to नडादि class The affix is फक् (IV 2 91 S 1310) If they do not belong to that class the affix is added irregularly दाण्डिनोऽपत्य=

दाण्डिनायन &c The final इन् is not elided (3) अथर्वन् belongs to Vasantâdi class (IV 2 63 S 1273) The science or work of Atharvan Rishi is also called Atharvan He who studies that work is called Atharvanika the final is not elided before the इक् affix (4 and 5) The descendants of जिह्माशिन् and वासिन् are Jaihmâsineya and Vâsinâyani, the former with the affix ढक् of the Śubhrâdi class (IV 1 123 S 1126) and the latter with the affix फिञ् of IV 1 157 S 1181 The finals of the stems are not dropped (6 and 7) These are derived from भ्रूणहन् and धीवन् with the affix ष्यञ्, and न् being replaced by त = भ्रूणघ्नो भाव, धीव्नो भाव ॥ हन् takes त before affixes having an indicatory ण् or ञ् by VII 3 32 S 2574 it might be said त would be added to भ्रूणहन् before ष्यञ् by that rule That rule is however, confined to affixes which come after roots only, and not to Taddhita affixes That rule does not apply to cases like भ्रौणघ्नी वार्त्रघ्न ॥ The त in Bhraunhatya is therefore an irregularity (8) सारव is from सरयू with the affix अण्, the final अयू being elided, सरय्वा भव, = सारवमुदक ॥ (9) The son of इक्ष्वाकु, with अञ् affix (IV 1 168 S 1186), the final उ is elided, or इक्ष्वाकुषु जनपदेषु भव = ऐक्ष्वाक with अण् (IV 2 132 S 1356). Accent on the first or the final The irregularity consists in the elision of final उ ॥ As one word is ऐक्ष्वाक and the other ऐक्ष्वाक, the sutra ought to have read this word twice, strictly speaking The single reading may be justified on the ground, that the sutra gives ऐक्ष्वाक without any accent (eka-sruti), and consequently includes both (एकश्रुति स्वर सर्वनाम) ॥

(10) मैत्रेय is from मित्रयु of Grishtyâdi class IV 1-136, S 1143 and takes ढञ् as मित्रयु + एय, Here VI 4 146 S 84 requires Guna, but VI 4 146, prevents it, and requires lopa of उ, but VII 3 2, S 1144 required the substitution of इय for यु ॥ The irregularity consists in eliding यु altogether as मैत्रेय, the अ of मित्र cannot be elided by VI 4 148, S 311 before एय, as the lopa of यु is considered asidha VI 4 22 S 2183, however the result is the same, for अ + ए = ए by VI 1 97S 191, the single substitute being the form of the subsequent The dual is मैत्रेयौ ॥ The plural of मैत्रेय will be मित्रयव (the plural of मित्रयु), as it belongs of Yaskâdi class and loses the affix in the plural by the following, sûtra

Another form of this word is मैत्रेयिक formed under VII 3 2 S 1144 It might be objected that had मित्रयु been read in Bidâdi class (IV 1 104 S 1106), it would have taken the affix अञ्, and the form मैत्रेय would have been evolved regularly as मित्रयु + अञ् = मित्र + इय (VII 3 2 S 1144) + अ = मैत्रेय ॥ This would have prevented also the necessity of including this word in the Yaskâdi class (II 4 63 S 1146) for then by II 4 63, S 1146 अञ् formed words would lose the affix in the plural and we would have got the form मित्रयव in the plural So far it would have been all right, but if मैत्रेय were to be formed with अञ affix, as proposed, then the सघ derivative of this word would have required to be formed with अण् affix under IV 3 127, S 1507 and not with वुञ् under IV 3 126 S 1506, but

we require वुञ्, as मैत्रेयक सघ ॥ (11) हिरण्मय from हिरण्य with मयट् with the elision of य, हिरण्यस्य विकार =हिरण्मय ॥

१९४६ । यस्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे । २ । ४ । ६३ ॥

एभ्योऽपत्यप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्तत्कृते बहुत्वे न तु स्त्रियाम् । मित्रयव ॥

1146 After the words यस्क &c there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affix when the word of itself and not as part of a compound epithet dependent on another word takes the plural, but not in the feminine

Therefore the plural of मैत्रेय is मित्रयव ॥

Note —यस्क+अण्=यास्क, a descendant of Yaska not nearer than grandson In the plural, the affix is elided and the form यस्का, 'the descendants of Yaska'

यस्कादयः ॥

1 यस्क ॥ 2 लह्य ॥ 3 द्रुह्य ॥ 4 अयस्थूण ॥ 5 अय स्थूण ॥ 6 तृणकर्ण ॥ 7 सदामत्त ॥ 8 कम्बलहार ॥ 9 बहिर्योग ॥ 10 कर्णाटक ॥ 12 पिण्डी जङ्घ ॥ 13 वकसक्थ ॥ 14 वकसक्थ ॥ 15 विश्रि ॥ 16 कुद्रि ॥ 17 अजबस्ति ॥ 18 मित्रयु ॥ 19 रक्षोमुख ॥ 20 जङ्घारथ ॥ 21 उत्कास ॥ 22 कटुक ॥ 23 मथक ॥ 24 सन्यक ॥ 25 पुष्करद् ॥ 26 पुष्करसद् ॥ 27 विषपुट ॥ 28 उपरिमेखल ॥ 29 क्रोष्टुकमान ॥ 30 क्रोष्टुमान ॥ 31 क्रोष्टुपाद ॥ 32 क्रोष्टुमाय ॥ 33 शीर्षमाय ॥ 34 श्वरप ॥ 35 पदक ॥ 36 वषुक ॥ 37 भलन्दन ॥ 38 भण्डिल ॥ 39 भण्डिल ॥ 40, भडित ॥ 41 भण्डिल ॥

११४७ । अत्रिभृगुकुत्सवसिष्ठगोतमाङ्गिरोभ्यश्च । २ । ४ । ६५ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् तत्कृते बहुत्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । अत्रय । भृगव । कुत्सा । वसिष्ठा । गोतमा । अङ्गिरस ॥

1147 And after the words अत्रि, भृगु, कुत्स, वसिष्ठ, गोतम अङ्गिरस, there is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix when the word takes the plural but not in the feminine

Thus the plural of आत्रेय (अत्रि+ढक IV I 122 S 1125) the descendant of अत्रि is अत्रय the regular plural of अत्रि ॥ So also, singular भार्गव, plural भृगव, singular कौत्स, plural कुत्सा, so, वसिष्ठा, गोतमा, अङ्गिरस ॥

In all these the affix has been elided Thus भृगु + अण् = भार्गव 'the descendant of Bhrigu Of course, it is only in the plural number that the Gotra affixes ढक् and अण् are elided, not in any other number, so we have in singular आत्रेय भार्गव dual आत्रेयौ, भार्गवौ, plural अत्रय, भृगव &c

Note —But when these words are part of a compound, the Gotra affixes are not elided in forming their plural Thus प्रियात्रेया or प्रियभार्गवा ॥

In the Feminine plural the affixes are not elided Thus —आत्रेय्य स्त्रिय ॥

११४८। बह्वच इञ प्राच्यभरतेषु । २ । ४ । ६६ ॥

बह्वच, परो य इञ् प्राच्यगोत्रे च वर्तमानस्तस्य लुक् स्यात् । पन्नागारा । युधिष्ठिरा ॥

1148 There is luk-elision of the Gotra-affix इञ् (IV I 95 S 1095) after a word containing many vowels (a polysyllabic word) which denotes the Gotra of the people called प्राच्य and भरत when the word takes the plural

The plural of पन्नागारि is पन्नागार, there being elision of इञ्, so also मथरेषणा plural of मान्थरेषणि, so the plural of यौधिष्ठिरि is युधिष्ठिरा 'the descendants of Yudhishthira"

Note —But वैक्रि and पौष्पि not being polysyllabic, their plural will be वैक्य and पौष्प्य ॥

Why do we say 'when denoting the Gotra of Prâchyas and Bhâratas'? Because when denoting the Gotra of any other people, these affixes will not be elided Thus बालाकय plural of बालाकि हास्तिदासय plural of हास्तिदासि ॥

Though the Bhâratas are Prâchyas its specification here is to indicate that, wherever Prâchyas will be used, it will not include Bhâratas as in V 4 60 S 2131 Here the Yuvan affix of Bhâratas will not be elided Thus आर्जुनि father, आर्जुनायन son

११४९। न गोपवनादिभ्य । २ । ४ । ६७ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य लुक् न स्यात् । बिदाद्यन्तर्गणोऽयम् । गौपवना । शैग्रवा ॥

1149 After the words गोपवन, &c, there is not luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the word takes the plural

This prevents the application of II 4 64 S 1108 Thus गोपवन+अञ्=गोपवन, plural गोपवना, singular शैग्रव, plural शैग्रवा ॥ The गोपवन &c, belong to Bidâdi class *vide* IV 1 104 S 1106 and are the folowing —गोपवन शिग्रु बिन्दु भजन् अश्व, अवतान श्यामक and श्वापर्ण ॥ The remaining words such as हरित &c, should not be taken in this sub-class In the case of हरित &c, the Gotra affix must be elided in the plural by II 4 64 S 1108 Thus हरिता किंदासा &c

१९५० । तिककितवादिभ्यो द्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६८ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुक् स्यात् द्वन्द्वे । तैकायनयश्च कैतवायनयश्च । तिकादिभ्य फिञ् तस्य लुक् । तिककितवा ॥

1150 After the words तिक-कितव &c when used as Dvandva compound, there is the luk-elision of the Gotra affixes, when the compound word takes the plural

Thus तिक+फिञ्=तैकायनि (IV 1 154 S 1178) Its plural is तैकायनय । तैकायनय +कैतवायनय =तिककितवा ॥ There is elision of फिञ् ॥

So also बाखरि plural बाखरय (IV I 95 S 1095)+भण्डीरयय =बंखरभडीरय there is elision of इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095) The following is a list of such compounds

1 तिककितवा 2 वङ्खरभण्डीरथा 3 उपकलमका (औपकायना+लामकायना, IV 1 99 S 1101 elision of फक्) 4 पफकनरका (पाफकय+नारकय IV 1 95, elision of इञ्) 5 बकनखसुदपरिणद्धा, 6 उब्जककुभा (औब्जय IV 1 95 S 1095 +काकुभा IV 1 112, S 1115 then the elision of इञ् and अण्) 7, लङ्कशान्तमुखा (the elision of इञ् IV 1 95 as in 4) 8 उत्तर सलङ्कटा or उरसलकटा (औरसायन IV 1 154 + लाकटय IV 1 95 S 1095 elision of फिञ् and इञ् ॥ 9 भ्रष्टक कापिष्ठला (elision of इञ as in 4) 10 कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दरा (elision of इञ्) 11 अग्निविश—दासेरका (आग्निवेश्य IV 1 105 S 1107+दासेरकय IV 1 95, S 1095 elision of both यञ् and इञ्) ॥

११५१ । उपकादिभ्योऽन्यतरस्यामद्वन्द्वे । २ । ४ । ६९ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययस्य बहुत्वे लुग्वा स्यात् द्वन्द्वे चाद्वन्द्वे च । औपकायनाश्च लामकायनाश्च नडादिभ्य फक् तस्य लुक । उपकलमका । औपकायनलामकायना । भ्राष्टककपिष्ठला । भ्राष्टकिकापिष्ठलय । उपका । औपका । लमका । लामकायना ॥

1151 After the words उपक &c there is optionally luk-elision of the Gotra affix, when the words take the plural, whether they enter into a Dvandva compound, or are used separately

Of the words belonging to this list, three have already been enumerated in the group of Tika kitavâdi of the last sûtra According to the Kâshikâ the elision is invariable in the Dvandva compound of these three, but when used separately the elision is optional As, उपकलमका, or औपकायन-लामकायना ॥ भ्राष्टककपिष्ठला, or भ्राष्टकि कापिष्ठलय ॥ कृष्णाजिनकृष्णसुन्दरा ॥ But the plurals of औपकायन, the Gotra derivative of उपक (IV 1 99 S 1101) is उपका or औपका (or औपकायना) of लामकायन is लमका or लामकायना, of भ्राष्टकि is भ्राष्टका or भ्राष्टकय or भ्राष्टकायना ॥ The plural of कापिष्ठलि is कपिष्ठला or कापिष्ठलय ॥ The plural of कार्ष्णाजिन is कृष्णाजिना, or कार्ष्णाजिनय ॥ The plural of कृष्णसुन्दर is कृष्णसुन्दरा or कार्ष्णसुन्दरय ॥

Of the rest of the words belonging to this group, there is option allowed, both when they occur in Dvandva compound or when used alone They are as follow —

1 पण्डारक ॥ 2 अण्डारक ॥ 3 गडुक ॥ 4 सुपर्यक ॥ 5 सुपिष्ट ॥ 6 मयूरकर्ण ॥ 7 खारीजङ्घ ॥ 8 शलाबल ॥ 9 पतञ्जल ॥ 10 कठेरणि ॥ 11 कुषीतक ॥ 12 काशकृत्स्न ॥ 13 निदाघ ॥ 14 कलशीकण्ठ ॥ 15 दामकण्ठ ॥ 16 कृष्णपिङ्गल ॥ 17 कर्णाक ॥ 18 पर्णक ॥ 19 जटिलक ॥ 20 बधिरक ॥ 21 जन्तुक ॥ 22 अनुलोम ॥ 23 अर्द्धपिङ्गलक ॥ 24 प्रतिलोम ॥ 25 प्रतान 26 अनभिहित ॥ 27 चूडारक ॥ 28 उवङ्क ॥ 29 सुधायुक ॥ 30 अबन्धक ॥ 31 पतञ्जल ॥ 32 अनुपद ॥ 33 अपजन्ध ॥ 34 कमक ॥ 35 लेखाभ्र ॥ 36 कमन्दक ॥ 37 पिञ्जल ॥ 38 मसूरकर्ण ॥ 39 मदाघ ॥ 40 कदामत्त ॥ 41 दामकण्ठ) ॥

११५२ । आगस्त्यकौण्डिन्ययोरगस्तिकुण्डिनच् । २ । ४ । ७० ॥

एतयोरवयवस्य गोत्रप्रत्ययस्याऽणो यञश्च बहुषु लुक् स्यादवशिष्टस्य प्रकृतिभागस्य यथासंख्यमगस्ति कुण्डिनच् एतावादेशौ स्त । अगस्तय । कुण्डिना ॥

1152 There is luk-elision of the Gotra affixes अण् and यञ् of the words आगस्त्य and कौण्डिन्य, when they take the plural, and the words अगस्ति and कुण्डिनच् are the substitutes of the bases so remaining after the elision

The plural of आगस्त्य is अगस्तय (as if it was the plural of अगस्ति) and of कौण्डिन्य is कुण्डिना ॥ The affix अण् (IV I 114 S 1117) after आगस्त्य and the affix यञ् (IV 1 105 S 1105) after कौण्डिन्य are elided

११५३ । राजश्वशुराद्यत् । ४ । १ । १३७ ॥

राज्ञो जातावेवेति वाच्यम् * ॥

1153 The affix यत् comes in the sense of the descendant after the words 'राजन्' and 'श्वशुर' ॥

This debars अण् and इञ् respectively

Vârt —In the case of राजन् the affix यत् would be added, if the word so formed denotes a caste (Jâti) Thus राजन्+यत् ॥ Now applies the following sûtra which prevents the elision of अन् before यत् ॥

११५४ । ये चाभावकर्मणोः । ६ । ४ । १६८ ॥

यादौ तद्धिते परे अन् प्रकृत्या स्यान्न तु भावकर्मणोः । राजन्य । श्वशुर्य । जातिग्रहणाच्छूद्रायामुत्पन्नो राजन ॥

1154 The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन्, remains unchanged before a Taddhita beginning with य, when it does not denote existence in abstract or the avocation of some one

Thus राजन्य (IV 1 168 S 1186) 'a person of Kshatriya class' This is the special meaning of the word, it does not mean 'the son of a Râjâ' So also श्वशुर्य 'son of the father-in-law'

As the word Jâti is used in the vârtika under IV 1 137 S 1153 a son born of a Śûdra wife by a Kshatriya will be राजन ॥

११५५ । अन् । ६ । ४ । १६७ ॥

अणि अन्प्रकृत्या स्यादिति टिलोपो न । अभावकर्मणोः किम् । राज्ञ कर्म भावो वा राज्यम् ॥

1155 The syllable अन् of a stem ending in अन् remains unchanged, before अण् affix, whether Patronymic or otherwise

As सामन, वैमन, सौत्वन, जैत्वन, from सामन्, वेमन्, सुत्वन् and जित्वन् ॥

Thus सामसु साधु = सामान्य, ब्राह्मण्य ॥

Why have we used the words 'when it does not denote an abstract noun or an avocation" in the sûtra VI 4 168 S 1154? Observe राज्यम् meaning the 'royalty," the state of being a king or the avocation But राज्ञो भावः कर्म वा = राज्यम् ॥ राजन् belongs to hte Purohitâdi class and takes यक् (V 1 128)

११५६ । सयोगादिश्च । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

इन्प्रकृत्या स्यादणि परे । चक्रिणोऽपत्य चाक्रिण ॥

1156 The syllable इन् of a stem ending in इन् remains unchanged before अण when a conjunct consonant precedes it

Thus चक्रिणोऽपत्य = चाक्रिण ॥

११५७ । न मपूर्वोऽपत्येऽवर्मण । ६ । ४ । १७० ॥

मपूर्वोऽन्प्रकृत्या न स्यादपत्येऽणि । भाद्रसाम । मपूर्व किम् । सौत्वन । अपत्ये किम् । चर्मणा परिवृतश्चार्मणो रथ । अवर्मण किम । चक्रवर्मणोऽपत्य चाक्रवर्मण ॥
वा हितनाम्नइति वाच्यम * ॥ हितनाम्नोऽपत्य हैतनाम । हैतनामन ॥

1157 In a stem in अन् with a preceding म, with the exception of वर्मन्, the ending अन् does not remain unchanged before the patronymic affix अण् ॥

Thus भाद्रसाम from भाद्रसामन् ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by म'? Observe सौत्वन, preceded by व ॥ Why do we use 'Patronymic'? Observe चमर्णा परिवृतो रथ = चामर्ण, the अन not being changed by VI 4 167 S 1155 Why do we say 'with the exception of वर्मन् ? Observe चक्रवर्मणाऽपत्य = चाक्रवर्मण ॥

Vârt —Optionally so in हितनामन्, as हितनाम्नोऽपत्य = हैतनाम or हैतनामन ॥

११५८ । ब्राह्मोऽजातौ । ६ । ४ । १७१ ॥

योगविभागोऽत्र कर्तव्य । ब्राह्म इति निपात्यते अनपत्येऽणि । ब्राह्म हवि । ततोऽजातौ । अपत्ये जातावणि ब्रह्मणष्टिलोपो न स्यात् । ब्रह्मणोऽपत्य ब्राह्मण । अपत्ये किम् । ब्राह्मी औषधि ॥

1158 ब्राह्म is irregularly formed from ब्रह्मन्, when not meaning 'a caste or jâti'

This sûtra should be divided into two (1) ब्राह्म, the final अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided, when the अण् affix with the force of the Potronymic, as well as with any other force, comes after it Thus ब्राह्म हवि ॥ (2) अजातौ but not so, when the Patronymic denotes a jâti, for then the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is not elided before the अण् affix as ब्रह्मणोऽपत्य = ब्राह्मण 'a Brahmana' When jâti is expressed, but अण् has not the force of the Patronymic, the अन् of ब्रह्मन् is elided As ब्राह्मी औषधि ॥ ब्राह्मोमुहूर्त्त ब्राह्म स्थालीपाक ॥ Why do we say 'when it denotes a caste'? Observe ब्राह्मोनारद Nârada the son of Brahmâ'

११५९ । औक्षमनपत्ये । ६ । ४ । १७३ ॥

अणि टिलोपो निपात्यते । औक्ष पदम् । अनपत्ये किम् । औक्ष्णोऽपत्यम् ॥

1159 From उक्षन् is formed औक्ष, when not meaning a descendant

As औक्षपदम् ॥ Why do we say 'when not meaning a descendant? Observe औक्ष्ण = उक्ष्णोऽपत्यम्, the अ is elided by VI 4 135 S 1160 as given below

११६० । षपूर्वहन्धृतराज्ञामणि । ६ । ४ । १३५ ॥

षपूर्वो योऽन् तस्य हनादेश्च भस्यातो लोपोऽणि । औक्ष्ण । ताक्ष्ण । भ्रौणघ्न । धृतराज्ञोऽपत्य धार्तराज्ञ । षपूर्वेति किम् । सामन । अणि किम् । ताक्षण्य ॥

1160 Of a Bha stem ending in अन् with a preceding ष, as well as of हन् and धृतराजन् the अ is elided before the affix अण् ॥

Thus औक्ष्ण, ताक्ष्ण, भ्रौणघ्न, धार्तराज्ञ ॥ Why do we say 'preceded by a ष'? Observe सामन and वैमन from सामन् and विमन formed with the affix अण, here neither the अ of मन nor the final syllable अन् is elided, since VI 4 167 S 1155 keeps these words in their primitive state so far

Why do we say before the affix अण्? Observe ताक्षण्य formed by the affix ण्य under IV 1 152 S 1176 added to the artisan denoting word takshan

११६१ । क्षत्राद्घः । ४ । १ । १३८ ॥

क्षत्रिय । जातावित्येव । क्षात्रिरन्य ॥

1161 The affix 'gha' comes in the sense of a descendant after the word 'Kshattra

Thus क्षत्रिय 'a Kshatriya' This is also a *class* name The *son* of क्षत्र will be क्षात्रि ॥

Note —The affix घ here should not be confounded with the technical घ which means the affixes तरप and तमप् (I 1 22)

११६२ । कुलात्खः । ४ । १ । १३९ ॥

कुलीन । तदन्तादपि । उत्तरसूत्रेऽपूर्वपदादितिलिङ्गात् । आढ्यकुलीन ॥

1162 The affix 'kha' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the Nominal stem 'kula' and a compound word that ends in 'kula'

Thus कुलीन ॥ The affix applies to compounds ending in कुल ॥ Because in the next sûtra it will be taught that the word कुल when not preceded by any other word, takes the affixes 'yat and 'dhakañ' That indicates by implication that the present sûtra applies to the simple word कुल and to the words ending in कुल also Thus आढ्यकुलिन ॥

११६३ । अपूर्वपदादन्यतरस्यां यड्ढकञौ । ४ । १ । १४० ॥

कुलादित्येव । पक्षे ख । कुल्य । कौलेयक । कुलीन । पदमहण किम् । बहुकुल्य । बाहुकुलेयक । बहुकुलीन ॥

1163 The affixes 'यत्' and 'ढकञ्' come optionally after the word 'kula', when it is not preceded by any other word which gets the designation of pada (I 4 14)

The word अपूर्वपद means when the word 'kula' is not the last member of a compound Thus कुल्य, कौलेयक ॥ By the use of the word 'optionally', we get the affix ख also Thus कुलीन ॥ The word कुल्य has udâtta on the first syllable (VI 1 213)

Why do we say 'पद'? The word पद has been defined in I 4 14 S 29 The word बहु is not a pada but an affix (see V 3 68 S 2023). Therefore बहुकुल will take these affixes Thus बहुकुल्य, बाहुकुलेयक and बहुकुलीन ॥

११६४ । महाकुलादञ्खञौ । ४ । १ । १४१ ॥

अन्यतरस्यामित्यनुवर्तते । पक्षे ख । माहाकुल । माहाकुलीन । महाकुलीन ॥

1164 The affixes 'अञ्' and 'खञ्' come optionally after the word 'mahâkula'

The word anyatarasyâm 'optionally' of the preceding sûtra is understood here also So we have ख also in the other alternative

Thus माहाकुल, माहाकुलीन and महाकुलीन ॥ The last is formed by the affix ख of IV 1 139 S 1162

११६५ । दुष्कुलाड्ढक् । ४ । १ । १४२ ॥

पूर्ववत्पक्षे ख । दौष्कुलेय । दुष्कुलीन ॥

1165 The affix 'ढक्' comes optionally in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'dushkula'

Thus दौष्कुलेय ॥ By the force of the word 'optionally' we get ख also Thus दुष्कुलीन ॥

११६६ । स्वसुश्छः । ४ । १ । १४३ ॥

स्वस्रीय ॥

1166 The affix 'chha' comes in the sense of the descendant after the word स्वसृ ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus स्वस्रीय 'the sister's son'

११६७ । भ्रातुर्व्यच्च । ४ । १ । १४४ ॥

चाच्छ । अणोऽपवाद । भ्रातृव्य । भ्रात्रीय ॥

1167 The affix 'vyat' also comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the word 'भ्रातृ' ॥

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix छ as well This debars अण् ॥ Thus भ्रातृव्य or भ्रात्रीय the brother's son' The त् of व्यत् regulates the accent, making it svarita

११६८ । व्यन्सपत्ने । ४ । १ । १४५ ॥

भ्रातुर्व्यन् स्यादपत्ये प्रकृतिप्रत्ययसमुदायेन शत्रौ वाच्ये । भ्रातृव्य शत्रु । पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येणेति तूपचारात् ॥

1168 The affix 'vyan' comes after the word 'भ्रातृ' when the sense is that of 'a brother's son who is an enemy

The word सपत्न means 'enemy The difference between व्यन् and व्यत् s in accent (VI I 185 and VI I 197) Thus भ्रातृव्य शत्रु nephew who is an enemy पाप्मना भ्रातृव्येण "by the sinful enemy" Here, of course, there is no sense of patronymic, and bhratrivya means 'an enemy' simply, but this is an extended figurative use of the word, rather than its original meaning According to Kâsikâ, this bhátrivya with acute on the first, never means nephew, but 'an enemy' pure and simple the force of the affix is not that of a patronymic

११६९ । रेवत्यादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । १ । १४६ ॥

1169 The affix 'ठक्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words रेवती &c

This of course debars ढक् &c Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिक 'the son of Revatî' So also आश्वपालिक (VII 3 50 S 1170) The ठ is replaced by इक by the next sûtra

1 रेवती 2 अश्वपाली 3 मणिपाली 4 द्वारपाली 5 वृकवञ्चिन् 6 वृकबन्धु, 7 वृकग्राह 8 कर्णग्राह, 9 दण्डग्राह 10 कुक्कुटाक्ष, 11 (ककुदाक्ष) 12 चामरग्राह,

११७० । ठस्येकः । ७ । ३ । ५० ॥

अङ्गात्परस्य ठस्येकादेशः स्यात् । रैवतिकः ॥

1170 For ठ in the beginning of a Taddhita affix there is substituted इक ॥

Thus रेवती + ठक् = रैवतिक 'the son of Revatî'

११७१ । गोत्रस्त्रियाः कुत्सने ण च । ४ । १ । १४७ ॥

गोत्रं या स्त्री तद्वाचकाच्छब्दात् णठकौ स्तः कुत्सायाम् । सामर्थ्याद्युनि । गार्ग्या अपत्यं गार्गो गार्गिको वा जाल्मः ॥ भस्याढे तद्धिते इति पुंवद्भावाद्गार्ग्यशब्दाण्णठकौ । यस्येति लोपः । आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1171 And when contempt is to be expressed, the affix ण comes, in the sense of a descendant, after a feminine word denoting Gotra-descendant

By the force of the word च in the sûtra, we get the affix ठक् also When one's father is not known, and he is called by a name derived from his mother, it casts a slur upon his legitimacy, hence such an epithet is a कुत्सा or 'a defamatory or contemptuous epithet' Thus गार्गी is a female gotra descendant Her son will be called गार्ग, as गार्गो जाल्मः ॥ By the vârtika भस्याढे &c (VI 3 35 S 836), there is masculisation, and so the affixes ण and ठक् are added to गार्ग्य and not गार्गी ॥ Then by the sûtra VI 4 148 S 311 the अ of गार्ग्य is elided Then by VI 4 151 S 1082, the य् is elided Thus we get the form गार्ग ॥ So also गार्गिक ॥ Similarly the son of ग्लुचुकायनी will be ग्लौचुकायन and ग्लौचुकायनिक ॥

This affix being added to a Gotra word has the force of a Yuvan affix

Note —Why do we say 'a Gotra descendant' Observe कारिकेयो जाल्म (formed by ढक् IV 1 120 S 1123) Why 'do we say female descendant ? Observe औपगविर्जाल्म ॥ Why do we say 'when contempt is meant'? Observe गार्गेयो माणवक which is to be explained as गार्ग्या अपत्यं पुमान् युवा भवति ॥ मातामहादेरुपलक्षणार्थोऽयं प्रयोग इति नास्ति कुत्सा ॥

११७२ । वृद्धाट्ठक् सौवीरेषु बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १४८ ॥

सुवीरदेशोद्भवा सौवीरा । वृद्धात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये बहुलं ठक् स्यात् कुत्सायाम् । भागवित्तेर्भागवित्तिक । पक्षे फक् । भागवित्तायन ॥

1172 When contempt is to be expressed, the affix 'ठक्' is diversely added in the sense of a descendant, after a Vriddha word denoting Sauvîra Gotras

Thus भागवित्तिक 'the son of Bhâgavitti' In the alternative we have the affix फक् (IV I 101 S 1103) as भागवित्तायन, ॥ Of course, when contempt is not expressed we have भागवित्तायन only

११७३ । फेश्छ च । ४ । १ । १४९ ॥

फिञन्तात्सौवीरगोत्रादपत्ये छ ठक च कुत्सने गम्ये। यमुन्दस्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनि । तिकादित्वात् फिञ् । तस्यापत्यं यामुन्दायनीय । यामुन्दायनिक । कुत्सने किम् । यामुन्दायनि । औत्सर्गिकस्याणो ण्यक्षत्रियेति लुक् । सौवीरेति किम् । तैकायनि ॥

1173 When contempt is to be expressed, the affix छ (as well as the affix ठक्) comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal-stem ending in the affix फिञ् and denoting a Sauvîra Gotra

Thus the son of यमुन्द will be यामुन्दायनि formed by the affix फिञ् (IV I 154 S 1178) as this word belongs to the Tikâdi class The son of Yâmundâyani will be either यामुन्दायनीय or यामुन्दायनिक ॥

Why do we say 'contempt'? For when contempt is not to be expressed, the son of यामुन्दायनि will be यामुन्दायनि ॥ Thus यामुन्दायनि + अण् = यामुन्दायनि + o (II 4 58 S 1276) = यामुन्दायनि ॥

So also when persons of Sauvîra country are not meant, छ is not added Thus तैकायनि ॥

Note —The फे of the sûtra refers to फिञ् and not to फिन्, for a stem formed by फिन् will not have a Vriddhi letter in the first syllable and will not be called Vriddham', the anuvritti of this word is understood in the sûtra.

According to a Kârikâ, three फिञन्त stems, all belonging to Tikâdi class, are only governed by this sûtra, viz यमुन्द, सुयामा and वार्ष्यायणि ॥ The son of वृष is Vârshyâyani

११७४ । फाण्टाहृतिमिमताभ्यां णफिञौ । ४ । १ । १५० ॥

सौवीरेषु । नेह यथासङ्ख्यम् । अल्पाच्तरस्य परनिपातात्लिङ्गादिति वृत्तिकार । भाष्ये तु यथासङ्ख्यमेवेति स्थितम् । फाण्टाहृत । फाण्टाहृतायनि । मैमत । मैमतायनि ॥

1174 The affixes ण and फिञ् come, in the sense of a descendant of a person belonging to Suvîra country, after the words Phântâhrita and Mimata

This debars फक् ॥ The Sauvira is understood here also The rule of I 3 10 S 128 does not apply For according to Kâsikâ the reason is this "By the rule of composition in II 2 34, S 905 the word मिमत consisting of less syllables than फाण्टाहृत, ought to have been placed first Its not being placed first in this sûtra indicates, that Sûtra I 3 10 S 128 does not apply here So that both the affixes ण and फिञ् are applied to each of these words, and not one to each respectively" But according to the Mahâbhâshya The rule I 3 10 S 128 applies, and ण and फिञ are added respectively Thus फाण्टाहृत or फाण्टाहृतायनि, मैमत or मैमतायनि ॥

Note —When not denoting Sauvîra Gotras, we have फाण्टाहृतायन and मैमतायन (by फक् ॥ See IV 1 101 S 1103 and IV 1 99 S 1101) The word मिमत belongs to the Nadadi class (IV I 99)

११७५ । कुर्वादिभ्यो ण्य । ४ । १ । १५१ ॥

अपत्ये । कौरव्या ब्राह्मणा । वावदुक्या ॥ साम्राज क्षत्रिये * ॥ साम्राज्य । साम्राजोऽन्य ॥

1175. The affix ण्य comes, in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Kuru' &c

Thus कुरु + ण्य = कौरव्य, ॥ So also गार्ग्य ॥ The word कुरु takes the affix ण्य by IV 1 172 S 1190 so that the form कौरव्य is evolved both under the present sûtra and sûtra IV 1 172 S 1190, but the difference in these two words is this The word कौरव्य formed by the ण्य of IV 1 172, S 1190 loses its affix in the plural, because ण्य of IV 1 172 S 1190 is a Tadrâja affix (see II 4 62 S 1193), but the word कौरव्य formed by the present sûtra retains its affix in the plural As कौरव्या ब्राह्मणा ॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in the Tikâdi class (IV 1, 154 S 1178), and it takes as such the affix फिञ् ॥ As कौरव्यायणि ॥ So also वावदूक्या ॥

Note —The word रथकार occurs in this class and it means the caste known as Rathakâra (Rathakâra is a caste a little lower than the twice born See Yajnyavalkya Smriti, V 95 But when the word रथकार means a person who makes chariots, that is an artisan, it will take the affix ण्य not by this Sûtra, but by the succeeding sûtra

Note :—The word केशिनी occurs in this class Its derivative will be कैशिन्य ॥ There will not be punvadbhava as required by VI 3 34 S 83 &c For had there been punvadbhâva, then by भस्याढे तद्धिते all Bha bases will become punvad before a taddhita affix except ढ ॥ Therefore केशिनी + ण्य = कैशिन + ण्य ॥ At this stage rule VI 1 144 S 1059 will appear and cause the elision of टि and we shall have कैश् + ण्य = कैश्य ॥ But this is not the form desired, hence the word केशिनी is read with the feminine affix in the list

Note —The word वेन takes this affix in the Vedic literature Therefore the form वैन्य in the modern Sanskrit is incorrect

Note —The word वामरथ occurs in this class With the exception of accent, it is treated in every other respect like a word of Kanvâdi class, a subdivision of Gargâdi (IV I 105 S 1107) Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य will be formed by the affix अण् (IV 2 111 S 1332) As वामरथ्य + अण = वामरथ (VI 4 151 S 1082) The plural will be वामरथा (II 4 65 S 1147) The feminine gender will be वामरथी (IV 1 16 S 471) or वामरथ्यायनी (IV 1 17 S 473) The Yuvan will be वामरथ्यायन (IV 1 101 S 1103) So also it will take अण् when the sense of collection &c is expressed (IV 3 127 S 1507) as वामरथानि ॥ But as to accent, it will not be like Kanvâdi words, for while those words being formed by the affix यञ् will have udatta on the first syllable (VI 1 197 S 3686) the accent of वामरथ्य will be governed by ण्य, that is, it will have udâtta on the last syllable

Vârt —The word सम्राज् takes the affix ण्य when denoting a Kshatriya Thus साम्राज्य , otherwise साम्राज , ॥

1 कुरु, 2 गर्गर (गर्ग K), 3 मङ्गुष, 4 अजमार (अजमारक K), 5 रथकार 6 वावदूक 7 सम्राज क्षत्रिये, 8 कवि, 9 विमति (मति K), 10 कापिञ्जलादि, 11 वाक् (or वाच्) 12 वामरथ, 13 पितृमत्, 14 इन्द्रलाजी, (इन्द्रजालि K), 15 एजि*, 16 वातकि*, 17 दामोष्णीषि, 18 गणकारि, 19 कैशोरि, 20 कुट 21 शलाका (शालाका), 22 मुर, 23 पुर, 24 एरका (सरक K), 25 शुभ्र*, 26 अभ्र, 27 दर्भ, 28 केशिनी, 29 वेनाच्छन्दसि, 30 शूपर्णाय 31 श्यावनाय, 32 श्यावरथ, 33 श्यावपुत्र, 34 सत्यंकार, 35 वडभीकार 36 पथिकार*, 37 मूढ, 38 शकन्धु, 39 शङ्कु 40 शाक, 41 शाकिन्, 42 शालीन*, 43 कर्तृ 44 हर्तृ 45 इन्, 46 पिण्डी (इनपिण्डी K,), 47 वामरथस्य कण्वादिवत्स्वरवर्जम् ॥ (is a Vartika) 48 विस्फोटक, 49 काक, 50 स्फाण्टक, 51 धातकि, 52 धेनुजी, 53 बुद्धिकार ॥

११७६। सेनान्तलक्षणकारिभ्यश्च। ४। १। १५२॥

एभ्यो ण्य। एति सञ्ज्ञायामिति सस्य ष। हारिषेण्य। लाक्षण्य। कारि शिल्पी तस्मात् तान्तुवाय्य। कौम्भकार्य। नापित्य॥

1176 The affix 'ण्य' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a Nominal stem ending in 'senâ, after the word 'laksha*n*a,' and after words denoting artisans

The word कारि means 'handicrafts,' such as weavers, barbers, potters &c Thus हारिषेण्य (स is changed to ष by VIII 3, 99 S 1023) लाक्षण्य तान्तुवाय्य, कौम्भकार्य नापित्य॥

११७७। उदीचामिञ्। ४। १। १५३॥

हारिषेणि। लाक्षणि। तान्तुवायि। कौम्भकारि। नापितात्तु परत्वात् फिञेव। नापितायनि॥ तक्ष्णोऽण उपसङ्ख्यानम् *॥ ताक्ष्ण। पक्षे ताक्षण्य॥

1177 According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'इञ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after the words ending in 'senâ,' the word 'laksha*n*a,' and words expressing artisans

Thus हारिषेणि, लाक्षणि, तान्तुवायि कौम्भकारि॥ The word नापित being a Vriddha, non gotra word, will take फिञ under IV 1 157 S 118 according to the Northern Grammarians, as नापितायन॥

Vârtika —The affix अण comes after तक्षन् carpenter' (IV 1 112 S 1115 and VI 4 65 S 1160 Thus it will have ताक्ष्ण or ताक्षण्य but will not take इञ्॥

११७८। तिकादिभ्य फिञ्। ४। १। १५४॥

तैकायनि॥

1178 The affix 'फिञ्' comes, in the sense of a descendant, after the words तिक &c

Thus तैकायनि,॥

The word वृष occurs in this class In taking this affix, it adds an intermediate य as वार्ष्यायणि॥ The word कौरव्य occurs in this class, and denotes a Kshatriya because it is immediately preceded by the word औरस=उरसा शेते=उरश क्षत्रिय, his son will be auraśa with añ, which end in an affix denoting a Kshatriya (IV 1 168 S 1186), But the word कौरव्य formed by the affix ण्य of IV 1 150 S 1174

Vârt —The pronouns 'tyad &c' optionally take the affix फिञ्॥ Thus त्यादायनि or त्याद, यादायनि or याद, तादायनि or ताद ॥

११८१ । उदीचां वृद्धादगोत्रात् । ४ । १ । १५७ ॥

आम्रगुप्तायनि । प्राचा तु । आम्रगुप्ति । वृद्धात्किम् । दाक्षि । अगोत्रात्किम् । औपगवि ॥

1181 According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, after a word with a Vriddhi in the first syllable, when it is not a Gotra-name, the affix 'phiñ' is employed in the sense of a descendant

Thus आम्रगुप्तायनि "son of आम्रगुप्त", ॥

But according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians the form will be आम्रगुप्ति ॥ Why do we say 'after a word having a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable'? Observe दाक्षि 'son of दक्ष' ॥ Why do we say 'not being a Gotra-name'? Observe औपगवि ॥

११८२ । वाकिनादीनां कुक् च । ४ । १ । १५८ ॥

अपत्ये फिञ् वा । वाकिनस्यापत्यं वाकिनकायनि । वाकिनि ॥

1182 The augment क् (Kuk) is added to the words Vâkina &c when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows

Thus वाकिनकायनि ॥ This debars इञ् &c But if the anuvṛitti of उदीचां is read into this aphorism, then it becomes an optional rule In that case we have in the alternative —वाकिनि ॥

1 वाकिन 2 गौधेर (गारेध K) 3 कार्कष (कार्कश्य K), 4 काक, 5 लङ्क, 6 चर्मिवर्मिनलापश्च ॥

११८३ । पुत्रान्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । १५९ ॥

अस्माद्वा फिञ् सिद्धस्तस्मिन्परे पुत्रान्तस्य वा कुक् विधीयते । गार्गीपुत्रकायणि । गार्गीपुत्रायणि । गार्गीपुत्रि ॥

1183 The augment 'कुक्' optionally comes after a stem ending with the word pûtra, when the patronymic affix 'phiñ' follows

Note —The anuvṛitti of the words "according to the opinion of Northern Grammarians when the word has a Vṛiddhi in the first syllable" must be read

into this sutra Of course a word ending in पुत्र cannot be a Gotra word, for a Gotra word means a grandson or a still lower descendant Hence a word ending in पुत्र having Vriddhi in the first syllable will take the affix फिञ् by IV I 157 S 1181, the present aphorism only rules that it takes the augment कुक optionally

Thus we have three forms —गार्गीपुत्रकायणि or गार्गीपुत्रायणि or गार्गीपुत्रि ॥

११८४ । प्राचामवृद्धात्फिन्बहुलम् । ४ । १ । १६० ॥

ग्लुचुकायनि ॥

1184 According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, after a stem not having a Vriddhi vowel in the first syllable, the affix 'phin' is diversely employed in the sense of a descendant

Thus ग्लुचुकायनि or ग्लौचुकि 'son of Gluchuka'

Note —Why do we say, "not having a Vriddhi in the first syllable"? Observe राजदन्ति ॥ The words प्राचाम्, बहुल and अन्यतरस्याम् all denote optional rules, so the employment of any one of them would have here sufficed Why two are used in this sutra viz प्राचा and बहुल? The mention of Grammarians is made as a token of respect and बहुल is used to express the non-uniformity of sûtra construction In some places this affix फिन् is not at all added, as दाक्षि, प्लाक्षि ॥

११८५ । मनोर्जातावञ्यतौ षुक च । ४ । १ । १६१ ॥

समुदायार्थो जाति । मानुष । मनुष्य ॥

1185 The affixes अञ् and यत् come after the word 'Manu', and the augment षुक् is added when these affixes follow, provided that the whole word so formed denotes a class (jâti)

Thus मनु+षुक्+अञ्=मानुष "a man or man kind", So also मनुष्य formed with यत् ॥

Note —These affixes here have not the force of Patronymics, hence they are not dropped in the plural, as मानुषा "men" When the descendant is to be expressed, we have the affix अण् as मनु+अण्=मानव 'son of Manu', as in मानवीप्रजा ॥ So also the word माणव, where न is changed into ण denotes the descendant of Manu, with the sense of contempt as well as dullness implied

११८६ । जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् । ४ । १ । १६८ ॥

जनपदक्षत्रिययोर्वाचकादञ् स्यादपत्ये । दाण्डिनायनेति सूत्रे निपातनाट्टिलोपः । ऐक्ष्वाकः । ऐक्ष्वाकौ ॥ क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् । तद्राजमाचक्षाणस्तद्राज इत्यन्वर्थसंज्ञासामर्थ्यात् । पञ्चालानां राजा पाञ्चालः ॥ पूरोरण् वक्तव्यः * ॥ पौरवः ॥ पाण्डोर्ड्यण् * ॥ पाण्ड्यः ॥

1186 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which, while denoting a country, expresses also a tribe of Kshatriyas

Thus ऐक्ष्वाकः, dual ऐक्ष्वाकौ, plural इक्ष्वाकवः are Kshatriyas who live in that country The final उ of इक्ष्वाकु is elided before this affix अञ् and we get the form ऐक्ष्वाकः because this anomalous form is so shown in VI 4 174 S 1145

Note —Of course, when the word is only expressive of Kshatriyas, but not of the name of a country, अञ् will not be used but अण्, the difference being in the accent Thus द्रौह्यवः 'the son of Druhya', पौरवः 'the son of Puru' Why do we say when it expresses Kshatriya? Observe ब्राह्मणस्य पञ्चालस्यापत्यं = पाञ्चालिः, (IV 1 95 S 1095) 'the son of Pañchâla a Brahmana', so also वैदेहिः ॥

Let the same affix, which comes when the sense is that of the progeny, be added to a word denoting a country named after Kshatriyas, to denote the king there of Thus पञ्चालानाम् राजा = पाञ्चालः 'the king of the Kshatriyas called Pâñchâla or of the country of Pâñchâlas' So also वैदेहः, 'the king of the Kshatriyas or of the country of Videha'

Vârt —Let the affix अण् come after पूरु ॥ Thus पौरवः ॥ "The king of the Pûrus" The word puru is not the name of a country The form would have been evolved by Prâgdivyatîya अण्, the present vartika is made in order to give it a tadrâja designation

Vârt —The affix 'dyan' comes after the word 'Pâṇḍu' when it is the name of a country as well as of a Kshatriya tribe Thus पाण्ड्यः, otherwise it will be पाण्डवः ॥ See IV 1 74

Note —The words Pañchâla &c originally are names of the Kshatriya tribes only, secondarily they have been applied to the country inhabited by those tribes, because the Taddhita affix denoting 'the country inhabited by them' is elided by IV 2 81 S 1293 Thus the same word पञ्चालः comes to denote the Kshatriya tribe as well as the country called Pañchâla It will make practically little difference to consider words like Pañchâla &c as *original* (not *derivative*) name of countries as well as of Kshatriyas In fact, Panini himself considers them in the same light in this sutra, and does not think them to be derivative words, in spite of his own sûtra IV 2 81 S, 1293 These words when denoting a country are always in the plural, as पञ्चालाः, in denoting the Kshatriya it is in the singular

११८७ । साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च । ४ । १ । १६९ ॥

आभ्यामपत्येऽञ् । वृद्धेदिति ञ्यङोऽपवाद । साल्वेय । गान्धार । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ।

1187 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of a descendant after the words 'Sâlveya' and 'Gândhâri'

Both these are names of countries and denote also Kshatriyas as well Therefore, by sûtra IV 1 171 S 1189 they having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, would have taken the affix 'ñyan', the present sûtra enjoins 'añ' instead Thus साल्वेय 'the son of Sâlveya', or the king of Sâlveya', गान्धार 'the son of Gândhâri or the king of Gândhâri?' The vârtika under sûtra IV 1 168 S 1186 given above applies here also, i e the affix denotes also 'the king there of'

११८८ । द्व्यञ्मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण् । ४ । १ । १७० ॥

अञोऽपवाद । अच् । आङ्ग । वाङ्ग । सौह्म । मागध । कालिङ्ग । सौरमस । तस्य राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1188 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of descendant, after dissyllabic words, and the words 'Magadha', 'Kalinga' and 'Sûramasa', when they are the names of countries as well as of Kshatriyas

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus आग, वाग सौह्म, मागध, कालिग, and सौरमस 'the son as well as the king of Anga, Vanga, Suhma, Magadha, Kalinga and Sûramasa' The Vârtika 'तस्य राजनि' given above applies to this also, as आगो राजा, गान्धारो राजा &c

११८९ । वृद्धेत्कोसलाजादाञ्ञ्यङ् । ४ । १ । १७१ ॥

वृद्धात् । आम्बष्ठ्य । सौवीर्य । इत् । आवन्त्य । कौसल्य । अजादस्यापत्य आजाद्य ॥

1189 The affix 'ञ्यङ्' comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word having a Vriddhi in the first syllable, and after a word ending in short इ, and after the words 'Kosala' and 'Ajâda', when they are the names of countries and Kshatriyas

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus, to give an example of Vṛiddha words, आम्बष्ठ्य, सौवीर्य 'the sons or kings of Ambashtha and Sauvira' Similarly to take words ending in short इ, we have आवन्त्य 'the sons or kings of Avanti' which is a word ending in short इ ॥ So also कौसल्य and आजाद्य, which are neither Vṛiddha nor end in short इ ॥

११९० । कुरुनादिभ्य ण्य । ४ । १ । १७२ ॥

कौरव्य । नैषध्य । स नैषधस्यार्थपतेरित्यादौ तु शैषिकोऽण् ॥

1190 The affix ण्य comes after the word 'Kuru', and a word beginning with न, when these words denote a country, being the name of a Kshatriya tribe also

This debars 'an' and 'añ' Thus कौरव्य, नैषध्य 'the son of Kuru and Nishadha' The affix denotes 'the king there of' also, as कौरव्यो राजा ॥

Note —How do you explain the form नैषधोऽहमिति नैषधम्? This is an archaic or Vedic form How then in सनैषधस्यार्थपते सुताया? This is a poetic license, or the षण् affix added here to form the word नैषध is the śaishika an of IV 2 92 S 1312

११९१ । साल्वावयवप्रत्यग्रथकलकूटाश्मकादिञ् । ४ । १ । १७३ ॥

साल्वो जनपदस्तदवयवा उदुम्बरादयस्तेभ्य प्रत्यग्रथादिभ्यश्चिभ्यश्च इञ् । अणोऽपवाद । औदुम्बरि । प्रात्यग्रथि । कालकूटि । आश्मकि ॥ राजन्यप्येवम् ॥

1191 The affix इञ् comes in the sense of a descendant, after a word which denotes any subdivision of the country of Sâlva, and after the words 'Pratyagratha', 'Kalakûta', and 'Aśmaka', when these are names of countries and of Kshatriya tribes

The word साल्वा is the name of a Kshatriyâ woman, her son will be साल्वेय (IV 1 121 S 1124) formed by ढक्, also साल्व formed by अण् ॥ The dwelling place of साल्व will be also साल्व which is the name of a country

The sub-divisions of the country called साल्व are six, viz, Udumbarâḥ, Tilakhalâḥ, Madrakârâh, Yugandharâḥ Bhulingâh, and Śaradandâḥ The patronymic from these will be औदुम्बरि, तैलखलि माद्रकारि, यौगन्धरि, भौलिङ्गि and शारदण्डि ॥ So also the affix 'iñ' will be added to the words 'Pratyagratha' &c As प्रात्यग्रथि, कालकूटि and आश्मकि ॥ The affix has the force also of 'the king there of' As औदुम्बरो राजा ॥ According to the Mahâbhâshya, the words Busa, Ajamiḍa, and Ájakanda also take this affix, as बौसि, आजमीढि and आजकन्दि ॥

११९२ । ते तद्राजा । ४ । १ । १७४ ॥

अञादय एतत्संज्ञा स्यु ॥

1192 These (viz the affixes अञ् IV 1 168 S 1186 &c) are called Tadrâja ('the king there of') affixes.

Note —The affixes treated of in these six sûtras 168 to173 are called Tadrâja The pronoun ते refers to these only and not to all the affixes treated of

before IV I 168 S 1186, for they have the special designation of Gotra and Yuvan See II 4 62 S 1193 The illustrations of these have already been given under each af the above six aphorisms

११९३ । तद्राजस्य बहुषु तेनैवास्त्रियाम् । २ । ४ । ६२ ॥

बहुष्वर्थेषु तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात्तदर्थकृते बहुत्वे नतु स्त्रियाम् । इक्ष्वाकव । पञ्चाला इत्यादि । कथं तर्हि कौरव्याः पशवः । तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः इति च । कौरव्ये पाण्ड्ये च साधव इति समाधेयम् । रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये, निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथंचिदिति तु रघुयदुशब्दयोस्तदपत्ये लक्षणया ॥

1193 There is luk-elision of the तद्राज (IV I 174 S 1192) affix, when the word is used in the plural number, provided that, the plural number is taken by the tadrâja-modified base itself, and not by its standing as a compound epithet dependent upon another word, and provided that, the base is not used in the feminine

आङ्ग = अङ्ग + अण् (IV 1 170 S 1188) 'a prince of Anga',, plural अङ्गा 'the princes of Anga' The affix अण् is elided by the present rule, and the Vṛidhih vanishes with it too (I 1 63 S 263) but आङ्ग्य 'the princesses of Anga,' plural of आङ्गी 'a princess of Anga' But प्रियवाङ्ग 'he to whom the prince of Vanga is beloved' forms its plural प्रियवाङ्गा 'they whose beloved is the prince of Vanga,' there being no elision

Thus इक्ष्वाकव the princes of Ikshwâku tribe, plural of ऐक्ष्वाक, the tadrâja affix अञ् (IV 1 168 S 1186) is elided in the plural and so also पञ्चाला (plural of पाञ्चाल) the princes of the Pañchalâs

Why are the tadrâja affixes not elided in the plural of कौरव्य and पाण्ड्य in the following phrases —"कौरव्याः पशवः" ॥ "तस्यामेव रघोः पाण्ड्याः" ॥

The affix य after कुरु and पाण्डु in the above is not the tadrâja affix य, but the तत्रसाधु (IV 4 98 S 1650) affix यत् ॥ We should explain the above forms by कौरव्ये or पाण्ड्ये च साधवः = कौरव्याः or पाण्ड्याः ॥

Why are the affixes elided in the plural in the case of रघु and यदु in the following, for these words not being names of countries, the apatya affixes added to them can never get the designation of tadrâja, and so the rule of elision can not apply to them, but we see them elided in 'रघूणामन्वयं वक्ष्ये" ॥ "निरुध्यमाना यदुभिः कथंचित्" ॥ In other words, why have not the forms been राघवाणां and यादवैः ? Ans Here the words रघु and यदु have been used by a figure of speech or indirect application for the descendants of रघु and यदु ॥ So the words have taken no apatya affix, and so there is no occasion for eliding any affix in the plural

११९४ । कम्बोजाल्लुक् । ४ । १ । १७५ ॥

अस्मात्तद्राजस्य लुक् । कम्बोज । कम्बोजौ ॥ कम्बोजादिभ्य इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ चोल । शक । द्व्यज्लक्षणस्याणो लुक् । केरल । यवन । अञो लुक् । कम्बोजा समरे इति पाठ सुगम । दीर्घादपाठे तु कम्बोजोऽभिजनो येषामित्यर्थ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञावित्यण् ॥

1194 After the word 'Kamboja', there is elision by 'luk' of the Tadrâja affix

Namely, the affix अञ् which would have come after the word कम्बोज because it denotes a country as well as a Kshatriya tribe, is elided even in the singular and dual Thus कम्बोज 'The king of Kamboja' कम्बोजौ "the two princes of the Kambojas"

Vârt —It should be stated rather 'after Kamboja and the like', because we find the affix elided after Cholâ' &c Thus चोल 'the king of the Cholâs' Here as well as in शक the अण (IV 1 121 S 1124) that comes after a dissyllabic word is elided So also शक, केरल, यवन ॥ The elision in the last two is of अञ ॥ "कम्बोजा समरे" is a better reading than काम्बोजा समरे ॥ If, however, the second reading be taken, we explain the form by saying that काम्बोजा is formed by अण of the sûtra IV 3 93 S 1473 in the sense of 'whose native land is Kamboja", and as it is not a Tadrâja, it is not elided in the plural

११९५ । स्त्रियामवन्तिकुन्तिकुरुभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । १७६ ॥

तद्राजस्य लुक् स्यात् । अवन्ती । कुन्ती । कुरू ॥

1195 In denoting a feminine name, the Tadrâja is elided after the words Avanti, Kunti and Kuru

That is to say the affix ñyañ' (IV 1 171 S 1189) after the word 'Avanti' and 'Kunti', and the affix 'ण्य' after the word 'Kuru' are elided when the word to be formed is the name of a female Thus अवन्ती कुन्ती and कुरू 'a daughter or princess of Avanti, Kunti or Kuru' The word कुरु takes ऊङ् in the feminine by IV 1 66 S 521

Note —Why do we say 'in denoting the feminine'? Observe आवन्त्य, कौरव्य and कौन्त्य ॥

११९६ । अतश्च । ४ । १ । १७७ ॥

तद्राजस्याकारस्य स्त्रियां लुक् स्यात् । शूरसेनी । मद्री । कथं माद्रीसुताविति । ह्रस्व एव पाठ इति हरदत्त । भर्गादित्वं वा कल्प्यम् ॥

1196 In forming the feminine of a word which ends in the masculine in the Tadrâja affix अ, the affix is luk-elided.

Thus *m* शौरसेन *f* शूरसेनी, *m* माद्र, *f* मद्री ॥

The word अत् of the sûtra should not be construed by the rule of tadanata vidhi (I I 72 S 26) If so construed it will mean "a Tadraja affix ending in अ is elided" There have been taught five Tadrâja affixes, namely 'añ (अ)', 'an (अ) , 'ñyan (य)' 'nya (य)' and 'iñ (इ)' ॥ Of these the first four all end in अ, therefore, all these four affixes should be elided in the feminine But this is not the meaning of the author, for had it been so, there would have been no necessity for the previous sûtra, for then the present sutra would have covered the case of 'Avanti' 'Kunti', and 'Kuru' But the very fact of this sutra IV 1 176 S 1195 indicates by ज्ञापक, that the *tadanta vidhi* does not apply here Therefore the feminine of आम्बष्ठ्य is आम्बष्ठ्या, of सौवीर्य is सौवीर्या ॥

How do you explain the form माद्री in माद्रीसुतौ ? According to Haradatta it is wrong, the proper form is मद्रीसुतौ ॥ Or the form माद्रीसुतौ is valid under the Bhargâdi class (IV I 178 S 1197) and so the Tadrâja affix is not elided

११९७ । न प्राच्यभर्गादि यौधेयादिभ्य । ४ । १ । १७८ ॥

एभ्यस्तद्राजस्य न लुक । पाञ्चाली । वैदर्भी । आङ्गी । वाङ्गी । मागधी । एते प्राच्या । भार्गी कारूशी । कैकेयी । केकयीत्यत्र तु जन्यजनकभावलक्षणे पुंयोगे ङीष । युधा । शुक्रा । आभ्या ढ्रक इति ढक् । तत स्वार्थे पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणञाविल्यञ् । शार्ङ्गरवाद्यञ इति ङीन् । अतश्चेति लुकि तु ढगन्तत्वात् ङीप्युदात्तनिवृत्तिस्वर स्यात् । यौधेयी शौक्रेयी ॥

1197 The Tadarâja affix is not elided in the feminine, if it forms the names of the Kshatriyas of the East, or it comes after the word 'Bharga' &c and 'Yaudheya' &c

This sûtra debars the elision of the Tadrâja affix अ (required by the last sûtra) Thus पाञ्चाली वैदर्भी आङ्गी वाङ्गी, मागधी these being all Eastern people dwelling in the countries east of the Sarasvati river Similarly of भर्ग &c Thus भार्गी, कारूशी कैकेयी ॥ The form केकयी without vriddhi is formed by the feminine affix ङीष added to केकय with the force of showing the relation of father and daughter So also of यौधेय &c Thus यौधेयी, शौभ्रेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥ The forms are thus derived To युधा and शुक्रा is added the affix ढक् because they are dissyllabic words (IV I 121 S 1124) Then is added to them अञ् without change of signification, by V 3 117 S 2070 This अञ् is a Tadrâja affix by virtue of V 3 119 S 2072 Thus we get यौधेय and शौक्रेय ॥ Their feminine is formed by ङीन् as they end in the affix अञ् ॥ (IV I 73 S. 527) Now had we elided the affix अञ (V 3 117 S 2070) which is a Tadrâja, by the last sûtra IV I 178 S 1196, the words would have been ढक् ending nouns, and would have formed their feminines in ङीप् which being anudâtta would have been destroyed by its coalition with the

final udâtta by VI 1 161 S 3651 and so ङीप् would become udâtta and the feminines would be final acute But it is desired that the final should not be udâtta Hence अञ् is not elided Thus we have यौधेयी and शौक्रेयी with udâtta on the initial as formed by ङीन् (VI 1 197 S 3686), and not यौधेयी and शौक्रेयी ॥

The Tadrâja affixes taught above are five but besides these there are others taught in the Fifth Adhyâya (V 3 112 to 119) The word यौधेय is formed by such an affix (V 3 177 अञ्) The present rule, therefore indicates by implication, that the rule of elision contained in IV 1 177 S 1196 applies not only to the Tadrâja affixes taught in this chapter, but to the Tadrâja affixes taught in V 3 112 to 119 S 2066 &c Thus the Tadrâja affix अण् in (V 3 117) added to पर्शु &c is elided in the feminine e g m पार्शव f पर्शू m आसुर f असुरी—&c

1 भर्ग, 2 करूश (करूष K) 3 केकय, 4 कश्मीर, 5 साल्व, 6 सुस्थाल, 7 उरस् (उरश and उरस K) 8 कौरव्य ॥

1 यौधेय, 2 शौक्रेय, 3 शौभ्रेय, 4 ज्याबाणेय (यावाणेय K), 5 धौर्तेय (वार्तेय: धार्तेय K) 6 त्रिगर्त, 7 भरत, 8 उशीनर ॥ K 9 वार्तेय ॥

१९९८ । अणिञोरनार्षयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः ष्यङ् गोत्रे । ४ । १ । ७८ ॥

त्र्यादीनामन्त्यमुत्तमं तस्य समीपमुपोत्तमम् । गोत्रे यावणिञौ विहितावनार्षौ तदन्तयोर्गुरूपोत्तमयोः प्रातिपदिकयोः स्त्रियां ष्यङादेशः स्यात् । निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्यणिञोरेव । षङाविति । यङश्चाप् । कुमुदगन्धेरपत्यं स्त्री कौमुदगन्ध्या । वाराह्या । अनार्षयोः किम् । वासिष्ठी । वैश्वामित्री । गुरूपोत्तमयोः किम् । औपगवी । जातिलक्षणो ङीष् । गोत्रे किम् । अहिच्छत्रे जाता आहिच्छत्री ॥

1198 Of the affixes अण् and इञ् used in denoting a Gotra descendant there is the substitute य (ष्यङ्) for the अ and इ of those affixes in the feminine, and there is added the long आ under IV 1 74 S 528, provided that, they do not denote Rishi clans, and have a prosodially long syllable preceding the last syllable

Note —The wording of this aphorism requires a little analysis It consists of five words (1) अणिञोः 'of *an* and *in*,' (2) अनार्षयोः 'of non rishi,' (3) गुरूपोत्तमयोः 'having a heavy vowel as *upottama* i e last but one,' (4) ष्यङ् 'the substitute is shyan (5) गोत्रे 'in denoting gotrâ' That is to say, the gotra affixes अण् and इञ् are replaced by ष्यङ् before the feminine affix चाप्, in those words which denote non-rishi gotras, and have a heavy vowel as last but one The word uttama meaning last letter, being formed by the superlative affix *tamap*, implies that the word must be of at least three syllables Therefore, the present sûtra does not apply to forms like दाक्षि &c

Paribhâshâ —Substitutes take the place of that which is actually ennunciated in a rule. (See p 117) Therefore the substitute ष्यङ् replaces अण् and इञ् only

Of the substitute ष्यङ् the letter ष् and ङ् are indicatory, the real affix is य, the letter ष् differentiating this affix from ष्यङ् and the letter ङ् affording a common hold for both

In forming the feminine we shall have to add चाप् by IV 1 74 S 528 Thus कुमुदगन्धि 'having the smell of the white lotus', is the name of a person In forming a patronymic from this word, we add the affix अण् ॥ Thus कुमुदगन्धि + अण् (IV 1 92 S 1088) Now we replace this affix by ष्य and have कौमुदगन्ध्या ॥ Similarly with words taking the affix इञ् (as taught in Sûtra अतइञ् IV 1 75 S 529) as वाराहि gives us वाराह्या, so also बालाक्या ॥

Note —Why do we say 'of अण् and इञ्' ॥ Witness आर्तभागी from ऋतभाग ॥ Here the word ऋतभाग belongs to बिदादि gana, and therefore by IV 1 104 it would take the affix अञ् in forming the gotra patronymic this affix अञ् is not replaced by ष्यङ्, and the feminine is by long ई (IV 1 15 S 470), for though, its last vowel but one is heavy, it is a non rishi gotra word, yet it does not fulfil the other condition of taking the affix अण् or इञ् ॥

Why do we say 'of non rishi gotras'? Witness वासिष्ठी and वैश्वामित्री ॥ Why do we say 'whose last vowel but one is heavy'? Observe औपगवी which is formed by ङीप् denoting jâti (IV 1 63 S 518) Why do we say 'denoting Gotra?' Witness आहिच्छत्री 'a woman born in Ahichhatra',

११९९ । गोत्रावयवात् । ४ । १ । ७९ ॥

गोत्रावयवा गोत्राभिमता कुलाख्यास्ततो गोत्रे विहितयोरणिञो स्त्रियां ष्यङादेश स्यात् । अगुरूपोत्तमार्थ आरम्भ । पौणिक्या । भौणिक्या ॥

1199 After a word denoting a non-principal gôtra, ष्यङ् is the substitute of अण् and इञ्, in the feminine, even though the syllable preceding the final be not prosodially long

The phrase अणिञो of the last sûtra governs this also, not so, however, the word अगुरूपोत्तम ॥ The phrase गोत्रावयव means insignificant or non-famous gotras, i e names of kulas i e कुलाख्या, such as families like पुणिक भुणिक मुखर which are not famous and are not included in the gotra list (Pravara adhyâya) भौणिक्या and मौखर्या ॥

Note —The word अवयव in the sûtra has various significations, one sense being 'separate from', another being 'part of', and 'individual members' &c If the last sense be taken, then we can evolve forms like वैदर्भ्या याज्ञदत्या ॥ These

forms may also be explained by taking them as belonging to the क्रौड्यादि class of the next aphorism In short those who wish to apply this aphorism to 'the immediate descendant', such as 'the son or daughter', and not to a gotra descendant which means a grandson and down, can also do so

In fact the word गोत्रावयव is equal to अवयवगोत्र or अप्रधानगोत्र and is a karmadhâraya samâsa, namely gotras not enumerated in the प्रवराध्याय ॥ These are however, technically called कुल ॥

१२०० । क्रौड्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । १ । ८० ॥

स्त्रियां ष्यङ् प्रत्ययः स्यात् । अगुरूपोत्तमार्थोऽनणिञर्थश्चारम्भः । क्रौड्या । व्याड्या । सूत युवत्याम् * ॥ सूत्या ॥ भोज क्षत्रिये * ॥ भोज्या ॥

1200 The affix ष्यङ् comes in the feminine after the words क्रौडि and the rest

This rule applies even where the syllable next to the final is not heavy, and even where the word does not take the affix अण् or इञ् ॥ In fact ष्यञ् is not a substitute here but an augment Thus क्रौड्या 'a female kraudi", So also व्याड्या 'a female vyâdi'

1 क्रौडि, 2 लाडि, 3 व्याडि, 4 आपिशलि, 5 आपक्षिति, These are formed by इञ् (IV 1. 95 S 1095) 6 चौपयत, 7 चैटयत (वैटयत), 8 सैकयत (शैकयत) 9 वैल्वयत (कल्पयत्), These are formed by the affix अण ॥ 10 सौधातकि ॥ This is formed by इञ् with the substitute अकङ् (IV 1 97 S 1097) added to सुधातृ ॥

11 सूतयुवत्याम् *Vârtika* —The word सूत takes ष्यङ् when denoting a grown up maiden, as सूत्या, otherwise सूता 'a daughter', formed by टाप्, or सूती by ङीष् denoting a jâti

12 भोजक्षत्रिये । *Vârtika* —This debars ङीष् of jâti as भोज्या, (otherwise टाप् as भोजा भोजयतीति), 13 यौतकि, 14 कौटि, 15 भारिकी, 16 मौलिकी, 17 शाल्मलि, 18 शालास्थाल, 19 कापिष्ठल 20 गोकक्ष्य (गौलक्ष्य) ॥ All these except the last are formed by इ of Gargâdi class

१२०१ । दैवयज्ञिशौचिवृक्षिसात्यमुग्रिकाण्ठेविद्धिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । १ । ८१ ॥

एभ्यश्चतुर्भ्यः ष्यङ्वा । अगोत्रार्थमिदं गोत्रेऽपि परत्वात्प्रवर्तते । पक्षे इतो मनुष्यजाते ङीष् । दैवयज्ञ्या । दैवयज्ञी । इत्यादि ॥

1201 The affix ष्यङ् optionally comes after the words दैवयज्ञि, शौचिवृक्षि, सात्यमुग्रि and काण्ठेविद्धि ॥

Thus दैवयज्ञ्या or दैवयज्ञी ॥ These words end in the affix इञ्, and the word gotra is not understood in the sûtra In the case of gotra descendants, the substitute shyañ would have come by that sûtra, it would have come

by IV 1 78 but whereas by that sûtra it would have been compulsory, the present aphorism makes it optional But if the sûtra be taken to apply to immediate descendants, as opposed to gotra descendants, then this is a new rule altogether and not a rider to IV 1 87 S 1079 In the alternative when ष्यङ् is not added, ङीष् will be added by rule IV 1. 65 S. 520.

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अथ तद्धित् चातुरर्थिक प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXVII

THE QUADRUPLE SIGNIFICANT AFFIXES.

१२०२ । तेन रक्त रागात् । ४ । २ । १ ॥

रज्यतेऽनेनेति राग । कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं काषायम् । माञ्जिष्ठम् । रागात् किम् । देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम् ॥

1202 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes after the name of a colour, in the sense of "colored thereby".

The verb रञ्ज् means to change the white color into another color That by which a thing is colored is called राग 'color' तेन 'by which', i e after a word in the instrumental case in construction, being the name of a particular colour Thus कषायेण रक्त वस्त्र = काषायम् 'a cloth coloured of a dull red' So also माञ्जिष्ठम् ॥

Why do we say रागात् "after the name of a color"? Observe देवदत्तेन रक्तं वस्त्रम्, here the affix अण will not come after the word 'Devadattena', for though it is in construction in the instrumental case, yet it is not the name of a colour

Note —In the sentence "काषायौ गर्दभस्य कर्णौ, हारिद्रौ कुक्कुटस्या पादौ" the words काषायौ and हारिद्रौ are used metaphorically

From this sûtra up to IV 2 12 S 1213 inclusive, the affixes are to be added to the word, which is in the instrumental case in construction, in a sentence IV 1 82 S 1072) as in the last chapter, the affixes were added to a word in the genitive case

१२०३ । लाक्षारोचनाट्ठक् । ४ । २ । २ ॥

लाक्षिक । रौचानक ॥ शकलकर्दमाभ्यामुपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ शाकलिक । कार्दमिक । आभ्यामणपीति वृत्तिकार । शाकल । कार्दम ॥ नील्यां अन् * ॥ नील्या रक्त नीलम् ॥ पीतात्कन् * ॥ पीतकम् ॥ हरिद्रामहारजनाभ्यामञ् * ॥ हारिद्रम् । माहारजनम् ॥

1203 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of colored thereby, after the words lâkshâ, and rochanâ, (which being names of colours, are in the instrumental case in a sentence).

This debars अण् ॥ Thus लाक्षाया रक्त वस्त्र=लाक्षिकम्, so also रौचनीकम्,

Vârtika —So also after शकल and कर्दम ॥ Thus शाकलिक and कार्दमिक ॥

According to the opinion of the author of Kásikâ the affix अण् also comes after शकल and कर्दम । Thus शाकल and कार्दम ॥

Vârt —The affix अन् comes after नीली as नील्या रक्त=नील वस्त्र ॥ This debars अण् ॥

Vârt —The affix कन् (I 3 8 S 195) comes after पीत, as पीतेन रक्त= पीतकम् ॥

Vârt —The affix अञ् comes after हरिद्रा and महारजन, as हारिद्रम् and माहारजनम् ॥

१२०४ । नक्षत्रेण युक्त काल । ४ । २ । ३ ॥

पुष्येण युक्त पौषमह । पौषी रात्रि ॥

1204 The affix अण् already ordained by IV 1 83 S 1073 comes after a word in the instrumental case in construction, which is the name of a lunar mansion, to signify a time connected with the asterism

Note —A time is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with any one of such asterism Thus पुष्य, तिष्य, मघा &c are lunar asterisms, when the moon is in any one of these asterisms, then the affix is added to the name of such asterism, in order to denote the time of such conjunction

Thus पुष्य+अण=पौष (VI 4 149, S 499) e g पौषमह and पौषीरात्रि "the night in which the moon is in the Pushya"

Note —Why do we say नक्षत्रेण 'connected with the asterism'? Observe चन्द्रमसा युक्ता रात्रि ॥ Why do we say काल 'time'? Observe पुष्येण युक्तश्चन्द्रमा ॥

१२०५ । लुबविशेषे । ४ । २ । ४ ॥

पूर्वेण विहितस्य लुप्स्यात् षष्टिदण्डात्मकस्य कालस्यावान्तरविशेषश्चेन्न गम्यते । अद्य पुष्य । कथ तर्हि पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषीति । विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्तिकीचैत्रीभ्य इति निर्देशेन पौर्णमास्यामयं लुब् नेति ज्ञापितत्वात् । श्रवणशब्दात्तु अत एव लुप् युक्तवद्भावाभावश्च । अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि । आर्द्रया ॥

1205 The affix above ordained is elided by lup, when there is no specification of any particular portion of a day consisting of twenty-four hours.

That is, the affix enjoined by the preceding aphorism is elided, if no specification is to be understood of a particular portion of the day and night which consists of 60 daṇḍas (24 hours) such as night &c, A full day and

night of 24 hours is the period (Kâla) which the moon takes (or is conventionally supposed to take) in crossing an asterism To denote this full time of 24 hours by an affix is to denote a time *generally* (avisesha) To denote a portion of this 24 hours, is to express it specifically This can be done by affixes Thus अद्य पुष्य to day belongs to the asterism Pushya' meaning that to day the moon is in conjunction with Pushya, but by 'to day' neither the day time in particular nor the night time in particular, nor any hour in particular is meant, but both all e The time is day and night, when there is no specification of such time, whether it is day or night, then there is elision

If the full day of 24 hours, being avisesha, is denoted by the mere name of the asterism in which the moon happens to be that day, why is an exception made when that day happens to be a *full* moon day? In other words, though it is correct to say अद्यपुष्या पञ्चमी, &c for all days (*tithis*) generally, yet it is not correct if the day happens to be *full* moon day, for then we must say अद्यपौषी पौर्णमासी and not अद्यपुष्या पौर्णमासी ॥

Why is the affix not elided in पौषी in the sentence पुष्ययुक्ता पौर्णमासी पौषी (Amara Kosha I 26) by the present sûtra? The affix denoting day (24 hours) in general is not elided after an asterism giving its name to that day, if it is a *full*-moon in that asterism This rule we deduce by inference from the sûtra IV 2 23 S 1225, where Pânini has exhibited the words Phâlgunî, Kârtikî, and Chaitrî without the elision of the case affix

The words Phâlgunî &c there mean "the day in which the full-moon is in the asterism Phalgunâ, Kṛttikâ, or Chitrâ" That sûtra relates to the naming of months after full-moon asterism, see IV 2 21 S 1221

That sûtra IV 2 23 S 1225 teaches also that in the case of the asterism श्रवणा there is lup elision of the day denoting affix, even where such day is the full moon day For the full-moon day would have been श्रावणी like फाल्गुणी, but that sutra shows it as श्रवणा ॥ The word श्रवणा means that Paurnamâsî day when the full moon is in Śravaṇâ Not only this but there is further anomaly, that though the affix is elided by lup after श्रवणा yet the rule I 2 51 S 1294 does not apply That rule declares that where there is a lup-elision of a Taddhita affix there is concordance between the gender and number of the derivative word with those of the original The form ought to have been श्रवण and not श्रवणा had I 2 51 S 1294 applied, as we find मूल and श्रवणा in मूलेनावाहयेद् देवीं श्रवणेन विसर्जयेत् see II 3 45 S 642

The form श्रावणी without lup elision is also valid, on the maxim अबाधकान्यपि निपातनानि "The anomalous forms (nipâtanas) are also non-deterrents i e they do not debar the regular forms" Therefore the irregular श्रवणा

and the regular श्रावणी both meaning "the day when the full-moon is in Śravanâ" are valid

Any conjunction of the moon with an asterism measures a period of time of 24 hours Such a time is expressed by a derivative formed from the name of the asterism (1) As पौषीरात्रि 'the night in which the moon is in the asterism Pushya' पौषमहः "the day in which &c" (2) But when the *full* period of such conjunction is denoted, without specifying whether it is day or night, then the name of the asterism without any modification denotes such time also As अद्यपुष्य "Today is the day when the moon is in the asterism Pushya or shortly, today is Pushya" In other words, days are named directly, after the asterisms (3) But to this there is an exception in the case of that day when the moon is full There the affix must be added As अद्यपौषी "today is the day when the *full*-moon is in Pushya."

Not only days are named after asterisms, but months also In the case of months, that asterism gives the name to it, in which the moon is *full* As पौषो मास "that month in which the full moon occurs in the asterism of Pushya"

१२०६ । सज्ञायां श्रवणाश्वत्थाभ्याम । ४ । २ । ५ ॥

विशेषार्थोऽयमारम्भ । श्रवणा रात्रि । अश्वत्थो मुहूर्त । सज्ञाया किम् । श्रावणी । आश्वत्थी ॥

1206 The affix above ordained is elided by lup, after the words Śravanâ and Aśvattha, when the whole word so formed is an appellation, and there is specification of time

This sûtra applies where there is specification of the portion of the day, of 24 hours, such as night or day or prahara &c

Thus श्रवणा रात्रि, अश्वत्थो मुहूर्त "the night called Śravaṇâ, the Muhûrta called Aśvattha" Why do we say 'when it is a Name or Sañjñâ?' Observe श्रावणी or आश्वत्थी ॥

१२०७ । द्वन्द्वाच्छ । ४ । २ । ६ ॥

नक्षत्रद्वन्द्वाद्युक्ते काले छ स्यात् विशेषे सत्यसति च । तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमह । राधानुराधीया रात्रि ॥

1207 The affix छ comes after the Dvandva compound of the names of lunar mansions, to signify the time of the moon's connection with those asterisms, whether there be a specification or not of any particular portion of that time

Thus राधानुराधीया रात्रि, तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयमह: ॥

Note —So also when there is no specification of any portion of the day, as अद्य राधानुराधीयम्, अद्य तिष्यपुनर्वसवीयम् ॥ The affix here in these two last cases is not elided, though there is no specification of time, because the present sûtra, will debar IV 2 4 S 1205 which ordains lup (1 4 2 S 175) Kâśikâ, Or the छ is not elided on the maxim मध्येऽपवाद "an apavâda rule in the middle, debars the rules that precede and not those that succeed it" Therefore अण् which precedes IV 2 4 S. 1205 will be debarred and not छ which succeeds it.

१२०८ । दृष्टं साम । ४ । २ । ७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं वासिष्ठं साम ॥ अस्मिन्नर्थेऽण् डिद्वावक्तव्य * ॥ उशनसा दृष्टमौशनम् । औशनसम् ॥

1208 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) comes, after a word in construction in the Instrumental case, in the sense of "seen"—the thing seen being the Sâma Veda.

Thus वसिष्ठेन दृष्टं = वासिष्ठं साम "the portion of the Sâma seen by (or revealed to) Vasishtha"

Vârt —The affix अण् is optionally treated as if it had an indicatory ड when the sense is that of "the Sâma Veda seen" Thus उशनसा दृष्टं साम = औशनसम् or औशनम् (the force of डित् being to elide the टि portion, VI 4. 143 S 316)

१२०९ । कलेर्ढक् । ४ । २ । ८ ॥

कलिना दृष्टं कालेयं साम ॥

1209 The affix ढक् comes, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen, after the word 'Kali', being in the instrumental case in construction

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कलिना दृष्टं साम = कालेयं ॥ "The Sâma Veda revealed to Kali" This sutra is really a Vârtika and not a sûtra of Pânini

Vârt —The affix 'dhak' comes always after अग्नि and कलि, not merely in the sense of the Sama Veda seen Thus अग्निना दृष्टं साम = आग्नेयम् 'the Sama-Veda revealed to Agni' अग्नौ भव = आग्नेयम् 'who stays in Agni' (IV 3 53 S 1428) अग्नेरागत, "what has come from Agni" = आग्नेयम् (IV 3 74) &c Similarly कालेयम् means 'the Sama-Veda seen by Kali, he who stays in Kali, what has come from Kali &c,

Vârt —The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as डित् provided that it be that अण् which being debarred by IV 3 11, S 1381 is reordained by IV 3 16 S 1387 The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV 4 2 S. 1550 by

force of IV 1 83 , but it is debarred by ढञ् of IV 3 11 S 1381, and is re-ordained in IV 3 16 Thus शतभिषजि जात = शातभिष or शातभिषज ॥

Vârt —The affix ईकक् comes, optionally, without changing the sense, after words ending in तीय ॥ Thus द्वैतीयीकम् or द्वितीयकम् , तार्तीयीकम् or तृतीयकम् ॥

Vârt —Not so when it qualifies विद्या, as द्वितीया or तृतीया विद्या ॥

Vârt —The affix वुञ् IV 3 126 has the force of 'the Sama-Veda seen" when it comes after a Gotra word Thus औपगवकम् or कापटवकम् 'the Sâma-Veda seen by Aupagava, or KApaṭava' The affix वुञ् comes after a word denoting a Gotra or Charana The following Kârikâ sums up the above vârtikas

दृष्टे सामनि जाते च द्विरण्डिद्वा विधीयते ।
तियादीकक् न विद्याया गोत्रादङ्कवदिष्यते ॥

१२१० । वामदेवाड् ड्यड्ड्यौ । ४ । २ । ९ ॥

वामदेवेन दृष्ट साम वामदेव्यम् ॥

सिद्धे यस्येतिलोपेन किमर्थं ययतौ डितौ ॥

ग्रहण माऽतदर्थे भूद्वामदेव्यस्य नञ्स्वरे ॥

1210 The affixes ड्यत् and ड्य come after the word Vâmadeva, in the sense of the Sâma-Veda seen

This debars अण् ॥ Thus वामदेवेन दृष्ट साम = वामदव्यं or वामदेव्यं ॥ The indicatory त् in 'dyat' shows that य has svarita accent (VI 1 185 S 3729)

Kârika —Why the affixes य and यत् have an indicatory ड, when the elision of the final टि would have taken place by यस्येति च (VI 4 148 S 311) even ? Ans They are ङित् in order to prevent the final of वामदेव्य becoming udâtta when a negative particle is added to it It serves the purpose of regulating नञ् accent

Q The final अ of वामदेव would have been elided by the rule VI 4 148 S 311, without making this affix ङित्, then what is the use of making this affix ङित् ?

Ans Well, the author here indicates by jñapaka, the existence of these two maxims of interpretation, viz Paribhashas निरनुबन्धकग्रहणे न सानुबन्धकस्य "when a term void of anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which has an anubandha attached to it" तदनुबन्धकग्रहणे नातदनुबन्धकस्य "when a term with one or more anubandhas is employed, it does not denote that which, in addition to those, has another anubandha attached to it"

For had य and यत् been only taught instead of 'dya' and 'dyat', then by rule VI 2 156 S 3890 the final of such word, with the negative particle अ, would take udâtta on the final, but that is not the case Therefore अवामदेव्य is not finally acute, but has acute on the first syllable, taking the accent of the Indeclinable (VI 2 2 S 3736) As अवामदेव्य ॥

१२११ । परिवृतो रथः । ४ । २ । १० ॥

वस्त्रैः परिवृतो वास्त्रो रथः । रथ किम् । वस्त्रेण परिवृत कायः । समन्ताद्वेष्टित परिवृत उच्यते । तेनेह न । छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः ॥

1211 The affix अण् comes, after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

Thus वस्त्रैः परिवृतो रथः = वास्त्र "a chariot surrounded with cloth" Why do we say 'the thing so surrounded being a chariot?' Observe वस्त्रेण परिवृत कायः 'the body surrounded with cloth' The word परिवृत means covered from all sides The affix will not be used, if the chariot is not completely surrounded. As छात्रैः परिवृतो रथः "the chariot surrounded by pupils"

१२१२ । पाण्डुकम्बलादिनिः । ४ । २ । ११ ॥

पाण्डुकम्बलेन परिवृत पाण्डुकम्बली । पाण्डुकम्बलशब्दो राजास्तरणवर्णकम्बलस्य वाचकः । मत्वर्थीयेनैव सिद्धे वचनमणो निवृत्त्यर्थम् ॥

1212 The affix इनि comes after the word पाण्डुकम्बल, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पाण्डुकम्बली रथः 'a carriage covered with a white woolen blanket' The word पाण्डुकम्बल means a white royal blanket used as the housing of a royal elephant The form पाण्डुकम्बलिन् would have been obtained by the affix इनि of V 2 115, which has the sense of matup, the present sûtra is made in order to debar the affix अण् ॥

१२१३ । द्वैपवैयाघ्रादञ् । ४ । २ । १२ ॥

द्वीपिनो विकारो द्वैपम् । तेन परिवृतो द्वैपो रथः । एव वैयाघ्र ॥

1213 The अञ् comes after the words 'dvaipa' and vaiyâghra' being in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'surrounded', the thing so surrounded being 'a chariot'

Thus द्वैपेन परिवृतो रथः = द्वैप 'a car covered with a tiger s skin' So also वैयाघ्र ॥

Note:—This affix अञ् debars अण्, the difference between these two being in accent only

१२१४ । कौमारापूर्ववचने । ४ । २ । १३ ॥

कौमारेत्यविभक्तिको निर्देशः । अपूर्वत्वे निपातनमिदम् । अपूर्वपति कुमारीं पतिरुपपन्नः कौमारः पतिः । यद्वा । अपूर्वपतिं कुमारी पतिमुपपन्ना कौमारी भार्या ॥

1214 The word 'kaumâra' is irregularly formed by adding the affix अण्, when meaning 'virginity'

Thus कौमार पति = अपूर्वपति कुमारीमुपपन्न 'the husband of a virgin' i e one whose wife was given to him in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow) So also कौमारी भार्या = अपूर्वपति कुमारी पतिमुपपन्ना "a virgin wife" i e a wife who is taken in marriage while she was a maid (not a widow) In both these cases the word refers to the woman

Note —The word कौमार is formed by adding अण् to कुमारी ॥ Thus कुमार्याम् भाव = कौमार , तस्य स्त्री कौमारी भार्या ॥

१२१५ । तत्रोद्धृतममत्रेभ्यः । ४ । २ । १४ ॥

शराव उद्धृत शाराव ओदन । उद्धरतिरिहोद्धरणपूर्वके निधाने वर्तते । तेन सप्तमी । उद्धृत्य निहित इत्यर्थ ॥

1215 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes in the sense of 'placed thereon', after words denoting vessels, when such words are in the locative case in construction

The word तत्र means, 'thereon' i e a word in the seventh case in construction अमत्र means 'vessels' उद्धृतम् means 'placed', or literally the 'refuse of dinner' Thus शरावेषूद्धृत = शाराव ओदन "boiled rice placed on an earthen dish" That is, the uchchishta or leavings of food already eaten, or the remainder of food that remains after dinner So also मालिक , कार्पर ॥ The word uddhṛitam here means being taken out first from one vessel and then placed on another Hence the Locative In other words uddhṛita means here "placed"

Note —Why do we say "after a word denoting vessel" ? Observe पाण्यवदधहस्त ओदन 'boiled rice placed on the hand'

The word तत्र, denoting 'a word in the locative case in construction', governs the six subsequent sutras upto IV 2 20 S 1223 inclusive

१२१६ । स्थण्डिलाच्छयितरि व्रते । ४ । २ । १५ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । समुदायेन चेद्व्रत गम्यते । स्थण्डिले शेते स्थाण्डिला भिक्षु ॥

1216 The affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes after the word स्थण्डिल being in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'a sleeper thereon', and the whole word so formed denotes 'a person performing a vow'.

Thus स्थण्डिले शयितृ व्रतमस्य=स्थाण्डिल 'a person who has taken the vow to sleep on the bare ground' i.e an ascetic or a Brahmachari

Note —Why do we say 'vow'? Observe स्थण्डिले शेते ब्रह्मदत्त 'Brahmadatta sleeps on the bare groud', not as a matter of vow, but of necessity or pleasure The word व्रत means a 'vow or an observance ordained by the religious codes'

१२१७ । संस्कृतं भक्षाः । ४ । २ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तादण् स्यात्संस्कृतेऽर्थे यत्संस्कृतं भक्षाश्चेत्ते स्यु । भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भ्राष्ट्रा यवा । अष्टसु कपालेषु संस्कृतोऽष्टाकपाल पुरोडाश ॥

1217 The affix अण् comes after a word ending in the locative case, to denote 'what is prepared therein'—if that which is so prepared be 'granular food'

Thus भ्राष्ट्रे संस्कृता भक्षा=भ्राष्ट्रा 'barley fried in the pan' Similarly अष्टाकपाल पुरोडाश here अण् is elided by IV 1 88 S 1080

Note —Why do we say 'if it means food"? Observe पुष्पपुटे संस्कृतो मालागुण ॥

१२१८ । शूलोखाद्यत् । ४ । २ । १७ ॥

अणोऽपवाद । शूले संस्कृतं शूल्यं मांसम् । उखा पात्रविशेष । तस्यां संस्कृतम् उख्यम् ॥

1218 The affix यत् comes in the sense of prepared food, after the words शूल and उखा ending in the locative case

This debars अण् (IV 1 83) As शूले संस्कृत=शूल्य 'roasted on a spit'—i e meat So also उख्यम् 'flesh boiled in a pot' For accent see VI 1 213 S 3701

१२१९ । दध्नष्ठक् । ४ । २ । १८ ॥

दध्नि संस्कृतं दाधिकम् ।

1219 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of prepared food, after the word 'dadhi' ending in the locative case in construction

Thus दध्नि संस्कृतं=दाधिकम् 'made of coagulated milk'

Note —This form will be evolved by IV 4 3 S 1551, but the दाधिकम् formed by that rule means दध्ना संस्कृत i e anything prepared or seasoned with curd, while the दाधिक of this sûtra means 'curd itself seasoned with salt or, pepper'

१२२० । उदश्वितोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १९ ॥

ठक् स्यात्पक्षेऽण् ॥

1220 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'prepared food', optionally after the word उदश्वित् ending in the locative case in construction

Thus औदश्वित्कम् (VII 3 51), or औदश्वितम् by अण् ॥ The word औदश्वित्कम् is thus formed उदश्वित् + ठक् ॥ Here applies the following rule

१२२१ । इसुसुक्तान्तात्कः । ७ । ३ । ५१ ॥

इस् उस् उक् त एतदन्तात्परस्य ठस्य कः स्यात् । उदकेन श्वयति वर्धते इत्युदश्वित् । तत्र संस्कृतः औदश्वित्कः । औदश्वितः । इसुसोः प्रतिपदोक्तयोर्ग्रहणान्नेह । आशिषा चरति आशिषिकः । उषा चरति औषिकः ॥

दोष उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ दोर्भ्यां चरति दौष्कः ॥

1221 क is substituted for ठ after a stem ending in इस्, उस्, उक्, (उ, ऊ, ऋ) and त् ॥

This word udaśvit literally means that which grows by water It is the name of whey in which *half* is water and *half* curd Thus औदश्वित्कः, or औदश्वितः by अण् ॥ The इस् and उस् are the affixes of that name, therefore not here, आशिषिकः (= आशिषा चरति), औषिकः (= उषा चरति) ॥

Vârt —So also after दोस्, as दौष्कः (दोर्भ्यांचरति) ॥

१२२२ । क्षीराड्ढञ् । ४ । २ । २० ॥

अत्र संस्कृतमित्येव संबध्यते न तु भक्षा इति । तेन यवाग्वामपि भवति । क्षैरेयी ॥

1222 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'prepared', after the word 'kshîra', ending in the locative case in construction

The word 'prepared' only is applicable here, and not 'food', and therefore the derivative applies to यवागू (which is not an article of food ?)

This debars अण् ॥ Thus क्षीरे संस्कृता = क्षैरेयी यवागू 'milky gruel'

१२२३ । सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति । ४ । २ । २१ ॥

इतिशब्दात्संज्ञायामिति लभ्यते । पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् पौषो मासः ॥

1223 The affix अण् comes after the name of a full-moon-night, to denote the division of time in which the night falls.

The word इति in the sutra indicates that we should read संज्ञायाम् here

Note —The word सा means 'that' It is in the nominative case, therefore by IV 1. 82 S 1072 it means that "after a word in the first case in construction",

अस्मिन् 'in it' i e in the sense of a seventh case पौर्णमासीति "if the word in the first case in construction is the name of a full-moon night" The word इति after पौर्णमासी is used for the sake of reading the word संज्ञायाम् in the sutra It does not occur in the original sûtras of Panini, but is added by the author of the Kâśikâ from a Vârtika, and means 'if the word so formed is an appellative', i e if it is the name of a month, a half-month and a year The whole sutra therefore literally translated means "the affix अण् already ordained (IV 1 83) comes in the sense of a 7th case affix, after a word in the 1st case in construction, if that word is the name of a full-moon-night, provided that the whole word so formed is an appellation of a month, a half-month or a year"

Thus पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् = पौषो मास 'the month Pausa i e that month in which the moon is full in the asterism Pushya'

Note —Similarly पौषोऽर्द्धमास and पौष संवत्सर ॥ But not so in the following पौषी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् दशरात्रे, because daśarâtra is not a month or a fortnight or a year

The words इति and संज्ञायाम् have the same force here, namely, they make the word an appellative The word संज्ञायाम् added to the sûtra by the Vârtika is a redundancy

Note —The word पौर्णमासी is formed by adding अण् to पूर्णमास ॥ Or it may be evolved in this way —पूर्णो मा = पूर्णमा, पूर्णमास इयम् = पौर्णमासी ॥ The word मा means "moon"

१२२४ । आग्रहायण्यश्वत्थाट्ठक् । ४ । २ । २२ ॥

अग्रे हायनमस्या इत्याग्रहायणी । प्रज्ञादेराकृतिगणत्वादण् । पूर्वपदात्संज्ञायामिति णत्वम् । आग्रहायणी पौर्णमासी अस्मिन् आग्रहायणीको मास । अश्वत्थेन युक्ता पौर्णमासी अश्वत्थ । निपातनात्पौर्णमास्यामपि लुप् । आश्वत्थिक ॥

1224 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of the locative case, after the words 'âgrahâyanî' and 'aśvattha ending in the first-affix in construction and being the name of a full-noon night

The words सास्मिन्पौर्णमासीति of the last sûtra govern this also This debars अण् ॥ The word âgrahâyanî is a Bahuvrihi, meaning agre hâyanam asyâh 'that which has the *year* (hâyana) before it"—or with which the year commences It takes the affix अण्, because it belongs to Prajñâdi class which is an âkritigana (V 4 38 S 2106) Thus अग्र + हायन + अण् = आग्रहायण ॥ The न is changed to ण by VIII 4 3 S 857 Thus आग्रहायणिको मास: 'the month called Âgrahâyanika i e in which the moon is full in the asterism of Agrahâyaṇa, Similarly the day in which the full moon occurs in the asterism aśvattha is called aśvattha The affix denoting time is elided as nipâtana. From it we have आश्वत्थिक ॥

१२२५। विभाषा फाल्गुनीश्रवणाकार्त्तिकीचैत्रीभ्यः । ४ । २ । २३ ॥

एभ्यष्ठग्वा पक्षेऽण्। फाल्गुनिक । फाल्गुनो मास । श्रावणिक । श्रावण । कार्त्तिकिक । कार्त्तिक । चैत्रिक । चैत्र ॥

1225 The affix ठक् optionally comes after the words 'Phâlgunî', 'Śravanâ', Kârtikî' and 'Chaitrî' being the names of full moon nights, the whole word so formed being a Name denoting a division of time (a month, a fortnight or a year) in which the moon is full in those asterisms

Thus फाल्गुन or फाल्गुनिक श्रावण or श्रावणिक, कार्त्तिक or कार्त्तिकिक, चैत्र or चैत्रिक ॥ This optionally ordains ठक् instead of अण् which also comes in the alternative

१२२६। सास्य देवता । ४ । २ । २४ ॥

इन्द्रो देवताऽस्येति ऐन्द्रं हविः । पाशुपतम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । त्यज्यमानद्रव्ये उद्देश्यविशेषो देवता मन्त्रस्तुत्या च । ऐन्द्रो मन्त्रः । आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणो देवतयेति तु शैषिकेऽर्थे सर्वत्राग्नेरिति ढक् ॥

1226 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) is added to the name of a deity when something is to be spoken of "as his"

सा='after a word in the first case in construction' अस्य 'in the sense of a sixth case देवता 'if the word in the first case is the name of a deity' Thus इन्द्रोदेवताऽस्य=ऐन्द्रम् हविः 'oblation sacred to Indra' Similarly पाशुपतम् 'oblation belonging to Pasupati' So also बार्हस्पत्यम् ॥

Why do we say "after the name of a *deity*"? Observe, कन्यादेवताऽस्य, no affix is added to कन्या ॥

In the sentence ऐन्द्रोमन्त्रः the word aindra means the *hymn* by which Indra is praised while oblation is offered The affix is added, therefore, to, denote the mantra by which a devatâ s praised, and who is referred to while the offering is thrown into fire (Mantra stutyâ = mantrena stutyâ Stutyâ is a feminine word in apposition with devatâ, and formed by kyap and ṭâp See III 1 109 S 2857) And in आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणोदवतयेति the affix ढक् is added by IV 2 33 S 1236 in the śaisika sense to agni It is is added by analogy

Note —The whole phrase सास्य देवता governs up to sutra IV 2 35 S 1238 Though the word स was understood in this sûtra by anuvritti from sutra IV 2 21 S 1223, its repetition is for the sake of indicating that the anuvritti of संज्ञा does not

extend to it The affix ordained by this sutra has the force of indicating 'lord of oblations like Purodâsa &c offered in a sacrifice'

१२२७ । कस्येत् । ४ । २ । २५ ॥

कशब्दस्य इकारादेशः स्यात्प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन । अस्येति लोपात्परत्वादादिवृद्धिः । कः ब्रह्मा देवतास्य कायं हविः । श्रीर्देवतास्य श्रायम् ॥

1226 The short इ is the substitute of the final अ of क, when the affix is added,

Thus क + अण् = कि + अण् = कै + अ = काय "oblation sacred to Ka" As कायं हविः ॥ Similarly श्राय from श्री "the oblation sacred to Śrî The rule VI 4 148 S 311 required the elision of इ before अण्, but it is prevented by the rule of vriddhi VII 2 117 S 1075 which is subsequent to it

१२२८ । शुक्राद्घन् । ४ । २ । २६ ॥

शुक्रियम् ॥

1228 The affix घन् comes in the sense of "that its deity", after the word 'śukra

This debars अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) Thus शुक्र + घन् = शुक्रियम् हविः (VII 1 2 S 475) 'an oblation belonging to Śukra' Thus शुक्रियोऽध्यायः ॥

१२२९ । अपोनप्त्रपांनप्तृभ्यां घः । ४ । २ । २७ ॥

अपोनप्त्रियम् । अपांनप्त्रियम् । अपोनपात् अपांनपाच्च देवता । प्रत्ययसन्नियोगेन तृक्तं रूपं निपात्यते । अत एवापोनपाते अपांनपातेऽनुब्रूहीति प्रैषः ॥

1229 The affix घ comes after the words 'aponaptṛi' and apânnaptṛi' in the sense of 'that its deity

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रियं हविः or अपांनप्त्रियम् ॥ The words अपोनपात् and अपांनपात् are the names of two deities, these words irregularly assume the form ending in नप्तृ when the affix is to be added, otherwise they retain their form As in the directory sentence अपोनपाते अपांनपातेऽनुब्रूहि ॥

१२३० । छ च । ४ । २ । २८ ॥

योगविभागो यथासंख्यनिवृत्त्यर्थः । अपोनप्त्रीयम् ॥ अपांनप्त्रीयम् ॥

शतरुद्राद्घश्च * ॥ चाच्छः । शतं रुद्रा देवता अस्य शतरुद्रियम् । शतरुद्रीयम् । घच्छयोर्विधानसामर्थ्याद्द्विगोर्लुगनपत्ये इति न लुक् ॥

1230 Also 'Chha' is added to 'Aponaptṛi' and 'Apânnaptṛi' in the sense of 'that its deity,.

The affix छ also comes in the sense of "that its deity" after the word Aponaptṛi and Apânnaptri This debars अण् ॥ Thus अपोनप्त्रीय or अपान्नप्त्रीयम् 'oblaton secred to Aponapât or Appânnapât'

Note —This is made a separate sutra, in order to prevent the application of the rule I 3 10 S 128 For if it was included in the last, the sutra would have run thus "The affixes घ and छ come after Aponaptri and Apannaptṛi", the meaning of which according to I 3 10 S 128 would have been "the affix घ comes after Aponaptri, and छ after Apânnaptṛi" But this is not what the author intended. Hence two distinct sûtras

Vârt —The word शतरुद्र takes घ and छ both in the sense of 'that its deity' e g शतरुद्रीयम् and शतरुद्रिय ॥ The luk elision of taddhita after Dvigu words taught by IV 1 88 S 1080 does not take place here, for then the Vârtika would have become useless The very fact that affixes are ordained after the Dvigu word satarudra sets aside the rule of elision by implication.

१२३१ । महेन्द्राद्घाणौ च । ४ । २ । २९ ॥

चाच्छः । महेन्द्रिय हवि । माहेन्द्रम् । महेन्द्रीयम् ॥

1231 The affix घ, and अण् as also the affix छ, come after the name Mahendra, in the sense of "this its deity"

As महेन्द्रीयम् हवी = माहेन्द्रम् and महेन्द्रियम् 'oblation sacred to Mahendra'

१२३२ । सोमाट्ट्यण् । ४ । २ । ३०

सौम्यम् । टित्वान्ङीप् ॥ सौमी स्रुक् ॥

1232 The affix ट्यण् comes after the name 'Soma', in the sense of "this its deity"

This debars अण् ॥ The ण् of ट्यण् causes Vṛiddhi. The ट causes the affixing of ङीप् in the feminine Thus सौम्य हवि, सौमी स्रुक् ॥ सौम्य+ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470)=सौम्+ई (VI 4 150 S 472)=सौमी ॥

१२३३ । वाय्वृतुपित्रुषसो यत् । ४ । २ । ३१ ॥

वायव्यम् । ऋतव्यम् ॥

1233 The affix यत् comes after the names of 'vâyu', 'ritu', Pitṛi' and 'Ushas', in the sense of "this its deity"

This debars अण् ॥ As, वायव्यम्, ऋतव्यम ॥ The next form पितृ+यत् requires the following sûtra for its evolution.

१२३४ । रीङृतः । ७ । ४ । २७ ॥

अकृद्यकारेऽसार्वधातुके यकारे च्वौ च परे ऋदन्ताङ्गस्य रीङादेशः स्यात् । यस्येति च । पित्र्यम् उषस्यम् ॥

1234 री is substituted for the final short ऋ of a stem, before an affix beginning with य, when it is not a Krit nor a Sârvadhâtuka affix, and before the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

The anuvritti of क्ङिति is, however, not understood in this sûtra, that of च्वौ and अकृत्सार्वधातुकयो is present The क्ङित् and ङित् not being understood here, we have पितादेवताऽस्य=पित्र्यम् which is thus formed पितृ+यत्=पित्री+ये=पित्र्+य (ई being elided by VI 4 148 S 311) So also उपस्यम् ॥

Note —Why do we say short ऋ? Observe चेक्रीयते from कॄ विक्षेपे, with यङ् अङ्गत्तद् धातो and इलिच lengthening निजेगिल्यते from कॄ and गॄ ॥

१२३५ । द्यावापृथिवीशुनासीरमरुत्वदग्नीषोमवास्तोष्पतिगृहमेधाच्छ च । ४ । २ । ३२ ॥

चायत् । द्यावापृथिवीयम् । द्यावापृथिव्यम् । शुनासीरीयम् । शुनासीर्यम् ॥

1235 The affix छ comes also in the sense of 'this its deity', after the names 'Dyâvâ-Prithivî', 'Śunâsîra', 'Marutvat', Agnîshoma', 'Vâstoshpati' and 'Grihamedha'

This debars अण् and ण्य ॥ Thus द्यावापृथिवीयम् or द्यावापृथिव्यम् 'belonging to the Gods Heaven and Earth' शुनासीरीयम् or शुनासीर्यम् 'belonging to Śuna (Wind) and Śira (Sun)' (VI 3 26 S 922 for the lengthening of the अ of शुन) मरुत्वतीयम् or मरुत्वत्यम् ॥ अग्नीषोमीयम् or अग्नीषोम्यम् ॥ वास्तोष्पतीयम् or वास्तोष्पत्यम ॥ गृहमेधीयम् or गृहमेध्यम् ॥

Note —According to Haradatta, Śunâsîra is an epithet of Indra, Marutvân is also a name of Indra, meaning 'Lord of Maruts' Agnishoma is formed by VI 3 27 S 923 Vastospati is an irregularly formed word=Vâstunah pati

१२३६ । अग्नेर्ढक् । ४ । २ । ३३ ॥

आग्नेयम् ॥

1236 The affix ढक् comes in the sense of 'this its deity', after the name Agni

Thus अग्निर्देवताऽस्य=आग्नेय ॥

१२३७ । कालेभ्यो भववत् । ४ । २ । ३४ ॥

मासिकम् । प्रावृषेण्यम् ॥

1237 After words expressive of time, the affixes denoting 'who stays there' (IV 3 11 S 1381 to IV 3 53 S 1428), come also in the sense of 'this its deity'.

Thus by IV 3 11 S 1381 (read with IV 3 53 S 1428), the affix ठञ् comes after the words expressive of time, in the sense of 'who stays there' The same affix will also come in the sense of सास्यदेवता ॥ Thus मासे भव = मासिकम् (मास + ठञ् = मास - इक VII 3 50 S 1170), प्रावृषेण्यम् (IV 3 17 S 1388) meaning 'monthly' and 'rainy' The words will also mean 'an oblation sacred to a month i e' as मासा देवताऽस्य मासिकम् ॥ &c

१२३८ । महाराजप्रोष्ठपदाट्ठञ् । ४ । २ । ३५ ॥

माहाराजिकम् । प्रौष्ठपदिकम् ॥

1238 The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this its deity', after the words 'Mahârâja' and 'Proshthapada'

Thus महाराजो देवताऽस्य = माहाराजिकम्, प्रौष्ठपदिक ॥

१२३९ । देवताद्वन्द्वे च । ७ । ३ । २१ ॥

अत्र पूर्वोत्तरपदयोरादेरचो वृद्धि स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च परे । आग्निमारुतम् ॥

1239 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of the both members of a Dvanda compound of the names of Devatas

As आग्निमारुती in आग्निमारुतां नड्वाहीमालभेत् ॥ आग्निमारुत कर्म ॥

Note —The rule applies to D ndas relating to hymns (सूक्त) and sacrificial offerings (हवि) ॥ Therefore, not here स्कान्दविशाखो देवतेऽस्य = स्कान्दविशाख (IV 2 24 S 1226) So also ब्राह्मप्रजापत्यम् by ण्य from ब्रह्मप्रजापती ॥ See VI 3 26 S 922.

The short इ in the आग्नि in आग्निमारुत, आग्निवारुणम् is by VI 3 28 S 925 A compound relates to a sûkta, which worships a deva through hymns, and that by which a 'havis' is determined, is a compound relating to the sacrificial offering

१२४० । नेन्द्रस्य परस्य । ७ । ३ । २२ ॥

परस्येन्द्रस्य वृद्धिर्न स्यात् । सौमेन्द्र । परस्य किम । ऐन्द्राग्न ॥

1240 But the Vriddhi of the first vowel of Indra, when it stands as the second member of a Dvanda compound, does not take place before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As सौमेन्द्र, आग्नेन्द्र ॥ Why "when it stands as the subsequent member"? Observe ऐन्द्राग्न मेकादशकपालं चरु निर्वपेत् ॥

Note —There are two vowels in the word इन्द्र, and when a Taddhita affix is added, then one of these i e the अ or the last vowel is elided by VI 4 148 S.

311 and the other (i e the इ) coalesces with the last vowel of the first term, as सोम + इन्द्र + अण् = सोम + इन्द्र + अ = सोमे + न्द्र + अ ॥ Now no vowel is left of इन्द्र when it gets the form न्द्र, so what is the necessity of the present prohibitory rule? This prohibition indicates the existence of the following maxim बहिरङ्गमपि पूर्वोत्तरपदयो पूर्वं कार्यं भवति पश्चादेकादेश or in other words पूर्वोत्तरनिमित्तकार्यात् पूर्वमन्तरङ्गोऽप्येकादेशो न ॥ 'The substitution of one vowel of the final of the first and the initial of the second member of a compound does not, even when it is antaranga take place previously to an operation which concerns the first or the second member of the compound" It is on this maxim that the forms पुर्वैषुकामशम (VII 3 14 S 1400) &c are constructed, otherwise उ being the first vowel of the second member (इ of इषु having merged in पुर्व), would have been vriddhied

१२४१ । दीर्घाच्च वरुणस्य । ७ । ३ । २३ ॥

दीर्घात्परस्य वरुणस्य न वृद्धि । ऐन्द्रावरुणम् । दीर्घात्किम् । आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाहीमालभेत ॥ तदस्मिन्वर्तत इति नवयज्ञादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ नावयज्ञिक काल । पाकयज्ञिक ॥ पूर्णमासादण् वक्तव्य * ॥ पूर्णो मासोऽस्या वर्तते इति पार्णमासी तिथि ॥

1241 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, in a Dvandva compound of god-names, the vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel of वरुण, when a long vowel precedes it

As ऐन्द्रावरुणम्, मैत्रावरुणम् from इन्द्रवरुणौ &c (VI 3 26 S 922) Why do we say 'a long vowel'? Observe आग्निवारुणीम् in आग्निवारुणीमनड्वाही मालभेत् where a short vowel precedes it

Note —This word is derived from the compound word अग्नीवरुणौ the इ of अग्नि being lengthened by VI 3 27 S 923 But in forming a Taddhita derivative from this word, the long ई is shortened by VI 3, 28 S 925, and therefore, it cannot be said that a long vowel precedes वरुण ॥

Vârt —After the words नवयज्ञ &c the affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'that exists in it' As नवयज्ञोऽस्मिन् वर्तते = नावयज्ञिक कालः ॥ So also पाकयज्ञिकः ॥

Vârt —After the words पूर्णमास, the affix अण् comes in the same sense. As पूर्णमासोऽस्यां वर्तते = पौर्णमासी तिथि 'the day in which the full-moon occurs'

१२४२ । पितृव्यमातुलमातामहपितामहा । ४ । २ । ३६ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते ॥

पितुर्भ्रातरि व्यत् * ॥ पितुर्भ्राता पितृव्य ॥ मातुर्डुलच् * ॥ मातुर्भ्राता मातुल ॥

मातृपितृभ्या पितरि डामहच् ॥ मातुः पिता मातामह । पितु पिता पितामहः ॥ मातरि षिच्च * ॥ मातामही । पितामही॥

अवेर्दुग्धे सोढदूसमरीसचो वक्तव्याः * ॥ सकारपाठसामर्थ्यान्न ष । अविसोढम् अविदूसम् । अविमरीसम् ॥

तिलान्निष्फलात्पिञ्जपेजौ * ॥ तिलपिञ्ज । तिलपेज । वन्ध्यस्तिल इत्यर्थः ॥

पिञ्जश्छन्दसि डिच्च * ॥ तिल्पिञ्ज ॥

1242 The words pitrivya, 'a father's brother', mâtula, 'a mother's brother', mâtâmaha, 'a mother's father' and pitâmaha, 'a father's father' are irregularly formed

We can infer from these forms, what were the affixes, having what indicatory letters, *employed* in what sense and coming after what cases of the base Thus if any rules need be formed, we may enunciate the following

Vârtika —पितृमातृभ्यां भ्रातरि व्यड्डुलचौ "the affixes व्यत् and डुलच् come respectively after the words pitṛi and mâtṛi in the sense of his or her brother' Thus पितृव्य and मातुल respectively

Vârtika —मातृपितृभ्यां पितरि डामहच् , मातरि षिच्च ॥ The affix ḍâmahach comes, in the sense of their father, and their feminine is formed as if the affix had an indicatory ष ॥ Thus पितामह (f पितामही), मातामह (f मातामही) ॥

Vart —The affixes सोढ, दूस and मरीसच् come after the word अवि, in the sense of 'milk' As अवेर्दुग्धम् = अविसोढम् or अविदूसम् or अविमरीसम् ॥ The स is not changed to ष in these, for if it was so changed, the author would have read षोढम् &c in the rule, in order to shorten the process The fact of his using सोढम् &c shows that the स is not to be changed to ष in these examples

Vârt —The affixes पिञ्ज and पेज come after the word तिल, in the sense of fruitless As निष्फलस्तिल = तिलपिञ्ज and तिलपेज ॥

Vârt —The affix पिञ्ज् is treated like डित् in the Chhandas As तिल्पिञ्ज ॥

१२४३ । तस्य समूहः । ४ । २ । ३७ ॥

काकानां समूहः काकम् । बाकम् ।

1243 An affix is added to a word, when the sense is 'a collection thereof'

Thus काकानां समूहः = काकम् ॥ So also बाकम् ॥

Note —The affix अण् (IV I 83 S 1073) already taught, is added to a word in the 6th case in construction in the sense of collection, What is the example

of this ? In order to apply the affix अण्, we must apply it to those words only, to which the special rules hereinafter taught do not apply In other words, the affix अण् is added in the sense of collection thereof, to a word which denotes a conscious being, which has udâtta accent on the first syllable, which does not end with a Gotra affix, and which is not a word specifically mentioned in the subsequent sûtras For, a word expressing a non-conscious being, will take the affix ठक् by IV 2 47 S 1256, a word having anudâtta on the first syllable will have the affix अञ् IV 3 44 S 1419, a Gotra word will take वुञ् IV 2 39 S 1246 and especial words like केदार &c take यञ् &c Making all these exclusions the example we get is —काकानां समूहः =काकम् 'a collection of crows' काकम् ॥ The phrase तस्य समूहः of this aphorism governs all the subsequent sûtras up of sûtra IV 2 51 S 1260 inclusive

Vârt — The affix ग्रामच् comes after the words गुण &c As गुणग्राम 'a collection of qualities', करणग्राम &c The following are some of such words — गुण, करण, तत्त्व, शब्द, इन्द्रिय &c It is an âkritigana

१२४४ । भिक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ३८ ॥

भिक्षाणां समूहो भैक्षम् । गर्भिणीनां समूहो गार्भिणम् । इह भस्याढे इति पुंवद्भावे कृते ॥

1244 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'bhikshâ' &c

The repetition of the word अण् in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was here, is for the sake of removing the operation of any obstructing rule

Thus भिक्षाणां समूहः = भैक्षम् "what is collected in the shape of alms' So also गार्भिणम् ॥ It is thus formed गर्भिणी+अण्=गर्भिण् (the masculine form of a Bha is substituted, when a Taddhita affix follows without an indicatory ढ, भस्याढे तद्धिते See VI 3 35 S 836 Vârtika) Now the sûtra VI 4 144 S 679 requires the elision of the syllable इन् of गर्भिन्, but the following sûtra prevents that

१२४५ । इनण्यनपत्ये । ६ । २ । १६४ ॥

अनपत्यार्थेऽणि परे इन् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । तेन नस्तद्धिते इति टिलोपो न । युवतीनां समूहो यौवनम् । शवन्तादङ्डुदात्तात्तेरञि यौवतम् ॥

1245 The final इन् of a bha stem remains unaltered before the non-Patronymic अण् affix

Therefore there is not the elision of the final syllable, though required by VI 4. 144 S 679 Thus we get गार्भिणम् ॥ Similarly यौवनम् from युवति ॥ This word is anudâtta accented on the first syllable, and would have taken

अञ् (IV 2 44 S 1253) but takes अण्, and hence it is included in the Bhikshâdi class When युवति becomes masculine, the ति ceases, and we have युवन् + अण् = यौवनम् 'a collection of young women"

The word यौवनम् however is another form Here the affix added is अञ् (IV 2 44 S 1253) and not अण्, and it is added to युवत् ending in शतृ affix, which has anudâtta on the first syllable

१२४६ । गोत्रोक्षोष्ट्रोरभ्रराजराजन्यराजपुत्रवत्समनुष्याजाद्वुञ् ।४। २।३९॥

एभ्य समूहे वुञ् स्यात् । लौकिकमिह गोत्रं तदपत्यमात्रम् ॥

1246 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after a word denoting a patronymic, and after 'ukshan', 'ushtra', 'urabhra', 'râjan', 'râjanya', 'râjaputtra' 'vatsa', 'manushya' and 'aja'

The word गोत्र is used here in its popular and not technical sense, meaning any descendant or offspring The वु of the affix वुञ् is replaced by अक by the following sûtra

१२४७ । युवोरनाकौ । ७ । १ । १ ॥

यु वु एतयोरनुनासिकयो क्रमादन अक एतावादेशौ स्त । ग्लुचुकायनीना समूहो ग्लौचुकायनकम् । औक्षकमित्यादि । आपत्यस्य चेति यलोपे प्राप्ते ॥

प्रकृत्याऽके राजन्यमनुष्ययुवान * ॥ राजन्यकम् । मानुष्यकम् ॥
वृद्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ वार्धकम् ॥

1247 For यु and वु (nasalised) in an affix, are substituted respectively अन and अक ॥

Note —यु and वु are taken here as stripped of all other indicatory letters, and the semi vowels are also to be understood to have been nasalised The अन replaces यु and अक replaces वु ॥ Thus ल्यु (III 1 134 S 2896) = अन as नन्द + ल्यु = नन्दन रमण ॥ So also ट्यु and ट्युल् (IV 3 23 S 1391) as सायतन, चिरतन ॥ वु we find in ण्वुल् (III 1 133 S 2895), as कृ + ण्वुल् = कारक, हारक ॥ So also वुन् (IV 3 98 S 1478) as वासुदेवक अर्जुनक ॥

Thus ग्लुचुकायनीना समूह = ग्लौचुकायनकम् । So also औक्षकम् from उक्ष, औष्ट्रकम् from उष्ट्र, औरभ्रकम् from उरभ्र and राजकम् from राज ॥ But राजन्य + वुञ् requires the elision of य by VI 4. 151 S 1082 This, however, is prevented by the following vârtika

Vârtika —The final य of मनुष्य and राजन्य is not elided when the affix अक is added (VI. 4 150 S 472) Thus राजन्यकम्, मानुष्यकम् ॥

The other words of sutra IV 2 39 S 1246 exhibit no irregularity As राजपुत्रकम्, मानुष्यकम् and आजकम् ॥

Vârtika —The affix वुञ् comes also after the word वृद्ध e g वार्द्धकम् 'a collection of old men

Why do we say nasalised यु and वु? Observe ऊर्णाया युस (V 2 123 S 1929) Here the यु is not replaced by अन, and we have ऊर्णायु ॥ So also in भुजिमृङ्भ्यां युक्त्युकौ ॥ Here the यु of युक् and त्युक् (Un III 21) are not replaced by अन, as भुज्यु and मृत्यु ॥ In the affixes above mentioned, the semi-vowel is not considered to have the nasal There are no visible marks of nasality on any affixes, but the maxim is प्रतिज्ञानुनासिक्याः पाणिनीयाः ॥

१२४८ । केदाराद्यञ्च ४ । २ । ४० ॥

चाद्वुञ् । कैदार्यम् । कैदारकम् ॥
गणिकाया यञिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गाणिक्यम् ॥

1248 The affix यञ् as well as the affix वुञ्, comes after the word केदार, in the sense of 'collection thereof'

This debars ठक् of IV 2 47 Thus केदाराणाम् समूह = कैदार्यम् or कैदारकम् ॥

Vârt —The affix यञ् comes after गणिका e g गाणिक्यम् ॥

१२४९ । ठञ्कवचिनश्च । ४ । २ । ४१ ॥

चात्केदारादपि । कवचिनां समूह कावचिकम् ॥ कैदारिकम् ॥

1249 The affix ठञ comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the word 'kedâra', and also after the word 'kavachin'

We read the anuvritti of केदार in this Sutra, by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus कवचिनां समूह = कावचिकम् (VI 4 164 S 1245), and कैदारिकम्

१२५० । ब्राह्मणमाणववाडवाद्यत् । ४ । २ । ४२ ॥

ब्राह्मण्यम् । माणव्यम् । वाडव्यम् ॥
पृष्ठादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

1250 The affix यन् is added, in the sense of 'collection thereof,' after the words 'brâhmana', 'mânava', and 'vâdava'

The indicatory न् of यन् makes the word take udâtta accent on the first syllable (VI 1 197) Thus ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम्, वाडव्यम् ॥

Vârt —Also after the word पृष्ठ e g पृष्ठ्यम् ॥

१२५१ । ग्रामजनबन्धुभ्यस्तल् । ४ । २ । ४३ ॥

ग्रामता । जनता । बन्धुता ॥

गजसहायाभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ गजता । सहायता ॥

अह्नः ख क्रतौ * ॥ अहीनः । अहर्गणसाध्यसुत्याकः क्रतुरित्यर्थः । क्रतौ किम् । आह्नम् । इह खण्डिकादित्वादञ् । अह्नष्टखोरेवेति नियमाट्टिलोपो न ॥

पर्श्वा णस् वक्तव्यः * ॥

1251 The affix 'tal' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'grâma', 'jana', and 'bandhu'

Thus ग्रामता 'a collection of villages' The words ending in तल् are all feminine So also जनता 'a collection of persons', बन्धुता 'a collection of relatives'

Vârt —The affix '*tal*' comes after गज and सहाय also e g गजता 'a collection of elephants' सहायता 'a collection of allies"

Vârt —The affix ख is added to अहन्, in the sense of a 'sacrifice' e. g अहीन 'a Soma sacrifice lasting for several days, Kratu means a Soma-sacrifice extending over several days Otherwise the form is आह्न by अञ् (see IV 2 45 S 1254) The final अन् here is not elided because of the restriction enunciated in VI 4 145 S 789

Vârt —The affix णस् comes after पर्शु, e g पार्श्वम् 'a collection of axes' The final उ of पर्शु, is not changed by guna into ओ before the affix, because the word पर्शु is treated as a pada-word and not a Bha word by the next sutra —

१२५२ । सिति च । १ । ४ । १६ ॥

सिति परे पूर्वं पदसंज्ञं स्यात् । अभत्वाद्गुणो न । पर्शूनां समूहः पार्श्वम् ॥

1252 When an affix having an indicatory स् follows then that which precedes it is called pada

Therefore the उ of पर्शु does not take guna substitution So we have पर्शूनां समूहः =पार्श्वम and not पार्शवम

१२५३ । अनुदात्तादेरञ् । ४ । २ । ४४ ॥

कापोतम् । मायूरम् ॥

1253. The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words having anudâtta on the first syllable

Thus कपोतानां समूहः =कापोतम्, मायूरम् ॥

१२५४ । खण्डिकादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ४५ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । खण्डिकाना समूह खाण्डिकम् ॥

1254 The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof' after the words 'khaṇḍika &c

This sûtra applies to words having anudâtta on the first syllable, and being names of non-living things e g खाण्डिकम्, वाडवम् ॥

१२५५ । चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् । ४ । २ । ४६ ॥

काठकम् । छान्दोग्यम् ॥

1255 After the name of a Vedic School, the affixes which denote the rule of that School, come also in the sense of 'collection thereof,

Note —The Vedic Schools or Charanas are like कठ, कलाप &c The affixes denoting the rule of the School are those taught in Sutras IV 3 126 S 1506 &c The word धर्म does not occur in the Sutra IV 3 126, S 1506 or any where else, but it occurs in the following *ishti* under that Sûtra —चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययो ॥

Thus कठाना धर्म=काठकम्, so also कठाना समूह =काठकम् ॥ Similarly छान्दोग्यम् ॥

१२५६ । अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ४७ ॥

साक्तुकम् । हास्तिकम् । धैनुकम् ॥

1256 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the names of non-living things and after 'hasti' and 'dhenu'

This debars अण् and अञ् ॥ The अपूपाना समूह =आपूपिकम् । साक्तुकम् ॥ The affix ठक is replaced by इक् (VII 3 50 S 1170) or क (VII 3 50 S 1170) Thus हास्तिकम्, धैनुकम्, शाष्कुलिकम् ॥

१२५७ । केशाश्वाभ्यां यञ्छावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । ४८ ॥

पक्षे ठगणौ । कैश्यम् । कैशिकम् । अश्वीयम् । आश्वम् ॥

1257 The affixes 'yañ' and 'chha' come optionally in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the words केश and अश्व ॥

Thus केशाना समूह =कैश्यम् or कैशिकम् (IV 2 47 S 1256), अश्वाना समूह =आश्वम् (IV 1 63 S 518) or अश्वीयम् ॥

१२५८ । पाशादिभ्यो य । ४ । २ । ४९ ॥

पाश्या । तृण्या । धूम्या । वन्या । वात्या ॥

1258 The affix 'ya' comes, in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words पाश &c.

Thus पाश्या, तृण्या, धूम्या, वन्या and वात्या These words are feminine

1 पाश, 2 तृण, 3 धूम, 4 वात, 5 अङ्गार, 6 पाटल (पाटलका K), 7 पोत, 8 गल, 9 पिटक, 10 पिटाक, 11 शकट, 12 हल, 13 नट (नड K) 14 वन 15 बालक ॥

१२५६ । खलगोरथात् । ४ । २ । ५० ॥

खल्या । गव्या । रथ्या ॥

1259 The affix 'ya' comes in the sense of 'collection thereof', after the words 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'

Thus खल्या, गव्या and रथ्या ॥ These three words have not been included in the पाशादि class, in order that the next rule IV 2 51 should apply to them

१२६० । इनित्रकटयचश्च । ४ । २ । ५१ ॥

खलादिभ्य क्रमात्स्यु । खलिनी । गोत्रा । रथकट्या ॥

खलादिभ्य इनिर्वक्तव्य * ॥ डाकिनी । कुटुम्बिनी । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1260 The affixes 'ini' 'tra' and 'katyach' come in the sense of 'collection thereof', respectively after the word 'khala', 'go' and 'ratha'

Thus खलिनी, गोत्रा रथकट्या ।

Vârt —The affix इनि comes after the words खल &c Thus डाकिनी, कुण्डलिनी, कुटुम्बिनी, ॥ This is an âkritigana

Vart —The affix खण्डच् comes after the words Kamala &c As कमलखण्डम्, अम्भोजखण्डम् ॥ कमल अम्भोज, पद्मिनी, कुमुद सरोज, नलिनी, कैरविणी belong to this class These are आकृतिगण ॥

Vart —The affix स्कन्धच् comes after the words नर, करि and तुरङ्ग ॥ As, नरस्कन्ध , करिस्कन्ध and तुरङ्गस्कन्ध ॥

Vart,—The affix काण्ड comes after the words पूर्व &c Thus पूर्वकाण्डम् तृणकाण्डम्, कर्मकाण्डम् ॥

१२६१ । विषयो देशे । ४ । २ । ५२ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्तादणादय स्युरत्यन्तपरिशीलितेऽर्थे स चेद्देश । शिबीना विषयो देश शैब । देशे किम् । देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाक ॥

1261 The affix अण् (IV 1 83) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'any body's sphere', if a country is indicated by such sphere

Thus शिबीना विषयो देश = शैब 'The country within the sphere of the Sibis' Why do we say 'if a country is meant'? Observe देवदत्तस्य विषयोऽनुवाक ॥

Note —The anuvritti of समूह (IV 2 37 S 1243) does not extend further but the anuvritti of तस्य (IV 2 37 S 1243) is to be read into it The whole sûtra thus becomes तस्य विषयो देशे 'his sphere—in denoting a country' The word विषय 'sphere, topic' has many significations Sometimes it means an estate, as विषयो लब्ध

'a village has been acquired' Some times it means an object of perception, as चक्षुर्विषयो रूपं 'color is the object of sight &c Therefore the word देश has been used in the Sûtra, in order to fix the particular meaning of the word विषय ॥

१२६२ । राजन्यादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । २ । ५३ ॥

राजन्यक ॥

1262 The affix वुञ् comes after the words râjanya &c, in the same sense

This debars अण् ॥ Thus राजन्यानां विषयो देश = राजन्यक, ॥ It is an आकृतिगण ॥

1 राजन्य, 2 आनृत*, 3 बाभ्रव्य*, 4 शालङ्कायन, 5 देवयात (देवयातव, देवयान,) 6 अग्नीध्र, 7 वरत्रा* 8 जालंधरायण 9 राजायन*, 10 तेलु*, 11 आत्मकामेय 12 अम्बरीषपुत्र 13 वसाति 14 बैल्ववन, 15 शैलूष, 16 उदुम्बर, 17 तीव्र*, 18 बैल्वज (बैल्वल) 19 आर्जुनायन 20 सम्प्रिय 21 दाक्षि 22 ऊर्णनाभ, 23 आपान, 24 बैतिल 25 वाचक, ॥

१२६३ । भौरिक्याद्यैषुकार्यादिभ्यो विधल्भक्तलौ । ४ । २ । ५४ ॥

भौरिकीणां विषयो देश भौरिकिविधम् । भौलिकिविधम् । ऐषुकारिभक्तम् । सारसायनभक्तम् ॥

1263 The affixes 'vidhal' and 'bhaktal' come respectively after the words 'Bhauriki', and 'Aishukâri &c' in the sense of 'sphere of country'

This debars अण ॥ Thus भौरिकिविधम् भौलिकिविधम् &c ऐषुकारिभक्तम्, सारस्यायनभक्तम् &c

1 भौरिकि, 2 भौलिकि, 3 चैपयत*, 4 चैटयत (चौटयत), 5 काणेय, 6 वाणिजक, 7 वालिकाज्य (वाणिकाज्य, वालिज, वालिज्यक) 8 सैकयत (शैकयत), 9 वैकयत, 10 वैपेय ॥

1 ऐषुकारि, 2 सारस्यायन (सारसायन), 3 चान्द्रायण, 4 द्व्याक्षायण, 5 त्र्याक्षायण (त्र्यायण), 6 औडायन 7 जौलायन, 8 खाडायन, 9 दासमित्रि, 10 दासमित्रायण, 11 शौद्रायण (शौद्राय), 12 दाक्षायण, 13 शायण्डायन*, 14 तार्क्ष्यायण, 15 शौभ्रायण, 16 सौवीर, 17 सौवीरायण*, 18 शयण्ड, 19 शौण्ड 20 शयाण्ड, 21 वैश्वमानव, 22 वैश्वधेनव 23 नड (नद) 24 तुण्डदेव, 25 विश्वदेव (विशदेव and वैश्वदेव), 26 सापिण्डि ॥ 27 शौण्डि, 28 सायण्डि, 29 भलायत, 30 औलालायत ॥

१२६४ । सोऽस्यादिरिति छन्दस प्रगाथेषु । ४ । २ । ५५ ॥

अण् । पङ्क्तिरादिरस्येति पाङ्क्त प्रगाथ ॥
स्वार्थे उपसंख्यानम्* । त्रिष्टुबेव त्रैष्टुभम् ॥

1264 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) added to the names of Metres, indicates a Pragâtha beginning therewith

Note —The words of this sûtra require a little explanation स 'that' i e a word in construction in the first case अस्य 'its' i. e. this gives the meaning

of the affix आदि 'beginning', this qualifies the base or prakriti The word इति is added for the sake of precision छन्दस 'after the name of a metre' This points out the base प्रगाथेषु 'in the sense of Pragâtha' This qualifies the meaning of the affix To put it in other words, the sûtra means, that the affix अण् is added to the name of a metre, when that metre is the beginning of a Pragâtha, and the whole word so formed means a Pragâtha beginning with that metre

Thus पङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, adding अण् to it we get पाङ्क्त which means "a Pragâtha beginning with the metre Pankti" Similarly आनुष्टुभः, जागत &c

Why do we say "beginning"? If the metre is in the middle or end of a 'Pragâtha', the affix will not be employed Why do we say 'after the name of a metre'? The affix will not be added to a word which is in the beginning of a Pragâtha Why do we say 'in the sense of a Pragâtha'? The affix will not be added, if the metre is the beginning of an Anuvâka &c and not of a Pragâtha Pragatha is the name of a particular kind of Mantra or Hymn यत्र द्वे ऋचौ प्रगाथनेन तिस्रः क्रियन्ते = प्रगायनात् पकर्षगानात् वा प्रगाथ इत्युच्यते ॥

Vârt —The affix अण् is added to the name of a metre in a self descriptive sense without changing the meaning of it, and the word so formed is in the neuter gender As, त्रैष्टुभम् 'the metre Trishtubha', जागतम् &c

१२६५ । संग्रामे प्रयोजनयोद्धृभ्यः । ४ । २ । ५६ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते । सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्येति सौभद्रः । भरता योद्धारोऽस्य संग्रामस्य भारतः ॥

1265 The same affix अण् indicates, when it is added to a word which denotes either the object of battle or the warrior of a battle, a battle fought for that object or by that warrior as a leader

Note —The phrase सोऽस्य is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the first case and must be the name of the "object" प्रयोजन, or of the "warrior" योद्धृ ॥ The whole word so formed must denote a 'battle' Therefore, the word संग्राम gives the meaning of the affix

This सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य संग्रामस्य = सौभद्रः "A battle fought for Subhadrâ" Similarly भारतः ॥

Note —Why do we say "in the sense of a battle?" Observe सुभद्रा प्रयोजनमस्य दानस्य 'Subhadrâ is the object of this gift' Here no affix is added Why do we say 'after a word denoting an object or a warrior'? Observe, सुभद्रा प्रेक्षिकाऽस्य संग्रामस्य ॥

१२६६ । तदस्यां प्रहरणमिति क्रीडायां णः । ४ । २ । ५७ ॥

दण्ड प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां दाण्डा । मौष्टा ॥

1266 The affix ण added to the name of a weapon, indicates a game played with that weapon

The sûtra literally translated means 'that is the weapon in this, denoting play, the affix ण is added' i e to a word in the first case in construction, denoting the name of a weapon, ण is added to denote a play Thus दण्ड प्रहरणमस्यां क्रीडायां = दाण्डा "a game played with sticks" So also मौष्टा "a game played with fists"

Note —Why do we say 'a weapon'? Observe माला भूषणमस्यां क्रीडायाम् 'the garland is an ornament in this play' Here no affix is added to माला ॥ Why do we say 'in denoting a game'? Observe —खड्ग प्रहरण मस्यां सेनायाम् 'the sword is the weapon in this army' These words are as a rule in the feminine gender (IV 1 4 S and 15), the feminine being formed by आ ॥

१२६७ । घञः सास्यां क्रियेति ञः । ४ । २ । ५८ ॥

घञन्तात्क्रियावाचिनः प्रथमान्तादस्यामिति सप्तम्यर्थे स्त्रीलिङ्गे ञप्रत्ययः स्यात् । घञ इति कृद्ग्रहणाद्गतिकारकपूर्वस्यापि ग्रहणम् ॥

1267 The affix ञ, added to a noun of action ending in the affix घञ् denotes an action occurring in that

These words are also feminine The meaning of the words of the aphorism is —घञः 'after a word ending in the affix घञ", सा 'that' अस्यां 'in it', the feminine gender shows that the word is also feminine क्रिया "action", this qualifies the sense of the affix To put it in other words, the sûtra means, "After a word ending in घञ् expressing an action, being in the Ist case in construction, the affix ञ is added in the sense of a 7th case affix, the resultant word being in the feminine gender"

The घञ formed word may be preceded by a *gati*, or a *kâraka*, or an *upapada*, and the rule will still apply, as घञ् is a Kṛit affix As an example under this sûtra, let us take the घञ् formed word पात preceded by the upapada श्येन ॥ Thus श्येन + पात + ञ ॥ Now applies the following

१२६८ । श्येनतिलस्य पाते ञे । ६ । ३ । ७१ ॥

श्येन तिल एतयोर्मुमागमः स्यात् ञप्रत्यये परे पातशब्दे उत्तरपदे । श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते श्यैनंपाता मृगया । तिलपातोऽस्यां वर्तते तैलंपाता स्वधा । श्येनतिलस्य किम् । दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते दाण्डपाता तिथिः ॥

1268 मुम is the augment of the words श्येन and तिल, before पात, when the affix ञ is added

Thus श्येनपातोऽस्यां वर्तते—श्यैनंपाता, so also तैलंपाता ॥ Thus श्यैनंपाता मृगया 'a chase with hawks to bring down or fell the prey', तैलंपाता स्वधा "an

oblation to the ancestors in which sesamum is thrown " Why do we say श्येन and तिल only ? Observe दण्डपातोऽस्यां तिथौ वर्तते = दाण्डपाता तिथि , मौशलपाता तिथि ॥

Note —Why do we say before अ ? Observe श्येनपात ॥

१२६९ । तदधीते तद्वेद । ४ । २ । ५९ ॥

व्याकरणमधीते वेद वा वैयाकरण ॥

1269 The affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073) comes after a word denoting " some subject of study ', in the sense of ' who has studied that or who understands that '

In other words, the sûtra means that the affix is added to a word in the accusative case in construction, denoting a person who studies or knows, that As व्याकरणमधीते = वैयाकरण (VII 3 3 S 1098) ' who knows grammar' The word तद् is repeated in this sûtra, in order to show a distinction between one who studies and who understands

१२७० । क्रतूक्थादिसूत्रान्ताट्ठक् । ४ । २ । ६० ॥

क्रतुविशेषवाचिनामेवेह ग्रहणम् । तेभ्यो मुख्यार्थेभ्यो वेदितरि तत्प्रतिपादकग्रन्थपरेभ्यस्त्वध्येतरि । आग्निष्टोमिक । वाजपेयिक । उक्थ सामविशेषस्तल्लक्षणपरो ग्रन्थविशेषो लक्षणयोक्थम् । तदधीते वेद वा औक्थिक ॥

मुख्यार्थात्तूक्थशब्दाद्ठगणौ नेष्येते * ॥ न्यायम् नैयायिक । वृत्तिम् वार्त्तिक । लोकायतम् लौकायतिक इत्यादि ॥

*सूत्रान्तात्त्वकल्पादेरेवेष्यते * ॥ सांग्रहसूत्रिक । अकल्पादे किम् । काल्पसूत्र ॥

विद्यालक्षणकल्पान्ताच्चेति वक्तव्यम * ॥ वायसविद्यिक । गौलक्षणिक । आश्वलक्षणिक । पाराशरकल्पिक ॥

अङ्गक्षत्रधर्मत्रिपूर्वाद्विद्यान्तान्नेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आङ्गविद्य । क्षात्रविद्य । धार्मविद्य । त्रिविधा विद्या त्रिविद्या तामधीते वेद वा त्रैविद्य ॥

आख्यानाख्यायिकेतिहासपुराणेभ्यश्च * ॥ यवक्रीतमधिकृत्य कृतमाख्यानमुपचाराद्यवक्रीत तदधीते वेत्ति वा यावक्रीतिक । वासवदत्तामधिकृत्य कृता आख्यायिका वासवदत्ता । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे इत्यर्थे वृद्धाच्छ । तस्य लुबाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलमिति लुप् । ततोऽनेन ठक् । वासवदत्तिक । ऐतिहासिक । पौराणिक ॥

सर्वादे सादेश्च लुग्वक्तव्य * ॥ सर्ववेदानधीते सर्ववेद । सर्वतन्त्र । सवार्तिक । द्विगोर्लुगिति लुक् । द्वितन्त्र ॥

इकन्पदोत्तरपदात्शतषष्टे षिकन्पथ * ॥ पूर्वपदिक । उत्तरपदिक । शातपथिक । शतपथिकी । षाष्टिपथिक । षष्टिपथिकी ॥

1270 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of ' one who studies or one who understands ', after the name of a sacrifice, after ' uktha &c ', and after a stem ending with the word sûtra

This debars अण् ॥ When the base has the primary sense of 'sacrifice', then the force of the affix is 'he who knows that sacrifice', when it means the book treating of that sacrifice, then the force of the affix is, 'he who *studies* that book' Thus आग्निष्टोमिक 'who understands Agnishtoma Sacrifice or studies the book teaching it" वाजपेयिक औक्थिक ॥ Uktha is a kind of sâma The book treating of it is also called Uktha by a figure of speech लौकायतिक, वार्त्तिकसूत्रिक साम्हसूत्रक, ॥

Isthi —The affixes ठक् and अण् do not come after the word उक्थ when used in its primary sense Therefore औक्थिक always means 'one who studies the prâtisâkhya of the Sâma Veda" and never means 'he who understands उक्थ ॥

Similarly न्याय or नैयायिक वृत्ति or वार्तिक लोकायतम् or लौकायतिक &c All these are words of the उक्थादि class, for a list of which see below

As regards सूत्रान्त words to which also this sutra is applicable, we must remember the following

Isthi —The affix ठक् comes after a stem ending with the word सूत्र when the preceding word in composition is not कल्प ॥ Thus साम्हसूत्रिक from समहसूत्र meaning 'one who studies Sangraha sutra' Why do you say 'when the preceding word is not सूत्र'? Observe काल्पसूत्र 'one who studies Kalpa sûtra', formed by the affix अण् and not ठक् ॥

Vâr —This affix comes after words ending in विद्या, लक्षण and कल्प, as वायसविद्यिक, गौलक्षणिक, आश्वलक्षणिक पाराशरकल्पिक ॥

Vârt —Not so if the word विद्या is preceded by the words अङ्ग, क्षत्र धर्म संसर्ग and त्रि ॥ As अङ्गविद्यामधीते=आङ्गविद्य, क्षात्रविद्य, धार्मविद्य सांसर्गविद्य, त्रैविद्य ॥ All these are formed by अण् and not ठक् ॥

The word त्रैविद्य, has this peculiarity that it is formed from the word त्रिविद्या meaning "three sorts of knowledge" (त्रिविधाविद्या) ॥ If we analyse the word as तिस्रोविद्याऽधीते then, the form would be त्रिविद्य and not त्रैविद्य for it would be then तद्धितार्थद्विगु in which the affix would be elided by IV. 1 88 S 1080

Vârt —The affix ठक् comes in the same sense after names of stories (आख्यान), narratives (आख्यायिका) and after the words इतिहास and पुराण ॥ As यावक्रीतिक, वासवदत्तिक, ऐतिहासिक, पौराणिक ॥

The story describing the adventures of Yavakrîta, is called by a figure of speech Yavakrîta He who studies or knows the work यवक्रीतम् is यावक्रीतिक । Similarly the story relating to Vâsavadatta is वासवदत्ता ॥ Here the affix छ is ordained by IV 2 114 S. 1337 with the force of the sutra IV 3 87 S 1467.

But this affix is elided by the *Vártika* लुवाख्यायिकाभ्यो बहुलम् 'there is diversely the elision of the affix after words denoting 'narratives' So छ being elided, the form remains as वासवदत्ता to which is added ठक् ॥ So we get वासवदत्तिक ॥

Várt —This affix is elided after words beginning with सर्व, and स, and after Dvigu compounds As सर्ववेद, 'one who studies all the Vedas', So also सर्वतन्त्र । सवार्तिक, ॥

He who studies two Tantras will be called द्वितन्त्र Here the samasânta affix is elided by IV 1 88 S 1080

Vart —The affix इकन् comes in the same sense after a compound word ending in पद्, as, पूर्वपदिक and उत्तरपदिक ॥

Várt —The affix ष्ठिकन् comes in the same sense, after the compound words शतपथ, and षष्टिपथ ॥ As शतपथिक f शतपथिकी (IV 1 41 S 498), षष्टिपथिक (f षष्टिपथिकी) ॥

1 उक्थ, 2 लोकायत, 3 न्याय, 4 न्यास, 5 पुनरुक्त, 6 निरुक्त, 7 निमित्त 8 द्विपदा, 9 ज्योतिष (द्विपदी, ज्योतिषि) 10 अनुपद, 11 अनुकल्प, 12 यज्ञ, 13 धर्म, 14 चर्चा, 17 क्रमेतर, 16 श्लक्ष्ण, 17 संहिता, 18 पदक्रम (पद । क्रम) 19 सघट्ट (सघात also सघट) 20 वृत्ति, 21 परिषद् *, 22 सग्रह, 23 गण, 24 गुण (गुणागुण st गण, गुण), 25 आयुर्वेद, 26 अनुगुण ॥

१२७१ । क्रमादिभ्यो वुन् । ४ । २ । ६१ ॥

क्रमक । क्रम, पद, शिक्षा, मीमांसा, इति क्रमादि ॥

1271 The affix वुन् comes, in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the words 'Krama &c'

This debars अण ॥ Thus क्रमक (VII 2 1 S 2297) पदक &c The words 1 क्रम, 2 पद, 3 शिक्षा, 4 मीमांसा 5 सामन् belong to this class

१२७२ । अनुब्राह्मणादिनि । ४ । २ । ६२ ॥

तदधीते तद्वेदेत्यर्थे । ब्राह्मणसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुब्राह्मण तदधीते अनुब्राह्मणी । मत्वर्थीयेनैव सिद्धे अण्बाधनार्थमिदम् ॥

1272 The affix 'ini' comes in the sense of "who studies or who knows", after the word 'anubrâhmaṇa'

This dabars अण् ॥ The word अनुब्राह्मण means 'a book in the imitation of or similar to a Brâhmana book' He who studies an अनुब्राह्मण is called अनुब्राह्मणिन्, which word is thus declined —अनुब्राह्मणी, अनुब्राह्मणिनौ, &c The affix इनि also has the force of मतुप्, and by Sûtra V 2 115 S, 1932 अत इनि ठनौ, this word अनुब्राह्मण might have taken both the affixes इनि and ठन् in the sense of मतुप, but as a matter of fact, it only takes इनि in that sense. Though it would have taken इनि by the V. 2, 115 S 1922, its separate

mention here is for the sake of preventing the application of अण् । In the Bhâshya however this Sûtra is declared superfluous, which implies that मयु also is added

१२७३ । वसन्तादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । २ । ६३ ॥

वासन्तिक । अथर्वाणमधीते आथर्वणिक । दाण्डिनायनेति सूत्रे निपातनाट्टिलोपो न ॥

1273 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'one who studies or who knows,' after the words 'Vasanta' &c

This dabars अण् । As, वासन्तिक 'one who studies the book relating to the Spring' आथर्वणिक &c । The final अन् of अथर्वन् is not elided because the form is so exhibited in the sûtra VI 4 174 S, 1145

1 वसन्त, 2 ग्रीष्म, 3 वर्षा, 4 शरद्, 5 हेमन्त, 6 शिशिर, 7 प्रथम, 8 गुण, 9 चरम, 10 अनुगुण, 11 अथर्वन् 12 आथर्वन् ॥

१२७४ । प्रोक्ताल्लुक् । ४ । २ । ६४ ॥

प्रोक्तार्थकप्रत्ययात्परस्याध्येतृवेदितृप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । पणन पण । घमर्थे कविधानमिति क । सोऽस्यास्तीति पणी, तस्य गोत्रापत्य पाणिन ॥

1274. After the title of a work, which is named after the Announcer thereof, the affixes denoting 'one who studies or who knows that' are elided by 'luk'

Note —This sûtra may be rendered in the following way also —'There is लुक् of these affixes after a word ending with an affix denoting announcer' The affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the first propounder are taught in IV 3 101 S 1481 &c Thus पाणिनिना प्रोक्तम्=पाणिनीयम् 'the system of Grammar enounced by Panini' पाणिनीयमधीते=पाणिनीय, so also कापिशल । The difference between the word पाणिनीय meaning 'the system of Grammar,' and पाणिनीय formed with अण, meaning 'who studies that Grammar' would consist in the accent, and the formation of the feminine As पाणिनीया ब्राह्मणी । For, had there been no elision expressly enjoined by this sûtra, in forming the feminine, ङीप् would be required by VI 1 15 S 2409, as the word would end in अण्, and the accent of the word would be finally acute (अण् being acute by the universal rule of affix-accent III 1 3 S 3708) But when the affix is elided, the feminine is formed by टाप्, and the accent is on the middle, owing to the छ affix (Phit Su 11 19)

The word पाणिनि is thus derived पण has the same meaning as पणन, this last word is formed by the addition of the affix क having the force of the affix घञ् (See the *Vârtika* under III 3 58 S, 3234) One who has पण 'wealth' is called पणिन् which is formed by adding the affix इनि to पण by V 2 115 S 1922 The gotra 'descendant' of पणिन् will be पाणिन formed by the affix अण् । Thus पणिन्+अण्=पाणिन ॥ The final इन् of पाणिन is not elided by the following sûtra —

१२७५ । गाथिविदथिकेशिगणिपणिनश्च । ६ । ४ । १६५ ॥

एतेऽणि प्रकृत्या स्यु । इति टिलोपो न । ततो यूनि इञ् । पाणिनि ॥

1275 गाथिन्, विदथिन्, केशिन्, गणिन् and पणिन् remain unchanged before the Patronymic अण् also

Thus गाथिनोऽपत्य=गाथिन । So also, वैदथिन , कैशिन , गाणिन , and पाणिन । This sûtra applies to Patronymics To the word पाणिनः thus formed, we add the युवन् Patronymic affix इञ् । Thus we get पाणिनि । Then applies the following sûtra —

१२७६ । ण्यक्षत्रियार्षञितो यूनि लुगणिञो । २ । ४ । ५८ ॥

ण्यप्रत्ययान्तात्क्षत्रियगोत्रप्रत्ययान्तादृष्यभिधायिनो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तात् ञितश्च परयोर्युवाभिधायिनोरणिञोर्लुक् स्यात् । कौरव्य पिता । कौरव्य पुत्र । श्वाफल्क पिता । श्वाफल्क पुत्र । वासिष्ठ पिता । वासिष्ठ पुत्र । तैकायनि पिता । तैकायनि पुत्र । ण्य किम् । शिवाद्यण् । कौहड पिता । तत इञ् । कौहडि पुत्र । यूनि किम् । वामरथ्यस्य छात्रा वामरथा । इति अणो लुक् तु न भवति । आर्षग्रहणेन प्रतिपदोक्तस्य ऋष्यण एव ग्रहणात् । पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् । वृद्धाच्छ । इञश्चेत्यण् तु न । गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तादिति वक्ष्यमाणत्वात् । ततोऽध्येतृवेदितृणोर्लुक् । स्वरे भिदा च विशेष । पाणिनीय । पाणिनीया ॥

1276 After a word ending with the Gotra affix ण्य (IV 1 151 S 1175) and after a Gotra word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya or a Rishi 'seer,' and after a word ending with a Gotra affix having an indicatory ञ्, the affix अण् and इञ् employed in forming युवन् (IV 1 163 S 1090) 'descendants,' are elided by the substitution of लुक् ॥

1 Thus by IV 1 151 S 1175 (the affix ण्य comes after कुरु &c, in denoting descendant) we get कुरु+ण्य=कौरव्य (VII 2 117 S 1075) 'a grandson of Kuru' This is a Gotra word (IV 1 162 S 1089) Now in forming a word denoting a lower descendant than grandson, we add a Yuvan affix Thus कौरव्य+इञ् (IV 1 95 S 1095*) Now this इञ् is elided by the present sûtra, and we get the form कौरव्य which thus means both a Gotra and a Yuvan (IV 1 163 S 1090) 'descendant of Kuru' So that कौरव्य is the name both of the father and the son

Note —Now it may be objected 'the word कौरव्य belongs to the तिकादि class and by IV 1 154 S 1178, it will take the affix फिञ् । Do we, what we may, the form will be कौरव्यायणि (VII 1 2 S 457) To this we reply, the word कौरव्य which we see in that list of तिक् &c, is not the word कौरव्य which we formed by adding ण्य under rule IV 1 151 S 1175, that Tikâdi word is formed by ण्य under rule IV 1 172 S 1190, and is confined to Kshatriya The कौरव्य which we have taken, denotes a Brahmin Gotra formed by IV 1 151

2 Now to give an example of a word denoting the descendant of a Kshatriya We take IV. 1. 114 S. 1117 which tells us that 'the affix अण् may

be added to the words which are the names of Rishis or of persons belonging to the family of Andhaka, or Vrishni or Kuru' The Andhaka family is a Kshatriya family, and श्वफल्क is a person of that family Then श्वफल्क+ अण्=श्वाफल्क 'a descendant of Svaphalka' This is a Gotra descendant In forming Yuvan descendant we have श्वाफल्क+इञ्। Now this इञ् must be elided by the present sutra So that श्वाफल्क means both father and the son

3 Now to give an example of Rishi family The sûtra last mentioned (IV 1 114 S 1117) will also hold here We take the word वसिष्ठ, and वसिष्ठ+अण्=वासिष्ठ, the Yuvan affix इञ् will similarly be elided after this, and thus the word वासिष्ठ means both the father and the son

4 Then to take the example of Gotra word formed by affixes having indicatory ञ। Thus sûtra IV 1 104 S 1106 declares 'the affix अञ् comes after the words बिद् &c, in denoting Gotra descendants' Thus बिद+अञ=बैद। Then add इञ् to denote Yuvan descent, and we have बैद + इञ्। By the present rule this इञ् is elided and thus we have बैद both for the father and the son

The above examples show the elision of the affix इञ्। Now we shall give example of the elision of the affix अण्। The rule IV 1 154 S 1178 says 'the affix फिञ् comes after the words तिक &c in denoting descendant' Thus तिक+फिञ्=तैकायनि (VII 1 2 S 475). Then to form the Yuvan descendant we add अण् by IV 1 83 Thus तैकायनि+अण्। By the present sûtra, this अण् is elided and we have तैकायनि both applicable to the father and the son

Why do we say 'there is elision only after these words'? The Yuvan affix will not be elided after other words Thus rule IV 1 112 S 1115 says —'The affix अण् comes after शिव &c, in forming Gotra' कौहड+ अण=कौहड। Now this is neither a word formed by ण्य nor is it the name of a Kshatriya or a Rishi, nor any affix having ञ् goes to form it Therefore the Yuvan affix इञ् will not be elided after this Thus कौहड+इञ् (IV, I 95 S 1195)=कौहडि son of Kauhada'

Why do we say 'affix denoting Yuvan descendant is elided'? An affix not denoting a Yuvan descendant will not be elided Thus the pupils of वामरथ्य are called वामरथ्याः which word is thus formed वामरथ+ण्य=वामरथ्यः 'a descendant of Vâmaratha' (IV 1, 115 S 1118) Then to denote pupils we add अण् by IV 2 111 S 1332 Thus वामरथ्य+अण्=वामरथ्य 'a pupil of Vâmarathya'

Note —Why do we say 'Yuvan affix अण् and इञ् are elided'? The other Yuvan affixes under similar circumstances are not elided Thus the Yuvan descendant of दाक्षि 'grandson of दक्ष' will be दाक्षायण। Here the affix फक् (IV 1 101 S 1103) is not elided.

In forming the word पाणिनि, the अण् which went to form the word पाणिन is not elided because the elision taught by the present sûtra refers to the अण् denoting the 'Rishi' as specifically mentioned in the sútra and not the gotra अण् for the अण् in पाणिन is the general अण् and not the particular ऋषि denoting अण्। The work enunciated by Pânini is Pâniniyam, which is formed by the addition of the affix छ by IV 2 114 S 1337 and not by the affix अण् of IV 2, 112 S 1333 For, though the word पाणिनि ends with the affix इञ् and so *prima facie* the sûtra IV 2 112 S 1333 ought to apply to it, yet it is not so, because the इञ् referred to in that sûtra is the gotra affix इञ्, as will be explained hereafter, while the इञ् in पाणिनि is the युवन् affix इञ्॥

He who studies पाणिनीयम् is called पाणिनीय formed by adding अण् to पाणिनीय। This अण् is elided and so the resultant word is the same in form The difference is only in accent and in the formation of the feminine Thus पाणिनीय and पाणिनीया॥

१२७७। सूत्राच्च कोपधात्। ४। २। ६५॥

सूत्रवाचिन ककारोपधात्परस्याध्येतृवेदितृप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात्। अप्रोक्तार्थ आरम्भ। अष्टावध्याया परिमाणमस्य अष्टक पाणिने सूत्रम्। तदधीयते विदन्ति वा अष्टका॥

1277 The affix denoting 'one who studies that or who knows that' is elided by luk, after the title of a sûtra work, having क् as penultimate

This sûtra applies, of course, to those words which are not formed by affixes denoting प्रोक्त or the Announcer

Thus अष्टक is the title of Pânini sûtra Those who study अष्टक will be called also अष्टक as अष्टका पाणिनीया 'those who study, the Ashtaka' So also दशका वैयाघ्रपदीया, त्रिका काशकृत्स्ना॥

Note —The elision takes place only where the title is formed by a *numeral*: as in the examples above given Thus महावार्त्तिक सूत्रमधीते = महावार्त्तिक। So also कालापक॥

Why do we say having क for its penultimate'? Observe चतुष्टयमधीते = चातुष्टय॥

१२७८। छन्दोब्राह्मणानि च तद्विषयाणि। ४। २। ६६॥

छन्दांसि ब्राह्मणानि च प्रोक्तप्रत्ययान्तानि तद्विषयाणि स्यु। अध्येतृवेदितृप्रत्ययं विना न प्रयोज्यानीत्यर्थ। कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठा। वैशम्पायनान्तेवासित्वादिणिनि। तस्य कठचरकाल्लुक्। ततोऽण् तस्य प्रोक्ताल्लुक॥

1278 The affixes denoting the announcer, when added to Chhandas and the Brâhmaṇas, express this relation only

The word प्रोक्त is to be read into this sûtra. The force of the affixes denoting announcer (IV 3 101 S 1481), when used after a word denoting a Vedic Text or a Brâhmana, is that of expressing 'one who studies' or 'one who knows' तद्विषयाणि means 'this relation,' i e the subject treated of in this section, namely, the relation of अध्येतृ or वेदितृ। In other words, the affixes, which ordinarily denote 'announcer,' have the force of 'one who studies or one who knows' when added to Veda Text or Brâhmaṇas That is, a प्रोक्त affix should not be added to a Veda or a Brâhmana, except when an अध्येतृ or वेदितृ affix follows it and as such latter affixes are always elided by IV 2 94, it follows that a प्रोक्त affix when added to a Veda or a Brâhmaṇa, means 'he who studies or knows the Veda announced by' In fact, there is no affix which can denote merely the announcer of a Veda, perhaps because the Vedas are eternal and no one can be its announcer only, but must be one who has studied it and known it, in order to qualify him to promulgate it

Thus from the word कठ, the name of a Veda-Text, we get कठाः meaning 'those who study or know Katha Veda.' The word is thus formed. To the word कठ we add the affix णिनि denoting announcer, by IV 3 104 S 1484 then we elide it by IV 3 107 S 1487, leaving the bare word कठ, then we add अण्, which again we elide by IV 2 64 S 1443. कठ+णिनि= कठ+o (IV 3 107 S 1487), =कठ+अण्=कठ, (IV 2 64 S 1443) Plural कठाः 'those who study the Veda announced by Kaṭha'

Note —Why is the word Brâhmana which is also Chhandas, used separately in this sûtra? In order to include only a certain limited number of Brâhmana Texts to the benefits of this rule, and not all Thus it will not apply to the Brâhmana announced by Yâjnavalkya Thus याज्ञवल्क्येन प्रोक्तानि ब्राह्मणानि= याज्ञवल्क्यानि। Similarly सौलभानि। These Brâhmanas being of recent origin, the presumption of eternity does not apply to them See IV 3 105

The word च meaning 'and' is employed in the sûtra It has the force of applying this rule to some other cases not specially mentioned in the sûtra Thus it will apply to some Kalpa Texts and Sûtra Texts also Thus काश्यपिन, कौशिकिन 'those who study or know the Kalpa texts announced by Kâśyapa or Kuśika' So also with regard to Sûtra texts as, पाराशरिणो भिक्षव 'the Bhikshus who study the Sûtras promulgated by Parâsara' शैलालिनो नटा, कर्मन्दिन, कृशाश्विन &c.

Why do we say 'Chhandas and Brahmaṇas'? Because the प्रोक्त affix after any other word will have its *own* significance, pure and simple, as, पाणिनीयं व्याकरणम्। पैङ्गीकल्प ॥

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CHAPTER XXVII—(Continued).

The Quadruply significant Affixes

१२७९ । तदस्मिन्नस्तीति देशे तन्नाम्नि । ४ । २ । ६७ ॥

उदुम्बराः सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे औदुम्बरः ॥

1279 (An affix is placed after a word expressive of anything) in the sense of 'that thing is in this,' the place taking a name therefrom

Note —The words, of this aphorism require a detailed examination तद् 'that,' i e the word in construction to which the affix is to be added must be in the nominative case अस्मिन् 'in this'—this gives the meaning of the affix, अस्ति 'is' this qualifies the sense of the base इति is added merely for the sake of distinctness, serving the same purpose as quotation marks in modern writing देशेतन्नाम्नि 'a country having that name', this qualifies the sense of the affix The sense is —" the affixes already taught or to be taught, come after a word being in the nominative case in construction, in the sense of the location, when the whole word so formed denotes the name of a country in which that thing exists "

This sûtra and the three subsequent sûtras are in fact one, though divided into four, for purposes of convenience The affixes having the sense of these four sûtras, are called चातुरर्थिक 'quadruple significants'

Thus उदुम्बरा अस्मिन् देशे सन्ति = औदुम्बरः । Audumbara 'the country in which there are glomerous fig trees,' formed by the universal affix अण् (IV 1 83)

This sûtra debars the मत्वर्थीय affixes

१२८० । तेन निर्वृत्तम् । ४ । २ । ६८ ॥

कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता कौशाम्बी नगरी ॥

1280 After a word in the third case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'completed by him,' when the whole word so formed is the name of a country

The phrase देशे तन्नाम्नि of the last sûtra governs this and the two subsequent sûtras By these four sûtras the names of countries are formed from various substantives Thus कुशाम्बेन निर्वृत्ता = कौशाम्बी नगरी 'the city of Kauśâmbi, completed by Kuśâmba ' A place is named after the means by which or the person through whom, it is established

१२८१ । तस्य निवासः । ४ । २ । ६९ ॥

शिबीनां निवासो देशः शैबः ॥

1281 After a word in the sixth case in construction, an affix is added, in the sense of 'his dwelling-place ,' the whole word expressing the name of a country

The sûtra literally means 'his dwelling place' A place is sometimes named after the people whose habitation it is. Thus शैब 'the country of the Śibis'

१२८२ । अदूरभवश्च । ४ । २ । ७० ॥

विदिशाया अदूरभवं नगरं वैदिशम् । चकारेण प्रागुक्तास्त्रयोऽर्था सन्निधाप्यन्ते । तेन वक्ष्यमाणप्रत्ययानां चातुर्थिकत्वं सिध्यति ॥

1282 And lastly a place is named after whatever is found near it

In this aphorism the word, to which the affix is to be added, is not shown The word तस्य must, therefore, be supplied from the last sûtra It means, therefore, 'an affix is added to a word in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of not far off,' the whole word being the name of a place Thus विदिशाया अदूर भव = वैदिशम् । Vaidiśam is the city in the neighbourhood of which the river Vidisâ flows

The च has the force of combining the sense of all the three previous aphorisms with this, so that the four sûtras 1279 to 1282 form but one complete sûtra and hence the affixes to be taught hereafter are called châturarthika or quadruply significant

१२८३ । ओरञ् । ४ । २ । ७१ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । कक्षतु,—काक्षतवम् । नद्यां तु परत्वान्मतुप् । इक्षुमती ॥

1283 The affix अञ् comes after a stem ending in उ or ऊ, (in the four-fold senses given above)

This of course debars the universal affix अण् (IV 1 83 S 1073)

Thus काक्षतवम् from कक्षतु । But from इक्षु we have इक्षुमती 'the river Ikshumatî, named after the sugarcanes near it' Here we add the affix मतुप् taught in the subsequent sûtra IV 2 85 S 1304, which debars अञ् by the rule of a subsequent debarring the prior when both are of equal force (I 4 2 S 175) The affix अञ् governs the six sûtras up to IV 2 77 S 1289 The difference between अञ् and अण् consists in the accent The अञ् is first-acute (IV 1 197 S 3686)

१२८५ । मतोश्च बह्वजङ्गात् । ४ । २ । ७२ ॥

बह्वच् अङ्गं यस्य मतुपस्तदन्तादञ् नाऽण् । सैध्रकावतम् । बह्वजिति किम् । आहिमतम् । अङ्गग्रहणं बह्वजिति तद्विशेषणं यथा स्यान्मत्वन्तविशेषणं मा भूत् ॥

1284 The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense after a word which ends in the affix मतुप्, and whose stem is polysyllabic

The word बह्वजङ्ग is a compound of बह्वच् meaning literally 'many vowels' i. e. polysyllabic, and of अङ्ग meaning 'stem' A word which,

exclusive of the affix मतुप् consists of more than two syllables, takes the affix अञ्। This debars अण्। Thus सैध्रकावतम्॥

Why do we say 'after a polysyllabic stem'? Observe आहिमतम्, धौवमतम्। Here though the word अहिमत् ends in the affix मतुप्, yet the अङ्ग or the stem viz अहि, is a word of two syllables only, hence these words take अण् in forming the names of countries In fact, the word बह्वच् qualifies the word अङ्ग, as it stands without the affix मतुप्, and not the word inclusive of that affix Therefore मालावता निवास = मालवतम् by अण्॥

१२८५। बह्वच कूपेषु। ४। २। ७३॥

अणोऽपवाद। दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्तो दैर्घवरत्र कूप॥

1285 The affix अञ् comes in the quadruple sense, after a polysyllabic Nominal stem when 'a well' is to be designated

This debars अण्। Thus दीर्घवरत्रेण निर्वृत्त कूप = दैर्घवरत्र 'a well completed by Dirghavaratra.'

१२८६। उदक्च विपाश। ४। २। ७४॥

विपाश उत्तरे कूले ये कूपास्तेष्वम्। अवह्वर्थं आरम्भ। दत्तेन निर्वृत्तो दात्त कूप। उदक् किम्। दक्षिणत कूपेष्वणेव॥

1286 The affix अण् comes in the quadruple sense, after any Nominal stem, in denoting 'a well' situated on the northern bank of the river Vipâśâ

This debars अण्, and it applies to all words whether polysyllabic or not Thus दात्त 'a well completed by Datta'

Why do we say on the 'northern bank'? Because if a well is situate on the southern bank of the river Vipâśâ, then the affix अण् will apply, as दात्तँ, the difference being in the accent.

१२८७। सङ्कलादिभ्यश्च। ४। २। ७५॥

कूपेष्विति निर्वृत्तम्। सङ्कलेन निवृत्त साङ्कलम्। पौष्कलम्॥

1287 The affix अञ् comes after the word 'sankala' &c, in the above four-fold sense

This debars अण्। The word सकल is equivalent to समत: कल। Thus सौकल, पौष्कल &c

1 सकल, 2 पुष्कल, 3 उत्तम, * 4 उडुप, 5 उद्वेप (उद्वप), 6 उत्पुट, 7 कुम्भ, 8 निधान (विधान), 9 सुदत्त, 10 सुदत्त, 11 सुभूत, 12 सुपुत, * 13 सुनेत्र, 14 सुमङ्गल * 15 सुपिङ्गल, 16 सूत, * 17 सिकत (सिकता), 18 पूतिक (पूतिका, पूतीकी), 19 पूलास, 20 कूलास, 21 पलाश, 22 निवेश, 23 गवेष, 24 गम्भीर, 25 इतर, 26 आन्*, 27 अहन्, 28 लोमन्, 29 वेमन्, 30 वरुण (चरण), 31 बहुल, 32 सद्योज, 33 अभिषिक्त, 34 गोभृत्, 35 राजभृत्, 36 भल्ल, * 37 मल्ल 38 माल। Also 39 शर्मन्, 40 गृह, 41 भूत।

१२८८ । स्त्रीषु सौवीरसाल्वप्राक्षु । ४ । २ । ७६ ॥

स्त्रीलिङ्गेषु एषु देशेषु वाच्येष्वण् । सौवीरे । दत्तामित्रेण निर्वृत्ता दात्तामित्री नगरी । साल्वे । वैधूमाग्नी । प्राक्षि, माकन्दी ॥

1288 So also the affix अञ् comes when the place is situate in the lands of the Sâuvîra, or Sâlva or of the Eastern people, and the word in these cases is always feminine

The word सौवीर &c, are attributes of देशे तन्नाम्नि (IV 2 67) so also the word स्त्रीषु ॥ Thus दात्तामित्री 'the city founded by Dattâmitra' (in Sauvira) So also वैधूमाग्नी (in Sâlva) माकन्दी, (in the Eastern countries)

१२८९ । सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । २ । ७७ ॥

अञोऽपवाद । सुवास्तोरदूरभवं सौवास्तवम् । वर्णु । वार्णवम् । अण्ग्रहणं मध्यो मतुपो बाधनार्थम् । सौवास्तवी ॥

1289 The affix अण् comes after the words सुवास्तु &c, in the four-fold sense

This debars the affix अञ् which would have otherwise come by IV 2, 71 and 73 S 1283 and 1285 Thus सुवास्तोरदूरभवं नगर = सौवास्तवम् ॥ So also वार्णवम् ॥ The use of the word अण्, though its anuvritti came from IV 1 83, is for the sake of indicating that this sûtra debars 'matup' of IV 2 85 S 1304, in the case of river names even Thus सौवास्तवी नदी ॥

1 सुवास्तु 2 वर्णु 3 भण्डु 4 खण्डु (कण्डु) 5 सेवालिन् (सचालिन) 6 कर्पूरिन्, 7 शिखण्डिन्, 8 गर्त, 9 कर्कश, 10 शकटीकर्ण (शर्टाकर्ण), 11 कृष्णकर्ण (कृष्ण) 12 कर्क, 13 कर्कन्धुमती (कर्कन्धू) 14 गोह (गोह्य and गाहि), 15 अहिसक्थ 16 वृत् ॥

१२९० । रोणी । ४ । २ । ७८ ॥

रोणीशब्दात्तदन्ताच्च अण् । कूपाञोऽपवाद । रौण ॥ आजकरौण ॥

1290 The affix अण् comes after रोण in the fourfold sense

This debars अञ of IV 2 74 S 1286 This sûtra consists of one word रोणी in the nominative case As a general rule, all words to which affixes are to be added are put in the ablative case in the sûtras The fact of this exceptional treatment of the word रोणी indicates that this word takes अण् under *all* circumstances, whether alone, or forming part of a compound Thus रौण, आजकरौण ॥

१२९१ । कोपधाच्च । ४ । २ । ७९ ॥

अण् । अञोऽपवाद । कार्णच्छिद्रक कूप । कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

1291 The affix अण् comes in the fourfold sense after a stem having क् for its penultimate.

This debars अञ् which would have come by IV 2 71 and 73 S 1283 and 1285 Thus कार्णच्छिद्रक कूप ॥ कार्णवेष्टक ॥ कार्कवाकवम् । त्रैशङ्कवम् ॥

१२९२ । वुञ्छण्कठजिलसेनिरढञ्ण्ययफक्फिञिञ्ञ्यकक्ठकोऽरीहणकृशाश्वर्श्यकुमुदकाशतृणप्रेक्षाश्मसखिसंकाशबलपक्षकर्णसुतङ्गमप्रगदिन्वराहकुमुदादिभ्य. । ४ । २ । ८० ॥

एभ्य सप्तदशभ्य सप्तदश क्रमात्स्युश्चतुरर्थ्याम् । अरीहणादिभ्यो वुञ् । अरीहणेन निर्वृत्तमारीहणकम् । कृशाश्वादिभ्यश्छण् । कार्शाश्वीयम् । ऋश्यादिभ्य क । ऋश्यकम् । कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठच् । कुमुदिकम् । काशादिभ्य इल । काशिल । तृणादिभ्य स । तृणसम् । प्रेक्षादिभ्य इनि । प्रेक्षी । अश्मादिभ्यो र । अश्मर । सख्यादिभ्यो ढञ् । साखेयम् । सङ्काशादिभ्यो ण्य । साङ्काश्यम् । बलादिभ्यो य । बल्यम् । पक्षादिभ्य फक । पाक्षायण । पथ पन्थ च । पान्थायन । कर्णादिभ्य फिञ् । कार्णायनि । सुतङ्गमादिभ्य इञ् । सौतङ्गमि । प्रगद्यादिभ्यो ञ्य । प्रागद्य । वराहादिभ्य कक् । वाराहक । कुमुदादिभ्यष्ठक् । कौमुदिक ॥

1292 In the above four senses are added the following 17 affixes after the following 17 classes of words respectively —

1 वुञ् (= अक) after अरीहण &c 2. छण् (= ईय) after कृशाश्व &c 3 क after ऋश्य &c 4 ठच् (= इक) after कुमुद &c 5 इल after काश &c 6 स (or श) after तृण &c 7 इनि (= इन्) after प्रेक्ष &c 8 र after अश्मन् &c 9 ढञ् (= एय) after सखि &c 10 ण्य (= य) after संकाश &c 11 य after बल &c 12 फक (= आयन) after पक्ष &c 13 फिञ् (= आयनि), after कर्ण &c 14 इञ् (इ) after सुतङ्गम &c 15 ञ्य (य) after प्रगदिन् &c 16 कक् (क) after वराह &c 17 ठक् (इक) after कुमुद &c

Note —The above affixes वुञ् &c are applied to the above classes of words आदि is to be added to every one of the above seventeen words The first part of the sûtra upto ठक् gives the seventeen affixes, and the latter part gives the seventeen word classes The allotment or assignment of affixes is made by I 3 10

The examples of the above are —

(1) आरीहणकम्, (2) कार्शाश्वीयम् (3) ऋश्यकम्, (4) कुमुदिकम्, (5) काशिलम् (6) तृणसम्, (7) प्रेक्षिन्, (8) अश्मरम्, (9) साखेयम्, (10) साङ्काश्यम्, (11) बल्यम्, (12) पाक्षायणम्, पान्थायनम्, (13) कार्णायनि, (14) सौतङ्गमि, (15) प्रागद्य (16) वाराहकम्, and lastly (17) कौमुदिकम् ॥

Note —The word शिरीष will be seen, by referring to the above lists, to occur in three classes, viz अरीहणादि, (36), कुमुदादि (14) and वराहादि (3) Moreover it is governed by the general affix अण् also in the quadruple sense, according to the opinion of Patanjali And because it occurs in the वरणादि class (IV 2 82 S 1301) therefore this universal अण् (IV 1 83) will be elided after it As we have already shown before under I 2 51 when शिरीषवन was formed from शिरीषा ॥

(1) 1 अरीहण, 2 द्रुघण,* 3 द्रुहण,* 4 भगल, 5 उलन्द, 6 किरण, 7 सांपरायण, 8 क्रौष्ट्रायण, 9 औष्ट्रायण,* 10 त्रैगर्तायन, 11 मैत्रायण, 12 भास्त्रायण, 13 वैमतायन (also वैमत्तायन), 14 गौमतायन (गो), 15 सौमतायन, 16 सौसायन 17 धौमतायन,* 18 सौमायन,* 19 ऐन्द्रायण,*

20 कौन्द्रायण,* 21 खाडायन, 22 शाण्डिल्यायन, 23 रायस्पोष, 24 विपथ, 25 विपाश, 26 उद्दण्ड, 27 उदञ्चन, 28 खाण्डवीरण (खाण्ड), 29 वीरण, 30 काशकृत्स्न (कश), 31 जाम्बवन्त (वन्त) 32 शिंशपा, 33 रैवत (रेवत), 34 बिल्व (बैल्व K) 35 सुयज्ञ 36 शिरीष, 37 बधिर 38 जम्बु, 39 खदिर, 40 सुशमन् (सुशर्म K), 41 दलतृ * 42 भलन्दन,* 43 खण्डु,* 44 कनल,* (कलन), 45 यज्ञदत्त,* 46 सार, 47 वैगर्तायण (sic) and 48 खाण्डायन ॥

(2) 1 कृशाश्व, 2 अरिष्ट, 3 अरिश्म (अरीश्व), 4 वेश्मन्, 5 विशाल, 6 लोमश,* 7 रोमश * 8 रोमक, 9 लोमक,* 10 शबल, 11 कूट, 12 सुवर्चल,* 13 सुवर्चल,* 14 सुकर, 15 सूकर, 16 प्रतर (प्रासर), 17 सदृश, 18 पुरग, 19 पुराग,* 20 सुख, 21 धूम, 22 अजिन, 23 विनत (विनता, वनिता) 24 अवनत, 25 विकुध्यास (v l कुविद्यास, विकुधास), 26 पराशर,* 27 अरुस्, 28 अयस् * 29 मौद्गल्य 30 सूकर,* (मौद्गल्याकर) 31 रोमन् 32 बर्बर 33 अवयास and अध्यावस् ॥

(3) 1 ऋश्य, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 शर (शिरा), 4 निलीन 5 निवास, 6 निवात, 7 निधान, 8 निबन्ध (निबन्धन, निबद्ध), 9 विबद्ध, 10 परिगूढ, 11 उपगूढ 12 असनि, 13 सित, 14 मत,* 15 वेश्मन् * 16 उत्तराश्मन्, 17 अश्मन् * 18 स्थूल 19 बाहु (स्थूलबाहु) 20 खदिर, 21 शर्करा, 22 अनडुह, 23 अरडु* 24 परवश, 25 वेणु 26 वीरण, 27 खण्ड, 28 दण्ड,* 29 परिवृत्त, 30 कर्दम, 31 अंशु ॥

(4) 1 कुमुद, 2 शर्करा, 3 न्यग्रोध, 4 इत्कट (इस्कट उत्कट) 5 सङ्कट, 6 कङ्कट, 7 गर्त, 8 बीज 9 परिवाप, 10 निर्यास,* 11 शकट * 12 कच * 13 मधु * 14 शिरीष, 15 अश्व * 16 अश्वत्थ 17 बल्बज 18 यवाष, 19 कूप 20 विकङ्कत, 21 दशग्राम, 22 कण्टक, 23 पलाश, 24 त्रिक, 25 कत ॥

(5) 1 काश 2 पाश (वाश), 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 पलाश 5 पीयूक्षा (पियूष), 6 चरण, 7 वास, 8 नड, 9 वन 10 कर्दम, 11 कच्छूल * 12 कङ्कट, 13 गुहा, 14 बिस (विश and विस) 15 तृण, 16 कर्पूर, 17 बर्बर,* 18 मधुर,* 19 ग्रह (गृह) 20 कपित्थ,* 21 जतु, 22 सीपाल 23 नर, 24 कटक ॥

(6) 1 तृण 2 नड, 3 मूल,* 4 वन, 5 पर्ण, 6 वर्ण 7 वराण,* 8 बिल 9 पुल * 10 फल,* 11 अर्जुन,* 12 अर्ण, 13 सुवर्ण * 14 बल 15 चरण 16 बुस 17 अन, 18 लव ॥

(7) 1 प्रेक्षका, 2 हलका (फलका), 3 बन्धुका, 4 ध्रुवका 5 क्षिपका, 6 न्यग्रोध, 7 इक्कट (इक्कुंठ), 8 कङ्कट (कर्कटा), 9 सङ्कट 10 कट,* 11 कूप,* 12 बुक * 13 पुक * 14 पुट,* 15 मह (महा), 16 परिवाप * 17 यवाष * यवास), 18 धुवका,* 19 गर्त * 20 कूपक (कूपका), 21 हिरण्य,* 22 बुधका 23 सुकटा, 24 मङ्कट, 25 बुक ॥

(8) 1 अश्मन्, 2 यूथ, (also यूप) 3 ऊष (रूष and रुष), 4 मीन, 5 नद, 6 दर्भ 7 वृन्द, 8 गुद * 9 खण्ड, 10 नग, 11 शिखा 12 कोट (काट), 13 पाम (पाम'), 14 कन्द,* 15 कान्द * 17 गह्व,* 18 गुड,* 19 कुण्डल * 20 पीन,* 21 गुह * ॥

(9) 1 सखि 2 अग्निदत्त, 3 वायुदत्त 4 सखिदत्त 5 गोपिल (गोहित and गोहिल), 6 भल्ल, 7 पाल (भल्लपाल भल्ल, पाल), 8 चक्र (चर्क), 9 चक्रवाक * 10 छगल, 11 अशोक, 12 करवीर, 13 वासव,* 14 वीर,* 15 पूर * 16 वज्र * 17 कुशीरक,* 18 सीहर (शीहर, सीकर), 19 सरक (सकर), 20 सरस, 21 समर,* 22 समल, 23 सुरस 24 रोह, 25 तमाल, 26 कदल, 27 सप्तल, 28 चक्रपाल, 29 चक्रवाल, 30 वक्रपाल, 31 उशीर ॥

(10) 1 सकाश, 2 काम्पिल्ल, 3 कश्मीर (कश्मर), 4 समीर, 5 सूरसेन (शूर), 6 सरक, 7 सूर,* 8 सुपन्थिन (rightly सुपथीन्), पन्थ (सक्थ') च 9 यूप (यूथ), 10 अंश, 11 अङ्ग * 12 नासा * 13 पलिन,* 14 अनुनाश * 15 अश्मन्, 16 कूट, 17 मलिन, 18 दश,* 19 कुम्भ,

20 शीर्ष * 21 विरत (चिरन्त, बिरत) 22 समल,* 23 सीर * 24 पञ्जार,* 25 मन्थ,* 26 नल,* 27 रोमन्,* 28 लोमन् * 29 पुलिन,* 30 सुपरि * 31 कटिप * 32 सकर्णक * 33 वृष्टि,* 34 तीर्थ, 35 अगस्ति, 36 विकर,* 37 नासिका, 38 एग, 39 चिकार, 40 विरह ॥

(11) 1 बल, 2 चुल (बुल), 3 नल,* 4 दल,* 5 वट,* 6 लकुल,* 7 उरल,* 8 पुल,* 9 मूल,* 10 उल, 11 डुल, 12 वन, 13 कुल, 14 तुल 15 कवल ॥

(12) 1 पक्ष 2 तुक्ष * 3 तुष * 4 कुण्ड,* 5 अण्ड,* 6 कम्बलिका (कम्बलिक), 7 वलिक * 8 चित्र, 9 अस्ति * 10 पथिन् पन्थ च (also पान्थायन), 11 कुम्भ, 12 सीरक (सीरज), 13 सरक, 14 सकल (सलक), 15 सरस, 16 समल, 17 अतिश्वन् (श्वन्) 18 रोमन् 19 लोमन् 20 हस्तिन्,* 21 मकर,* 22 लोमक 23 शीर्ष,* 24 निवात,* 25 पाक,* 26 सिंहक 27 अङ्कुश * 28 सुवर्णक 29 हंसक (हसका) 30 हिंसक,* 31 कुत्स,* 32 बिल,* 33 खिल,* 34 यमल 35 हस्त, 36 कला,* 37 सकर्णक (सकण्डक), 38 अश्मन् 39 अस्तिबल ॥

(13) 1 कर्ण 2 वसिष्ठ 3 अर्क 4 अर्कलूष (लूष) 5 द्रुपद (डुपद), 6 आनडुह्य (अन), 7 पाञ्चजन्य, 8 स्फिज, 9 कुम्भी*, 10 कुन्ती*, 11 जित्वन् (जित्व), 12 जीवन्त (जीवन्ती), 13 कुलिश 14 आण्डीवत (आण्डीवत्), 15 जव,* 16 जैत्र,* 17 आनक,* 18 अलुश, 19 शल, 20 स्थिरा ॥

(14) 1 सुतङ्गम 2 मुनिचित (चित्त) 3 विप्रचित्त (चित्त), 4 महाचित्त,* 5 महापुत्र, 6 श्वन,* 7 श्वेत, 8 खडिक (गाडिक) 9 शुक्र 10 विग्र, 11 बीजवापिन् 12 अर्जुन, 13 श्वन्, 14 अजिर 15 जीव 16 खण्डिन*, 17 कर्ण*, 18 विग्रह*,

(15) 1 प्रगदिन्, 2 मगदिन 3 मदिन् (शरदिन्), 4 कविल (कलिव), 5 खण्डित (खडिव), 6 गदित (गदिव), 7 चूडार 8 मडार (मार्जार), 9 मन्दार,* 10 कोविदार ॥

(16) 1 वराह 2 पलाश 3 शिरीष, 4 पिनद्ध, 5 निबद्ध, 6 बलाह,* 7 स्थूल (स्थूण), 8 विदग्ध 9 विजग्ध 10 विभग्न, 11 निमग्न,* 12 बाहु, 13 खदिर, 14 शर्करा, 15 विनद्ध, 16 विरुद्ध, 17 मूल ॥

(17) 1 कुमुद 2 गोमथ 3 रथकार 4 दशग्राम, 5 अश्वत्थ, 6 शाल्मलि (ली), 7 शिरीष 8 मुनिस्थल, (स्थूल), 9 कुण्डल 10 कूट, 11 मधुकर्ण, 12 घासकुन्द, 13 शुचिकर्ण, 14 कुमुकर्ण, 15 कुन्द ॥

१२९३ । जनपदे लुप् । ४ । २ । ८१ ॥

जनपदे वाच्ये चातुरर्थिकस्य लुप्स्यात् ॥

1293 The name of a kingdom is formed by the *lup*-elision of these affixes, (when the name of the people without the change of number and gender, is at the same time the name of the kingdom)

Note —The words within bracket, in the above sûtra are added by the reading together of this sûtra with sûtra I 2 51 S. 1299 Dr Otto Bohtlingk the learned translator of Pâṇini in German, has done so, and I think this addition is necessary for the elucidation of the sutra, The aphorism literally means (The

quadruply significant affix) is elided, when the *place* (देश) to be named is a kingdom (जनपद)। Thus पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः = पञ्चालाः ॥ So also कुरवः मत्स्याः, अङ्गाः, मगधाः, सुह्माः, पुण्ड्राः ॥

Why is there no lup elision of the affix in the following examples औदुम्बरो जनपदः 'the Kingdom in which there are fig-trees' वैदिशो जनपदः &c ? Because here the words औदुम्बर and वैदिश are not *names* of kingdoms, but are used merely as epithets In fact the phrase तस्मिन्नस्ति is understood here also

१२९४ । लुपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने । १ । २ । ५१ ॥

लुपि सति प्रकृतिवल्लिङ्गवचने स्तः । पञ्चालानां निवासो जनपदः पञ्चालाः । कुरवः । अङ्गाः । वङ्गाः । कलिङ्गाः ॥

1294 When a Taddhita affix is elided by using the word लुप्, then the gender and number (of the derivative word) agree with those of the original word

Note —This sûtra consists of four words लुपि, 'where there is a rejection by using लुप्' 2 युक्तवत् 'appropriate to the same' 3 व्यक्ति 'gender,' 4. वचन 'number' The form 'vyakti vachane' is dual

When a Taddhita affix is elided by *lup* then the derivative word *retains* the gender and number of the primitive word Note the difference between the rejection of a Taddhita by saying 'let there be a लुक्' and 'let there be a लुप्' ॥ The direct action of both words is the rejection of the suffix, but a derivative formed by *luk* rejection may not retain the number and gender of the original word, while a derivative formed by *lup*—rejection does retain the number and gender of the original word

Thus in the secondary derivative word शिरीषाः meaning 'a village not far away from शिरीष trees' the masculine gender and plural number of the original word has been retained, though made applicable to a village, which is in the singular number and neuter gender, similarly the word पञ्चालाः is masculine plural in form though applicable to a single province

This sûtra is not an approved rule, as is mentioned by Pânini in 1 2. 53 following, and is consequently of little practical importance

Thus पञ्चालाः are a class of Kshatriyas, as such the word is of masculine gender and plural number The country in which Pañchâlâs live is also called Pañchâlâs, similarly कुरवः, अङ्गाः, वङ्गाः, कलिङ्गाः ॥

१२९५ । तदशिष्यं संज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५३ ॥

युक्तवत् वचनं न कर्तव्यं संज्ञानां प्रमाणत्वात् ॥

1295 This (concord of gender and number, of primitive and derivative nouns, and of attributes and

substantives, need not be taught (or approved) because it has the authority of sanjñâ (or conventional term or idiom)

Note —The agreement between the number and gender of the nouns and attributes, of primary and secondary words formed by suffix rejection, is not an approved syntax The gender and number of particular derivatives or adjectives are not blindly to be fixed by the primary words or the governed substantives, but it is a matter more or less of usage or idiom and no hard and fast rule can be laid down for it Thus the word दारा 'wife' has the form of masculine plural but is always applied to female singular similarly आप 'water' is always feminine plural in form, so also गृहा, वर्षा, सिकता ॥ This sûtra, therefore, modifies the former sutras, and leaves the whole question of syntactic agreement to be decided by usage and idiom

The words like Pañchâlâ, Kaurava &c, should not be considered as derivative words formed by the *lup* elision of a Taddhita affix, but they must be taken as proper nouns and appellatives of certain countries, consequently the gender and number of such words are fixed by the nature of such words and not by any rule of Grammar

१२९६ । लुब्योगाप्रख्यानात् । १ । २ । ५४ ॥

लुबपि न कर्तव्योऽवयवार्थस्येहाप्रतीते ॥

1296 The sûtras declaring lup-elision need not also be taught, because of the non-currency of the etymological meaning of the words supposed to be formed by lup-elision

Note —In explaining certain words, it is a round about way of going to work to say that there was a suffix after them, which has been rejected, without producing any effect It is easier to say that the form is what we find it to be, and that its peculiar meaning depends upon usage Moreover, in many cases, the would-be etymological meaning is not in fact the current meaning which the word has in ordinary language It is therfore a useless circumlocution to presuppose the existence of a suffix, to add it to a word, and, then after all, to make it vanish

Thus वरणाः Varanâh is the name of a city To say that it is derived from वरणा 'a kind of tree' because the city is situated near such trees, and the trees gave the name to the city, is a cumbersome process Because there might be no वरणा trees at all near the town Varana Let us therefore call words like वरणाः, पञ्चालाः, &c, as simply proper nouns Therefore there is no occasion for the application of the Taddhita affixes given in IV 2 69 and 70 S 1281 and'82 (तस्य निवासः, अदूरभवश्च), relating to residence and vicinity, much less of rules relating to 'lup' elision contained in IV 2 81 and 82 S 1293 and 1301 (जनपदे लुप् । वरणादिभ्य) ॥

१२९७ । योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् । १ । २ । ५५ ॥

यदि हि योगस्यावयवार्थस्यैव बोधकं स्यात्तदा तदभावे न दृश्येत ॥

1297 And if the etymological meaning be held authoritative, then when such meaning is absent, the word also should vanish.

Note —This sûtra strengthens the former sûtra If it be said that a word always retains its etymological meaning in current language, then when there is an absence of such etymological meaning, then the word itself ought to vanish But we know, as a matter of fact, that there are words which have altogether lost their etymological sense, and connote a thing different from their radical meaning Therefore to explain such words by *lup*-elision of affixes is improper, because they do not retain the meaning of their primitive words

It has already been said that words like पञ्चाला &c are not derivative words, but are appellatives If these words be taken as proving their etymological meaning, that is, as expressing or dependent upon, the sense of the original word, then when there is a loss of the original word signification, the secondary word must also cease to be employed Thus if Panchalâs be the name of the country in which the Kshatriyas called Pañchalâs live, then when they cease to live in this country, it should cease to be called Pañchâlâs But we know, as a matter of fact, these are now used without any reference to the people who once inhabited the countries. These words are consequently not derivative, but their sense is determined by usage They are what may be called रूढि words

१२९८ । प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् । १ । २ । ५६ ॥

प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमित्येवंरूपं वचनमप्यशिष्यम् । कुतः अर्थस्य लोकत एव सिद्धेः ॥

1298 The proposition (vachanam) that the meaning of the affix (pratyârtha) is the chief factor (pradhanam) in determining the sense of a word should not also be made, because the authority for the meaning of a word consists in something else.

Note —The translation according to Kâshikâ is as follows:

(Nor need be taught) the rule relating to the dependence of the meaning of a word on the principal (pradhâna, in a compound) or on the affix (pratyaya), because the authority of the meaning (of a word, compound or derivative) consists in something else

Note —This sûtra may be divided into two parts The first part stating the proposition and ending with the word vachanam The second part giving the reason The first part consists of four words, 1 Pradhâna 'Principal in compound' As in

the compound राजपुरुष 'king's man,' the word râja is Upasarjana and पुरुषः is pradhana 2 Pratyaya 'affix' 3 अर्थ 'meaning' 4, वचनम् 'word or sentence'

In the time of Paṇini, there were some grammarians, who held the opinion, that the meaning of a word is determined, if a compound word, then by its principal word, and if a derivative word, then by the affix Paṇini controverts this opinion by declaring that in as much as the meaning of a word is fixed by usage and idiom, therefore the proofs for the meaning of a word are not to be searched either in the affixes which go to form it, or by its principal word, if it is a compound Because, says Paṇini, the proof of the meaning of a word is in something else, that is to say in the usage of a people and not in the suffixes &c A person who has never heard the name of grammar, understands full well when told to bring a Râja purusha He brings an official and not a king, nor even any person in general Similarly when told to bring an आपगव he brings a cowherd's child, not a cowherd, nor a child in general, nor both When, therefore, the sense of a word is determined by usage, there is no use to strive to find out the sense by grammatical rules

१२९९ कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् । १ । २ । ५७ ॥

अतीताया रात्रेः पश्चार्धेनागामिन्याः पूर्वार्धेन च सहितो दिवसोऽद्यतनः । विशेषणमुपसर्जनमित्यादि पूर्वाचार्यैः परिभाषितं तदप्यशिष्यत्वं समानम् । लोकप्रसिद्धेः ॥

1299 And a rule fixing the meaning of Time (kâla) and Upasarjana (secondary term in a compound) is equally (unnecessary, and need not be taught)

Thus adyatana (the period of the current day) has been defined by ancient grammarians to be that day which commences with the latter half of the past night, and ends with the first half of the succeeding night (that is from midnight to midnight) Similarly upasarjana has been defined as an adjective or attributive by the ancients These also need not be taught, as the meaning of the words like adyatana &c is also determined by usage.

Note —Here Pâṇini controverts the opinion of those grammarians who would even define time and sequence Thus there were authors who defined pluperfect as a tense relating to time hundred years past, others said a thousand years past &c Paṇini declares that these are redundant definitions and reprehensible, for the same reason as given in the previous sûtra

To give another example Thus अद्यतन काल or the period of the current day, has been thus defined by some Achâryas —"The period of time beginning from the point when one rises (or ought to rise) from his bed, according to the law, and ending with the point when one goes to bed, according to rule, is called adyatana" Others say "from midnight to midnight is the period of the current day" Similarly others have explained the 'upasarjana' to mean "that which is not the principal word in a compound" The sage Pâṇini has not thought it worth his while to define

such words as upasarjana, in as much as their sense is well understood by all as a matter of usage Thus common people who have never heard of grammar, also know the correct use of tenses They say "This is to be done by me to day, this will be done by us to morrow, this was done by us yesterday"

Similarly common people also know the use of the word upasarjana, for they say —"वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनम् 'we are secondary or unimportant persons in this house or village,' meaning that they are not the principal persons Therefore that which is valid according to the usage of the people is needless to be taught

Why was not this sûtra included in the last? What is the necessity of making a separate rule of this? The answer is that it is an illustrative sûtra, and does not exhaust the subject There are other rules made by former sages which are not taught by Pânini Thus the following rules of old Rishis are not taught herein, they being supposed to be well-known ' A Bahuvrihi compound connotes ownership " " In Dvanda compounds the sense of both the members of a compound are principal" " In Avyayîbhâva compounds the sense of the prior word is the principal" &c

१३०० । विशेषणानां चाजातेः । १ । २ । ५२ ॥

लुबर्थस्य विशेषणानामपि युक्तवद्व्यक्तिवचने स्तो जातिं वर्जयित्वा । पञ्चाला रमणीयाः । गोदौ रमणीयौ । अजाते किम् । पञ्चाला जनपदः । गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

हरीतक्यादिषु व्यक्तिः * ॥ हरीतक्याः फलानि हरीतक्यः ॥

खलतिकादिषु वचनम् * ॥ खलतिकस्य पर्वतस्यादूरभवानि खलतिकं वनानि ॥

मनुष्यलुपि प्रतिषेधः * ॥ मनुष्यलक्षणे लुबर्थे विशेषणानां न । लुबन्तस्य तु भवत्येव । चञ्चा अभिरूपः ॥

1300 And of adjectives, (the gender and number are the same as of the word formed by *lup*-elision of the Taddhita and which they qualify) except so far as the *jâti* (or kind or species) is concerned, (i e when not expressing *jâti*).

When a Taddhita is elided by *lup*, the adjectives which qualify such secondary derivatives agree with them in number and gender This is a rule of syntax Thus पञ्चाला रमणीयाः, बह्वन्नाः, बहुक्षीरघृताः, बहुमाल्यफलाः 'the pleasant Pañchâlâs having plenty of food, plenty of milk and butter' Here the adjective रमणीयाः pleasant &c agrees in number and gender with the Pañchâlâh, being also in masculine plural So also गोदौ रमणीयौ ॥ Why do we say, when not expressing jâti"? For when such a derivative is used as a jâti word, then the adjective does not agree in number and gender, as पञ्चाला जनपदः, गोदौ ग्रामः ॥

Note:—Here जनपद though qualifying Pañchâlâh does not agree with it in number and gender, as it is a noun of class All attributes of such words formed by

the *lup* of a Taddhita agree with their substantives in number and gender: provided that such an attribute is not a common noun used as an adjective Similarly adjectives which do not directly qualify such Taddhita formed nouns, but do so through the medium of a noun of class, do not agree in gender and number with the Taddhita word Thus पञ्चाला जनपदो रमणीयो बहुन्न 'the country of Panchâlâs is pleasant and fertile' Here the words रमणीय and बहुन्न qualify directly the word जनपद, and indirectly the word Panchâlâs, and therefore do not agree with the latter

Vârt —In the case of the words *Haritaki* &c the gender only is retained and not the number As हरीतक्या फलानि = हरीतक्य 'the fruits of Haritaki' Here फल is neuter in form, while हरीतकी is feminine Here the affix denoting fruit is lup-elided by IV 3 167 S 1546 The resultant noun haritakî meaning the fruit of haritakî agrees in gender only

Vârt —The words खलतिक &c retain their number only but not gender, as खलतिक वनानि 'mountain forests i e, forests in the vicinity of mountains' Here खलतिक is singular and वनानि plural, but the gender of both is the same *viz* neuter Here the affix is lup elided by IV 2 82 S 1301

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated in the case of nouns formed by the लुप् elision of an affix relating to man Thus the Taddhita affix कन् (V 3 97 S 2052) is employed in denoting representation by imitation Thus अश्वक means a figure like a horse (in wood or clay or paper) But when the imitation is that of a man, this affix is elided Thus चञ्चा means a "doll of straw" But when we want to say a doll in the figure of a man, we will have चञ्चा + कन्लुप् (लुम्मनुष्ये V 3 98 S 2053) = चञ्चा । Here this word is formed by the elision of an affix relating to man Therefore Adjectives qualifying this word will not agree in gender and number Thus चञ्चा अभिरूप 'the delightful straw figure of a man'

१३०१ । वरणादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८२ ।

अजनपदार्थ आरम्भ । वरणानामदूरभव नगर वरणा ॥

1301 Also after the word वरणा &c, the affix denoting locality becomes elided, but the number and gender are not changed

After the words वरणा and the rest, the quadruply significant affix is elided by लुप ॥ The scope of this rule is in cases of nouns which are not names of kingdoms (or जनपद), to which the last rule applies Thus वरणानामदूरभव नगर = वरणा "the city (not a kingdom) not far from the place Varanâ"

Note —The word च in the sûtra implies that this rule applies even to words other than those which are given in the list of वरणादि ॥ As कटुकवदरी "a city near to bitter Badari tree"

1 वरणा, (वरण) 2 भृङ्गी 3 शाल्मलि 4 शुण्डी * 5 शयाण्डी * 6 पर्णी 7 ताम्रपर्णी, 8 गोद (पूर्वो गोदौ पूर्वेण गोदौ, अपरेण गोदौ), 9 आलिङ्गायन, 10 जानपदी (जाल्पदी, जालपद) 11 जम्बू * 12 पुष्कर *, 13 चम्पा *, 14 पम्पा *, 15 वल्गु *, 16 उज्जयिनी (उज्जयिनी), 17 गया 18 मथुरा, 19 तक्षशिला, 20 उरसा (उरशा) 21 गोमती * 22 वलभी *, 23 कटुकबदरी (with कन्दुक), 24 शिरीषा 25 काञ्ची, 26 शयाण्डी, 27 वणिकि, 28 वणिक ॥ Is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३०२ । शर्कराया वा । ४ । २ । ८३ ॥

अस्माच्चातुरर्थिकस्य वा लुप्स्यात् ॥

1302 Optionally after the word शर्करा, the quadruply significant affix is lup-elided

१३०३ । ठक्छौ च । ४ । २ । ८४ ॥

शर्कराया एतौ स्तः । कुमुदादौ वराहादौ च पाठसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे ठच्ककौ । सामर्थ्यसामर्थ्यात्पक्षे औत्सर्गिकोऽण् तस्य लुब्विकल्पः । षड् रूपाणि । शर्करा । शार्करम् । शार्करिकम् । शर्करीयम् । शर्कारकम् । शार्करकम् ॥

1303 The affix ठक् and छ come after the word शर्करा in the quadruple sense

Why do we say "optionally" in S 1302? The word शर्करा occurs in the classes कुमुदादि (2) and वराहादि (14) (IV 2 80 S 1292 classes 4 and 16), and must *necessarily* take the affixes ठच् and कक् taught therein for had it not taken those affixes absolutely, their would have been no necessity of inserting this word in those classes The present rule, therefore, teaches by implication, that the word शर्करा takes the general affix अण् , besides the above two especial affixes, denoting locality And when the word takes this universal affix (IV 1 83 S 1013), there the option is allowed, not otherwise Thus शर्करा + अण् = शार्करम्, शर्करा + अण् लुप् = शर्करा ॥

Thus of the word शर्करा there are altogether six forms denoting locality, namely, two formed by this sûtra, two by the last, and two by the sûtra IV 2 80 Thus शर्करा, शार्करम्, शर्करिकम् (formed by ठच्), शार्करकम् (formed by कक्), शार्करिकम् (formed by ठक्), and शर्करीयम् (by छ)

१३०४ । नद्यां मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८५ ॥

चातुरर्थिकः । इक्षुमती ॥

1304 The affix मतुप् is added in denoting a river in the four-fold sense given above.

When the name of a river is to be designated by something which is found near it, we add the affix मतुप् (मत् and वत्) Thus उदुम्बरावती, मशकावती, वीरणावती, पुष्करावती, इक्षुमती, द्रुमती ॥ See IV 3 119 S 1499 by which

the अ is lengthened in these words, and VI 1 219 S 3705 by which the udâtta is placed on this vowel See VIII 2 10 S 1898 by which मत् becomes वत् ॥

Note —The affix मतुप् is not however employed in forming the river names भागीरथी and भैमरथी which are formed by अण् added under IV 2 68

१३०५ । मध्वादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ८६ ॥

मतुप् स्याचातुरर्थिक । अनद्यर्थ आरम्भ । मधुमान् ॥

1305 The affix मतुप् is added to the words मधु &c in the four senses given above

The origination of this rule is for the sake of what is not *a river* As मधुमान्, बिसवान् &c

1 मधु, 2 बिस, 3 स्थाणु 4 वेणु, 5 कर्कन्धु, 6 शमी, 7 करीर (किरीर), 8 हिम, 9 किशरा, 10 शर्याण (शर्पण), 11 मरुत्, 12 वार्दाली*, 13 शर, 14 इष्टका, 15 आसुति 16 शक्ति, 17 आसन्दी, 18 शकल, 19 शलाका, 20 आमिषि (आमिषी), 21 इक्षु, 22 रोमन् 23 रुष्टि (तुष्टि हष्टि), 24 ऋष्य, 25 तक्षशिला, 26 खड (खडा), 27 वट*, 28 वट (वेटा), 29 रुम 30 अंशु 31 मरुव, दार्वाघाट ।'

१३०६ । कुमुदनडवेतसेभ्यो ड्मतुप् । ४ । २ । ८७ ॥

कुमुद्वान् । नड्वान् । वेतस्वान् । आद्ययोर्झय इति अन्त्ये मादुपधाया इति वक्ष्यमाणेन व ॥ महिषाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ ॥ महिष्मान्नाम देश ॥

1306 The affix ड्मतुप् comes after the words कुमुद, नड and वेतस in the above four senses, and the final of these words is elided before this affix

Thus कुमुद्वान्, नड्वान्, वेतस्वान् ॥ In the case of the first two words (kumudvat, and nadvat) the म of the affix is changed to व by VIII 2 10 S 1898, and in the case of the last word (vetasvat) by VIII 2, 9 S 1897 '

Vart —So also after the word महिष, as महिष्मान् ॥

१३०७ । नडशादाड्ड्वलच् । ४ । २ । ८८ ॥

नड्वल । शादो जम्बालघासयो । शाद्वल ॥

1307 The ड्वलच् comes after नड and शाद in the four senses given above, the final of the words being elided

Thus नड्वल and शाद्वल ॥ The word शाद means "mud" and "young grass" (See Amarakosha III 3 89)

१३०८ । शिखाया वलच् । ४ । २ । ८९ ॥

शिखावलम् ॥

1308 The affix वलच् comes after the word शिखा in the above four-senses

Thus शिखावलम् 'the city Sikhâ vala' lit 'crested as a peacock'

Note —The word शिखा takes वलच् by V 2 111 S 1918, the affix having the same force as मतुप् V 2 94 S 1894, ('whose it is' or 'in whom it is') That should be distinguished from the present, in as much as, the latter is employed in making names of locality, not so the affix taught in Book V

१३०६ । उत्करादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । २ । ९० ॥

उत्करीय ॥

1308 The affix छ comes after the words उत्कर &c, in the four senses

As उत्करीय ॥

1 उत्कर 2 सफल 3 शफर, 4 पिप्पल, 5 पिप्पलीमूल 6 अश्मन् 7 सुवर्ण (सुवर्णा) 8 खलाजिन, 9 तिक 10 कितव 11 अणक* 12 त्रैवण* 13 पिचुक 14 अश्वत्थ, 15 काश, 16 क्षुद्र (शकाक्षुद्र st काश क्षुद्र), 17 भस्त्रा, 18 शाल 19 जन्या 20 अजिर (अजिन), 21 चर्मन्, 22 उत्क्रोश, 23 क्षान्त (शान्त), 24 खदिर 25 शूर्पणाय, 26 श्यावनाथ, 27 नैवाकव (नैव, बक), 28 तृण,* 29 वृक्ष 30 शाक,* 31 पलाश 32 विजिगिषा,* 33 अनेक, 34 आतप, 35 फल, 36 सपर*, 37 अर्क, 38 गर्त, 39 अग्नि, 40 वैराणक,* 41 इडा, 42 अरण्य, 43 निशान्त,* 44 पर्ण, 45 नीचायक,* 46 शङ्कर, 47 अवरोहित 48 क्षार,* 49 विशाल, 50 वेत्र, 51 अरीहण* 52 खण्ड, 53 वातागर, 54 मन्त्रणार्ह,* 55 इन्द्रवृक्ष, 56 नितान्तवृक्ष, (नितान्तावृक्ष, नितान्त, वृक्ष), 57 आर्द्रवृक्ष, 58 तृणव, 59 अन्य, 60 मरुष, 61 अर्जुनवृक्ष ॥

१३१० । नडादीनां कुक् च । ४ । २ । ९१ ॥

नडकीयम् ॥ कुञ्चा ह्रस्वत्वं च * ॥ कुञ्चकीय ॥ तक्षन्नलोपश्च * ॥ तक्षकीय ॥

1310 The augment कुक् comes after the words नड &c when the affix छ follows in the above four senses

To the words नड &c the same affix is added, with the insertion of a क् after the stem As नड+कुक्+छ=नडकीयम्, प्लक्षकीयम्, &c

Two Vârtikas —The words कुञ्चा and तक्षन् belong also to this class. In the case of कुञ्चा the long vowel is shortened, and in the case of तक्षन् the न is elided e g कुञ्चकीय and तक्षकीय ॥

1 नड, 2 प्लक्ष, 3 बिल्व, 4 वेणु, 5 वेत्र, 6 वेतस, 7 इक्षु, 8 काष्ठ, 9 कपोत, 10 तृण, 11 कुञ्चा (कुञ्चाग्र) ह्रस्वत्वं च, 12 तक्षन् नलोपश्च ॥

१३११ । बिल्वकादिभ्यश्छस्य लुक् । ६ । ४ । १५३ ॥

नडाद्यन्तर्गता बिल्वकादयस्तेभ्यश्छस्य लुक् तद्धिते परे । बिल्वा यस्यां सन्ति सा बिल्वकीया । तस्यां भवा बैल्वकाः । वैत्रकीया । वैत्रकाः । छस्य किम् । छमात्रस्य लुग्यथा स्यात्कुको निवृत्तिर्मा भूत् । अन्यथा सन्नियोगशिष्टानामिति कुगपि निवर्तेत । लुग्ग्रहणं सर्वलोपार्थं । लोपो हि यमात्रस्य स्यात् ॥

1311 The affix छ of the bha stems बिल्वक &c. is elided before a Taddhita affix.

The बिल्व &c are a subdivision of the NadAdi class (IV 2 91 S 1310), and the augment क is added to them by IV 2 91 S 1310 After these words, with the augment क the affix छ is elided when they take a *secondary* Taddhita affix Thus बिल्वा सन्त्या सन्ति=बिल्वकीया , तस्या भवा (IV 3 53)= बैल्वका ॥ Similarly वैत्रकीया वैत्रका ॥

Why do we say the affix छ ? The affix छ is specifically mentioned in order to show that the *affix only* should be elided and not the augment क ॥ Otherwise क् would also have been elided on the strength of the maxim —सन्नियोगशिष्टानामन्यतरापये (or अभाव) उभयोरप्यभाव (or अपाय), "When of the two things which are taught together, one disappears, then the other disappears likewise' The लुक् indicates the elision of the *whole* affix ईय and not merely of य ॥ Had the word lopa been used, then य only of ईय would have been elided, because its anuvṛitti is understood from VI 4 149 S 499

Here ends the chapter on Quadrulpy Significant affixes

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अथ तद्धितेषु शैषिकाः ॥

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ŚAISIKAS

१३१२ । शेषे । ४ । २ । ९२ ॥

अपत्यादिचतुरर्थ्यन्तादन्योऽर्थ शेषस्तत्राऽणादय स्यु । चक्षुषा गृह्यते चाक्षुष रूपम । श्रावण शब्द । औपनिषद पुरुष । दृषदि पिष्टा दार्षदा सक्तव । उलूखले क्षुण्ण औलूखलो यावक । अश्वैरुह्यते आश्वो रथ । चतुर्भिरुह्यते चातुर शकटम । चतुर्दश्या दृश्यते चातुर्दश रक्ष । शेष इति लक्षण चाधिकारश्च । तस्य विकार इत्यत प्राक् शेषाधिकार ॥

1312 The affixes taught hereafter, have senses other than those mentioned above

The suffixes that will be taught now have senses other than those already taught in the previous aphorisms Let a meaning, other than those of which 'progeny' (IV 1 92 S 1088) was the first mentioned, and the quadruple signification,' the last, be called शेष or the remainder '—and in that remainder of senses, too, let there be the affix अण् &c Thus चाक्षुष visible ' viz colour which is apprehen ded by vision ' from चक्षुस् , श्रावण ' audible ' viz sound, from श्रवण , औपनिषद ' treated of in Upanishad ' i e soul, दार्षद from दृषद् , ' ground on a stone ' i e flour of a fried corn, चातुर ' ridden in by four persons ' viz a cart , चातुर्दशम् ' who is seen on the fourteenth day of the moon ' viz a goblin , औलुखल ' pounded in a wooden mortar ' viz awn-less barley आश्व ' drawn by horses ' viz a chariot

The word शेषे is both a vidhi (lakshana) and an adhikara sûtra It is a vidhi sûtra in the senses of ' apprehension ' as in chakshushâ gṛhyate (apprehended by the eye), " pounding " (as in ulûkhale kshunna) &c For no sûtras are taught in these senses

The regulating influence of the expression शेषे " in the remainder " extends from this aphorism forword as far as IV 3 134 S 1514 The affixes घ &c taught hereafter, do not come in the sense of ' progeny ' &c, but they have, every one of them, all the senses of जात ' being born ' (IV 3 25 S 1393), प्रोक्त (IV 3 101 S 1481), आगत (IV 3 74 S 1453) &c निवास (IV 3 87 S 1467), &c कृत &c (IV 3 38 S 1413)

Note —Thus स्रौघ्न means " born in Srughna (IV 3 25 S 1393), or done in Srughna, or bought in Srughna, or obtained in Srugna, or skillful in Srughna (IV 3 38 S 1413), or abundant in Srughna (IV 3 39 S 1414), or suited to Srughna (IV, 3 41 S 1416), or staying in Srughna (IV 3 53 S 1428) or what

has come from Srughna (IV 3 74 S 1453), or which has its rise in Srughna (IV, 3 83 S 1463), a road leading to Srughna (IV 3 85 S 1465) a messenger going to Srughna (IV 3 85 S 1465), a gate facing Srughna or from which men go out to Srughna (IV 3 86 S 1466) a book relating to the History of Srughna (IV 3 87 S 1467), an inhabitant of Srughna (IV 3 89 S 1469), a person whose ancestral home is at Srughna (IV 3 90 S 1470)"

१३१२ । राष्ट्रावारपाराद्घखौ । ४ । २ । ९३ ॥

आभ्यां क्रमाद्घखौ स्त शेषे । राष्ट्रिय । अवारपारीण ॥ अवारपाराद्विगृहीतादपि विपरीताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अवारीण । पारीण । पारावारीण । इह प्रकृतिविशेषाद्घादयष्ट्युट्युलन्ता प्रत्यया उच्यन्ते तेषां जातादयोऽर्थविशेषा समर्थविभक्तयश्च वक्ष्यन्ते ॥

1313 The affixes *gha* and *kha* are respectively added after the words राष्ट्र and अवारपार ॥

The affix इय is substituted for घ, and ईन for ख (VII 1 2 S 475) Thus राष्ट्रिय 'born &c in a country,' अवारपारीण 'who or what goes or extends to both banks'

Vârt —The affix ख comes also when the words अवार and पार are taken separately, as well as when compounded inversely e g अवारीण 'belonging to this bank of the river,' पारीण 'belonging to the other bank,' पारावारीण 'belonging to the other bank as well as to this' Here as well as in several of the subsequent aphorisms, merely the stems and their appropriate affixes are given, the sense of these affixes and the cases of the noun in construction, such as those of 'being born' &c will be taught hereafter in IV 3 25 1393 and sûtras that follow it

Note —There shall now be mentioned derivatives which end with those affixes the first where of is घ and the last where of are ट्यु (IV 3 24 1392), with specification of the original term to which the application of those affixes is appropriate, and their varieties of meaning, such as 'being producad there-from' IV 2 25 S 1227, and the like, shall be mentioned, and the declensional cases in connection with which the affixes are appropriately applicable.

१३१४ । ग्रामाद्यखञौ । ४ । २ । ९४ ॥

ग्राम्य । ग्रामीण ॥

1314 The affixes य and खञ् (ईन) come after the word 'grâma'

As ग्राम्य and ग्रामीण, 'a rustic'

१३१५ । कत्त्र्यादिभ्यो ढकञ् । ४ । २ । ९५ ॥

कुत्सितास्त्रयः कत्त्रय । तत्र जातादि कात्त्रेयक । नागरेयक । ग्रामादित्यनुवृत्ते ग्रामेयक ॥

1315 The affix ढकञ् (एयक) comes after the words कत्त्रि &c

As कात्त्रेयक, नागरेयक and if we take the anuvritti of grâma from the last sûtra, we have ग्रामेयक ॥

1 कत्त्रि, 2 उम्भि, 3 पुष्कर 4 पुष्कल, 5 मोदन, 6 कुम्भी, 7 कुण्डिन, 8 नगरी (नगर) 9 माहिष्मती, 10 वर्मती, (चर्मण्वती) 11 उख्या 12 ग्राम 13 कुड्याया (कुलाया) बलोपथ, 14 वङ्जी, 15 भक्ति ॥

१३१६ ॥ कुलकुक्षिग्रीवाभ्य श्वास्यलङ्कारेषु । ४ । २ । ९६ ॥

कौलेयक श्वा । कौलोऽन्य । कौक्षेयकोऽसि । कौक्षोऽन्य । ग्रैवेयकोऽलङ्कार । ग्रैवोऽन्य ॥

1316 The same affix ढकञ् is added to the words कुल, कुक्षि and ग्रीवा, when the whole words so formed mean respectively, 'a dog', 'a sword' and 'an ornament'

The force of the affix, as already told above, is to denote 'produce' &c (IV 3 '25 S 1227 &c) but the whole word has a specific significance As कौलेयक = a dog (lit pertaining to a family), कौक्षेयक = a sword (lit remaining in a sheath) ग्रैवेयक = a necklace When not having these meanings, the regular derivatives from these words are formed by अण् as, कौल, कौक्ष and ग्रैव ॥

१३१७ । नद्यादिभ्यो ढक् । ४ । २ । ९७ ॥

नादेयम् । माहेयम् । वाराणसेयम् ॥

1317 The affix ढक् (एय) comes after the words 'nadî' &c, in the remaining senses (i e IV 3 25 S 1227 &c)

Thus नादेय, 'pertaining to a river,' माहेयम 'earthen, &c वाराणसेयम् ॥

1 नदी, 2 मही 3 वाराणसी, 4 श्रावस्ती 5 कौशाम्बी 6 वनकौशाम्बी (वनकौ) 7 काशपरी* 8 काशफरी (फारी) 9 खादिरी, 10 पूर्वनगरी 11 पाठा (पावा) 12 माया (मावा) 13 शाल्वा (साल्वा) 14 दार्वा*, 15 सेतकी (वासेनकी) 16 वडवाया वृषे, 17 शाल्वा ॥

The word पूर्वनगरी occurs in the above list Its derivative will be पौर्वनगरेयम ॥ But some say, it is composed of three words पुर्—वन—गिरि and they apply the affix to each of them separately As पैरेयम् वानेयम् and गैरेयम् ॥

१३१८ । दक्षिणापश्चात्पुरसस्त्यक् । ४ । २ । ९८ ॥

दाक्षिणात्याजन्तमध्ययम् । दाक्षिणात्य । पाश्चात्य । पौरस्त्य ॥

1318 After the words 'dakshinâ', 'paschât, and 'puras', the affix 'tyak (त्य) is added in the remaining senses

As दाक्षिणात्य 'pertaining or produced in the south', पाश्चात्य 'occidental', पौरस्त्य 'oriental'

१३१९ । कापिश्याः ष्फक् । ४ । २ । ९९ ॥

कापिश्यां जातादि कापिशायनं मधु । कापिशायनी द्राक्षा ॥

1319 After the word 'Kâpiśî', the affix 'shphak' is added in the remaining senses. (the feminine being formed by ङीष् IV 1 41 S, 498)

Thus कापिशायनं मधु, कापिशायनी द्राक्षा 'a liquor'

१३२० रङ्कोरमनुष्येऽण् च । ४ । २ । १०० ॥

चात् ष्फक् । राङ्कवो गौः । राङ्कवायणः । अमनुष्य इति किम् । राङ्कवको मनुष्यः ॥

1320 After the words रङ्कु the same affix 'shphak' as well as the affix अण् is added, in the remaining senses, when the meaning is a non-human being

As राङ्कवो गौ or राङ्कवायणो गौ ॥ Why do we say 'non-human being'? Observe राङ्कवको मनुष्य (IV 2 134)

Note —Q The word रङ्कु belongs to कच्छादि class (IV 2 133), and when a human being is to be denoted, then by IV 2 134, it will take the affix वुञ् and when a non-human being is to be designated, then it will take अण् by rule IV 2 133, then where is the necessity of the present sûtra by which अण् is enjoined when a non human being is to be designated? To this the reply is that the force of the negative affix in amanushya is that of इव, i e अमनुष्य = मनुष्य सदृश "a being like man, but not man" The word अमनुष्य does not mean 'anything which is not a man' For had this been its meaning, then a blanket is also a thing which is not a man, and in denoting a blanket, we should add ष्फक्, but we never do so When blanket is to be denoted we add अण् of IV 2 133, as राङ्कव "a woolen blanket" When we want to denote a *living* being other than man, then we add अण् and ष्फक् of this sûtra The अण् is repeated in this sûtra, for the purpose also of showing that otherwise अण् would have been debarred by the special affix ष्फक् ॥

The word रङ्कु is the name of a country, it would have taken अण् under the universal rule IV 1 83, but this is debarred by वुञ् of IV 2 125 S 1349, and वुञ् is debarred by छञ् of IV 2 119 S 1343, and छञ् is debarred by वुञ् of IV 2 132 S 1356, as it has क् as penultimate, the present sûtra debars that and ordains अण् and ष्फक् ॥

१३२१ । द्युप्रागपागुदक्प्रतीचो यत् । ४ । २ । १०१ ॥

दिव्यम् । प्राच्यम् । अपाच्यम् । उदीच्यम् । प्रतीच्यम् ॥

1321 After the words '*div*', '*prâch*, '*apâch*', '*udach*' and '*pratyach*', the affix यत् is added in the remaining senses

Thus दिव्यम्, प्राच्यम्, अपाच्यम्, उदीच्यम् (IV 4 130 S 3476) and प्रतीच्यम् ॥ When these words are used as Indeclinables, and denote time, they take also the affixes 'tyul' and 'tyu' e g प्राक्तनम् (IV 3 25) the word अपाच् means south

१३२२ ॥ कन्थायाष्ठक् । ४ । २ । १०२ ॥

कान्थिक ॥

1322 After the word 'Kanthâ', comes the affix ठक् in the remaining senses.

As कान्थिक ॥

१३२३ । वर्णौ वुक् । ४ । २ । १०३ ॥

वर्णुर्नदस्तस्य समीपदेशो वर्णु तद्विषयार्थवाचिकन्थाशब्दाद्वुक् स्यात् । यथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्थकम् ॥

1323 To the same stem is added the affix वुक् when it treats about some thing which is to be found in the land of Varnu

The Varnu is the name of a river, and the country near it is also called Varṇu, the affix denoting country being elided by IV 2 81 S 1293 Thus कान्थकम् ॥ As in the sentence यथा हि जात हिमवत्सु कान्थकम (?)

१३२४ । अव्ययात्त्यप् । ४ । २ । १०४ ॥

अमेहक्वतसित्रेभ्य एव * ॥ अमाऽन्तिकसहार्थयो । अमात्य । इहत्य । क्वत्य । ततस्त्य । तत्रत्य । परिगणन किम् । उपरिष्टाद्भव औपरिष्ट ॥

अव्ययाना भमात्रे टिलोप * ॥ अनित्योऽय बहिषष्टिलोपविधानात् । तेनेह न । आरातीय ॥

त्यब्नेर्ध्रुव इति वक्तव्यम् । नित्य ॥

निसो गते * ॥

1324 The affix 'tyap' comes after an Indeclinable, in the remaining senses

This rule is too wide and the following *vârtikas* restrict it.

Vârt The affix त्यप् is restricted to the following Indeclinables — अमा near or 'together' इह here', क्व 'where', those that end in तसि (V 3 7 S 1953) and त्र (V 3 10 S 1957) As अमात्य 'a minister', इहत्य, क्वत्य', ततस्त्य, तत्रत्य, &c

Why do we say 'its application should be restricted'? Observe औपरिष्ट, formed from the Indeclinable उपरि ॥

Vârt —The last vowel, with the consonant, if any, which follows it, is elided in the Indeclinables when they are Bha As सौवर्गमिक (स्वर्गमनमाह) This is an anitya rule because lopa is ordained of the टि syllable of bahis by vârtika under IV 1 55 S 1877 Had the टि elision of the present vârtika been universal then there would have been no necessity of the vârtika teaching the टि elision of bahis

Thus there is no टि elision of आरात् and शाश्वत् when they take the affix छ in the same sense As आरातीय and शाश्वतीय ॥

Vârt —The त्यप् is added to the upasarga नि in the sense of "fixed" as, नित्य = ध्रुवम् ॥

Vârt —The त्यप् is added to the upasarga निस in the sense of 'gone' As निष्ट्य "Chandalas &c who have *gone out* of the caste" It is thus formed निस् + त्य ॥ Now applies the following sûtr

१३२५ । ह्रस्वात्तादौ तद्धिते । ८ । ३ । १०१ ॥

ह्रस्वादिणः परस्य सस्य षः स्यात्तादौ तद्धिते । निर्गतो वर्णाश्रमेभ्यो निष्ट्यश्चाण्डालादि ॥
अरण्याण्णः * ॥ आरण्याः सुमनसः ॥
दूरादेत्यः * ॥ दूरेत्यः ॥
उत्तरादाहञ् * ॥ औत्तराहः ॥

1325 ष् is substituted for a final स् preceded by a short इ or उ before a Taddhita affix beginning with त ॥

Therefore the निस् is replaced by ष before त्यप ॥ Thus we get निष + त्य = निष्ट्य meaning one who has gone out of caste such as Chandâlas &c

Note —The following are the affixes before which this change takes place, namely तर तम, तय, त्व, तस्, त्यप ॥ As तर—सर्पिष्टरम् यजुष्टरम् । तम । सर्पिष्टमम । यजुष्टमम । तय । चतुष्टये ब्राह्मणाना निकेता । त्व । सर्पिष्ट्वम् । तल् । सर्पिष्टा । यजुष्टा । तस् । सर्पिष्टो, यजुष्ट । त्यप् । आविष्ट्यो वर्द्धते ॥

Vârt —The affix ण comes after अरण्य e g आरण्या सुमनस 'forest flower's

Vârt —The affix एत्य comes after दूर, e g दूरेत्य पथिक 'a traveller'

Vârt —The affix आहञ् comes after उत्तर e g औत्तराह ॥

१३२६ । ऐषमोह्यःश्वसोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । २ । १०५ ॥

एभ्यस्त्यब्वा । पक्षे वक्ष्यमाणौ ट्युट्युलौ । ऐषमस्त्यम् । ऐषमस्तनम् । ह्यस्त्यम् । ह्यस्तनम् । श्वस्त्यम् । श्वस्तनम् । पक्षे शौवस्तिकं वक्ष्यते ॥

1326 The affix त्यप् is added optionally after the words 'aishamas,' 'hyas,' and 'śvas', in the remaining senses

These take optionally ल्यप्, in the other alternative they will take तुट् and ट्युल् as taught hereafter

As ऐषमस्त्यम् or ऐषमस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391), ह्यस्त्यम् or ह्यस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391), श्वस्त्यम् or श्वस्तनम् (IV 3 23 S 1391) or शौवस्तिकम् (IV 3 15 S 1385) The word 'svas' takes the augment तुट् also, hence the above three forms

१३२७। तीररूप्योत्तरपदादञौ। ४। २। १०६॥

यथासङ्ख्येन। काकतीरम्। पाल्वलतीरम्। शैवरूप्यम्। तीररूप्यान्तादिति नोक्तम्। बहुच्पूर्वान्माभूत्। बाहुरूप्यम्॥

1327 The affix अञ् comes after a word ending with तीर, and the ञ comes after a word ending with रूप्य, in the remaining senses

This debars अण्। Thus काकतीरम्, पाल्वलतीरम् शैवरूप्यम्। The words formed by अञ्, take the affix ङीप् in the feminine (IV 1 15 S 470) those in ञ take the affix टाप् (IV 1 4 S 454) The sutra is not enunciated as तीररूप्यान्तात्, for had it been so, the affix would apply to बहुरूप्य also, where रूप्य is final, but cannot be called uttara pada as 'bahu' is not a pada but is an affix (V 3 68 S 2023) Therefore, we have बाहुरूप्यम् formed by अण्॥

१३२८। दिक्पूर्वपदादसंज्ञायां ञः। ४। २। १०७॥

अणोऽपवादः। पौर्वशालः। असंज्ञायां किम्। संज्ञाभूतायां प्रकृतेर्मा भूत्। पूर्वेषुकामशम्यां भवः पूर्वैषुकामशमः। प्राचां ग्रामनगराणामित्युत्तरपदवृद्धिः॥

1328 The affix ञ comes in the remaining senses, after a word preceded by another word that signifies 'direction,' provided that the compound is not a Name

To a stem, whose first member is a word denoting direction, and which is not a Name, the affix ञ is added, forming the feminine in आ। The word असंज्ञायाम् qualifies the 'base,' This debars अण्। Thus पूर्वशाला + ञ = पौर्वशाल (VI 4 148 VII 2 117) 'who is in the eastern hall'

Why do we say 'when not a Name'? 'Observe, from the word पूर्वेषुकामशमी (II 1 50 S 727) we have पूर्वैषुकामशमं (VII 3 14 S 1400), The example illustrates, how first a compound of Tatpurusha kind is formed by the words पूर्व + इषुकामशमी, "Ishukâmashamî in the-East', the whole being the name of the city Then when the Taddhita affix is added to this word, the first vowel is not vriddhied, as is the general rule (VII 2 117, S 1075) but the first vowel of the second member of the compound is vriddhied viz the letter इ of इषुकामशमी by rule VII 3 14 S 1400

१३२९ । मद्रेभ्योऽञ् । ४ । २ । १०८ ॥

दिक्पूर्वपदादित्येव । दिशोऽमद्राणामिति मद्रपर्युदासादादिवृद्धि । पौर्वमद्र । आपरमद्र ॥

1329 The affix अञ् is added to the word मद्र, preceded by a word denoting direction, in the remaining senses.

Thus पौर्वमद्रः / °द्री । आपरमद्र / °द्री ॥ Here contrary to the examples in the preceding sûtra, the initial vowel is vṛiddhied by VII 3 13 S 1399 which makes a special exception in the case of the word मद्र ॥

१३३० । उदीच्यग्रामाच्च बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्तात् । ४ । २ । १०९ ॥

अञ् स्यात् । शैवपुरम् ॥

1330 The affix अञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word consisting of more than two syllables, having udâtta accent on the final, being the name of a village of the peoples of the North

The governing force of the word दिक् ceases here The अञ् debars अण् । Thus शैवपुरम् ॥

१३३१ । प्रस्थोत्तरपदपलद्यादिकोपधादण् । ४ । २ । ११० ॥

माहिकिप्रस्थ । पालद । नैलीनक ॥

1331 The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses after a word ending with प्रस्थ, after the words पलदी &c, and after a word having a penultimate क, whether these words express villages of North folk or not.

This debars the अञ् of the last aphorism Thus माहिकिप्रस्थ, पालद, नैलीनक ॥

1 पलदी, 2 परिषद, 3 रोमक, 4 वाहीक, 5 कलकीट (मलकीट), 6 बहुकीट (बाहुकीट), 7 जालकीट, 8 कमलकीट, 9 कमलकीकर, 10 कमलभिदा, 11 गोष्ठी, 12 नैकती (नैतकी), 13 परिखा, 14 शूरसेन, 15 गोमती, 16 पटच्चर, 17 उदपान (उदयानि), 18 यकृल्लोम, 19 सकुल्लोम ॥

१३३२ । कण्वादिभ्यो गोत्रे । ४ । २ । १११ ॥

एभ्यो गोत्रप्रत्ययान्तेभ्योऽण् स्यात् । कण्वो गर्गादि । काण्वस्य छात्रा काण्वा ।

1332 The affix अण् comes after the patronymics formed from कण्व &c

Here the word गोत्रे does not qualify the sense of the base, nor does it give the sense of the affix It simply means 'that after a word

ending with the affix which has been ordained after the words Kanva &c, in denoting a Gotra or Family name, the affix अण् is employed in the remaining senses" This debars the affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus काण्वा 'the pupils of Kânva'

Thus Kanva class is a sub class of Gargâdi The Family name from कण्व is काण्व्य by rule IV 1 105 To this, the affix अण् is added काण्व्य + अण् = काण्व (VI 4 148 and VI 4 152)

१३३३ । इञश्च । ४ । २ । ११२ ॥

गोत्रे य इञ् तदन्तादण् स्यात् । दाक्षा । गोत्रे किम् । सौतङ्गमेरिद सौतङ्गमीयम् । गोत्रमिह शास्त्रीय नतु लौकिकम् । तेनेह न । पाणिनीयम् ॥

1333 After a Family-name formed by इञ्, the affix अण् is added in the remaining senses

Thus from दक्ष we have the Patronymic दाक्षि, from which दाक्षा 'the pupils of Dâkshi" The final इ is elided before अण् by VI 4 148 S 311

Why do we say 'denoting a family name'? Observe सौतङ्गमि, a word formed by इञ् of IV 2 80, S 1292 not denoting a family, but having the four fold sense of IV 2 68 70S 1280 82 The further derivative from this will be सौतङ्गमीयम् by छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) The word Gotra in this sûtra, however, refers to the scriptural gotras or clans as mentioned in the list of gotras given in the sacred books and not worldly gotras, or family descent Therefore the rule does not apply in पाणिनीयम् ॥

१३३४ । न द्व्यचः प्राच्यभरतेषु । ४ । २ । ११३ ॥

इञश्चेत्यणोऽपवादः । प्राष्ठीया । काशीया । भरताना प्राच्यत्वेऽपि पृथगुपादानमन्यत्र प्राच्यग्रहणे भरतानामग्रहणस्य लिङ्गम् ॥

1334 The affix अण् is not however added to a word which, though ending in the Patronymic affix इञ्, consists of two syllables, when it is the family name of Eastern people or of Bharata

This sûtra debars अण् which would have come by the last sûtra The result is that the words answering to the description given in this aphorism from the शैषिक derivatives by affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337)

Thus प्राष्ठीया and काशीया from, प्राष्ठि or काशि । The word प्राष्ठि and काशि are Vriddha words as defined in the next rule, and therefore they take छ ॥

The Bharatas belong also to the East Folk or Prâchyas Their separate mention here indicates by jñâpaka or inference, that wherever Prâchya is used in these sûtras, it does not include the Bharatas See II 4 66

१३३५ । वृद्धिर्यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धम् । १ । १ । ७३ ॥

यस्य समुदायस्याचां मध्ये आदिर्वृद्धिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं स्यात् ॥

1335 That word, among the vowels of which the first is a vriddhi, is called vriddham

This defines the word वृद्धम् । The sûtra consists of five words —वृद्धि 'the vriddhi vowel', यस्य 'whose,' अचाम् 'among the vowels,' आदि 'is first', तद् 'that', वृद्धम 'is called vriddham'

Note —If a word consisting of many vowels, has a vriddhi vowel coming first in the order of vowels, that word is called vriddham Thus the words माला, शाला &c, have the first vowel आ a vriddhi vowel, therefore, they are called vriddham

The word vriddham has been defined in order to make applicable to these peculiar words, certain taddhita affixes Thus there is a rule (IV 2 114 S 1337) by which the affix छ is added to vriddham Thus माला + छ = मालीय ॥

१३३६ । त्यदादीनि च । १ । १ । ७४ ॥

वृद्धसंज्ञानि स्यु ॥

1336 The words tyad &c, are also called vriddham

Note —The त्यद् &c have been given in the list of sarvanâmas These words are also called vriddham Thus तद् + छ = तदीयम् । So also मदीयम्, इदमीयम्, अदसीयम्, त्वादायनि, मादायनि &c

१३३७ । वृद्धाच्छः । ४ । २ । ११४ ।

शालीय । मालीय । तदीय ॥

1337 After a word cellad Vriddha, the affix छ is added in the remaining senses

The word गोत्र does not govern this sûtra This is a general rule This debars अण् । Thus from गार्ग्य we have गार्गीय (VI 4 148 S 311 and VI 4 152 S 2119) So also शालीय, मालीय, तदीय ॥

१३३८ । एङ् प्राचां देशे । १ । १ । ७५ ॥

एङ् यस्याचामादिस्तद्वृद्धसंज्ञं वा स्याद्देशाभिधाने । एणीपचनीय । गोनर्दीय । भोजकटीय । पक्षे अणि । ऐणीपचन । गौनर्द । भौजकट । एङ् किम् । आहिच्छत्र । कान्यकुब्ज ॥ वा नामधेयस्य वृद्धसंज्ञा वक्तव्या * ॥ दैवदत्त । देवदत्तीय ॥

1338 A word that has the letters ए and ओ as the first among its vowels, gets optionally also the designation of vriddham, when it is the name of a country

As गोनर्द is a country of the east it is a vriddham word and we have गोनर्द + छ = गोनर्दीय, similarly एणीपचनीयम्, भोजकटीय । Alternatively, with the affix अण the forms will be गौनर्द, ऐणीपचन, भौजकट ॥

1 काशि, 2 वेदि (वेदी), 3 सायाति* 4 संवाह, 5 अच्युत, 6 मोदमान (मोहमान) 7 शकुलाद, 8 हस्तिकर्षू, 9 कुनामन्, (कुदामन्), 10 हिरण्य, 11 करण, 12 गोवासन (गोधाशन), 13 भारङ्गी,* 14 अरिंदम, 15 अरित्र,* 16 देवदत्त, 17 दशग्राम (दासग्राम), 18 शौवावतान (सैधावतान), 19 युवराज, 20 उपराज, 21 देवराज, 22 मोदन,* 23 सिन्धुमित्र, 24 दासमित्र, 25 सुधामित्र,* 26 सोमामित्र,* 27 छागमित्र,* 28 सधमित्र,* 29 आपदादिपूर्वपदात् (आपद्, ऊर्ध्व, तद्) कालान्तात्, 30 सहा, 31 भौरिकि, 32 भौलिङ्गि, 33 सर्वमित्र, 34 साधुमित्र ॥

१३४१ । वाहीकग्रामेभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । ११७ ॥

वाहीकग्रामवाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ स्तः । छस्यापवादः । कास्तीरं नाम वाहीकग्रामः । कास्तीरिकी । कास्तीरिका ॥

1341 The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come, in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting the villages of Vâhîka

The word वृद्धात् is to be read into this sûtra This debars the affix छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus कास्तीरिकी or कास्तीरिका ॥

१३४२ । विभाषोशीनरेषु । ४ । २ । ११८ ॥

एषु ये ग्रामास्तद्वाचिभ्यो वृद्धेभ्यष्ठञ्ञिठौ वा स्तः । सौदर्शनिकी । सौदर्शनिका । सौदर्शनीया ॥

1342 The affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् come optionally in the remaining senses, after the Vṛiddha words denoting Vâhîka villages situated in Uśînara

Thus सौदर्शनिकी, सौदर्शनिका, and सौदर्शनीया ॥

१३४३ । ओर्देशे ठञ् । ४ । २ । ११९ ॥

उवर्णान्ताद्देशवाचिनष्ठञ् । निषादकर्षू, नैषादकर्षुका । केऽण इति ह्रस्वः । देशे किम् । पटोश्छात्राः, पाटवाः । ञिठं व्यावर्तयितुं ठञ्ग्रहणम् । वृद्धाच्छं परत्वादयं बाधते । दाक्षिकर्षुकः ॥

1343. The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Nominal-stem denoting a locality and ending in उ ॥

The phrase 'वृद्धात्' does not govern this sûtra For had it been understood in this aphorism, there would have been no necessity of repeating it in the next.

Thus नैषादकर्षुका from निषादकर्षू, the long ऊ is shortened by VII 4 13. S 834 before the affix क। Why do we say 'denoting a country'? Observe पाटवा 'the pupils of पटु' formed by अण् ॥

In the previous sutras, the anuvṛitti of ठञ् and ञिठ both were current, hence the repetition of ठञ् in this sutra, because we could not take the anuvṛitti of ठञ् from the last sutra, without drawing in the anuvṛitti of ञिठ् ॥

This sûtra being subsequent in order to IV 2 114 S 1337, debars that sûtra , and hence in the case of vṛiddha words ending in ऊ and denoting a locality, छ is not added, but the ठञ् of the prsesent sûtra. Thus शालिकर्षुक ॥

१३४४ । वृद्धात्प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२० ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिना वृद्धादेवेति नियमार्थं सूत्रम् । आढकजम्बुक । शाकजम्बुक । नेह मल्लवास्तु, माल्लवास्तव ॥

1344 The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a vṛiddha word ending in ऊ and denoting a locality of the Eastern-folks

The phrase प्राचाम् is here understood Thus आढकजम्बुक , शाकजम्बुक ॥

The affix ठञ् would have been valid by the last sûtra also, the present sûtra makes a नियम or restriction, showing that the case of words denoting places of East, the rule applies to those words only, which are Vṛiddha. Therefore it does not apply to मल्लवास्तु, from which we have माल्लवास्तवः ॥

१३४५ । धन्वयोपधाद्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १२१ ॥

धन्वविशेषवाचिनो यकारोपधाच्च देशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । ऐरावतं धन्व ऐरावतकः । साङ्काश्यकाम्पिल्यशब्दौ वुञ्छण्यादिसूत्रेण यवान्तौ । साङ्काश्यक । काम्पिल्यक ॥

1345 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a vṛiddha word denoting a locality, which has the letter य as its penultimate, and after a vṛiddha place-name denoting a waste or desert place

The words वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here The word धन्व means a waste or desert Thus पारिधन्वक , ऐरावतक are examples of धन्व ॥ Similarly साकाश्यक and काम्पिल्यक are examples of य penultimate. (IV 2 80 S 1292)

१३४६ । प्रस्थपुरवहान्ताच्च । ४ । २ । १२२ ॥

एतदन्ताद्वृद्धाद्देशवाचिनो वुञ् स्यात् । छस्यापवाद । मालाप्रस्थक । नान्दीपुरक । पैलुवहक । पुरान्तग्रहणमप्राग्र्थम् । प्राग्देशे तूत्तरेण सिद्धम् ।

1346. The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after a Vṛiddha word denoting a locality and ending with प्रस्थ, पुर or वह ॥

This debars छ (IV 2 114 S 1337) Thus मालाप्रस्थक, नान्दीपुरक, पैलुवहक ॥

The words ending in पुर would have taken the affix वुञ् by the next sûtra also, but as that sûtra is restricted to the countries of the East, this sûtra is general in its scope

१३४७ । रोपधेतो प्राचाम् । ४ । २ । १२३ ॥

रोपधादीकारान्ताच्च प्रागदेशवाचिनो वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । पाटलिपुत्रक । ईत, काकन्दक ॥

1347 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a Vriddha word denoting a locality of the East-folk, the word having a penultimate र or ending in ई ॥

This debars छ ॥ This पाटलिपुत्रक ॥ So also with words ending in ई ॥ As, काकन्दी—काकन्दक, (VI 4 148)

Note —Why do we say प्राचाम् 'of the East folk'? Observe दात्तामित्रीय formed by छ ॥ The त् in ईत in the sutra is for the sake of distinctness

१३४८ । जनपदतदवध्योश्च । ४ । २ । १२४ ॥

जनपदवाचिनस्तदवधिवाचिनश्च वृद्धाद्वुञ् स्यात् । आदर्शक । त्रैगर्तक ॥

1348 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting an inhabited kingdom, or a limit of such kingdom

The phrases वृद्धात् and देशे are understood here, being qualified by जनपद and तदवधि ॥ This debars the affix छ ॥ Thus आदर्शक is an example of जनपद ॥

Note —And औपुष्टक and श्यामयानक from औपुष्ट and श्यामायन two uninhabited countries, are illustrations of जनपदावधि ॥

The अवधि or limit of an inhabited country or जनपद must be a country and not a village This is so, in order to prevent, by anticipation, the application of छ by IV 2 137 S 1361 to words like त्रिगर्त which is an arid desert as त्रैगर्तक ॥ The word तदवधि means either "the boundary of that (जनपद)" or "that which itself is a boundary"

१३४९ । अवृद्धादपि बहुवचनविषयात् । ४ । २ । १२५ ॥

अवृद्धाद्वृद्धाच्च जनपदतदवधिवाचिनो बहुवचनविषयात्प्रातिपदिकाद्वुञ् स्यात् । अवृद्धादणो वृद्धाच्छस्यापवाद । अवृद्धाज्जनपदात्, आङ्गक । अवृद्धाज्जनपदावधे, आजमीढक । वृद्धाज्जनपदात्, दार्वक । वृद्धाज्जनपदावधे, कालञ्जरक । विषयग्रहणं किम् । एकशेषेण बहुत्वे मा भूत् । वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तनी च वर्तन्य, तासु भवो वार्तन ॥

1349 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses, even after a word which is not a Vriddha, and which is always plural, when it denotes an inhabited country or a limit of such country, as well as after such Vriddha words

The words जनपद and तदवधि are to be read into the aphorism, This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus from अङ्ग, वङ्ग and कलिङ्ग which are non Vriddha

Kingdom denoting words, always having a plural form, we have आङ्गक, वाङ्गक and कालिङ्गक ॥ Similarly अजमीढा and अजक्रन्दा are always non Vriddha plural words, denoting boundary of kingdoms, we have from them आजमीढक and आजक्रन्दक ॥ The affix will apply, of course to Vriddha जनपद word by the last sûtra, though these be always plural in form Thus दार्वक and जाम्बक from दार्वा and जाम्बा ॥ So also to Vriddha words denoting limit of a Kingdom कालञ्जरा —कालञ्जरक, वैकुलिशा —वैकुलिशक ॥

Why have we used the word विषय in the sutra? The word विषय is used in the sutra to indicate that the word should be plural in essence, having no corresponding singular form Therefore the rule will not apply to वर्त्तन्य plural of वर्त्तनी ॥ The derivative from it will be वार्तन ॥ For वर्तन्य is an ekaśesha plural of वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी + वर्त्तनी ॥

१३५० । कच्छाग्निवक्त्रवर्तोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

देशवाचिनो वृद्धादवृद्धाच वुञ् स्यात् । दारुकच्छक । काण्डाग्नक । सैन्धववक्त्रक । बाहुवर्तक ॥

1350 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses after a word, whether Vriddha or not, denoting a locality and having as its second term the words 'kachchha', 'agni,' 'vaktra' and 'garta'

This debars छ and अण् ॥ As दारुकच्छक, काण्डाग्नक, सैन्धुवक्त्रक, and बाहुवर्तक ॥ Kâśika reads the sûtra as गर्तो &c

The word उत्तरपद in the sûtra should be read with every one of the words कच्छ &c

१३५१ । धूमादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १२७ ॥

देशवाचिभ्यो वुञ् । धौमक । तैर्थक ॥

1351 The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words dhûma &c, denoting country

This debars अण् &c धौमक, तैर्थक &c

Note —The word पाथेय occurs in the list It would have taken वुञ् by IV 2 121 as it has य as penultimate Its mention here shows that it need not denote a locality for the application of this affix Similarly the words विदेह and आनर्त being names of जनपद would have taken वुञ् by IV 2 124, here in this list, therefore, they do not denote country Thus विदेहाना क्षत्रियाणा स्व = वैदेहकम् "the property of Videha Kshatriyâs" So also आनर्तकम् ॥ The word समुद्र occurs in the list It takes the affix when the derivative word means a 'ship' or a 'sailor' Thus सामुद्रिका नौ and सामुद्रिको मनुष्य ॥ Otherwise not, as सामुद्रम् "Oceanic water"

1 धूम, 2 षडण्ड (खडण्ड and खण्ड), 3 शशादन, 4 अर्जुनाव (आर्जुनाद), 5 माहकस्थली 6 आनकस्थली*, 7 माहिषस्थली* 8 मानस्थली (माषस्थली), 9 अट्टस्थली*, 10 मद्रुकस्थली*, 11 समुद्रस्थली, 12 दाण्डायनस्थली, 13 राजस्थली, 14 विदेह, 15 राजगृह, 16 सात्रासाह, 17 शष्प (शिष्य), 18 मित्रवर्ध (मित्रवर्ध, मित्र, बल), 19 भक्षाली*, 20 मद्रकूल, 21 आञ्जीकूल (आञ्जीकूल), 22 द्व्याहाव, 23 त्र्याहाव, 24 संस्फीय (सङ्घीय), 25 बर्बर, 26 वर्ज्य, 27 गर्त (वर्षगर्त), 28 आनर्त, 29 माठर, 30 पाथेय, 31 घोष, 32 पल्ली (वल्ली) 33 आराज्ञी 34 धार्तराज्ञी 35 आवय, 36 तीर्थ (अवयात तीर्थ), 37 कूलात्सौवीरेषु, 38 समुद्रान्नावि मनुष्ये च, 39 कुक्षि, 40 अन्तरीय (अन्तरीप), 41 द्वीप, 42 अरुण, 43 उज्जयनी, (उज्जयिनी) 44 पट्टार*, 45 दक्षिणापथ, 46 साकेत, 47 घोषस्थली, 48 भक्षास्थली, 49 गर्तकूल, 50 मनवल्ली, 51 सुराज्ञी ॥

१३५२ । नगरात्कुत्सनप्रावीण्ययोः । ४ । २ । १२८ ॥

नगरशब्दाद्वुञ् स्यात्कुत्सने प्रावीण्ये च गम्ये । नागरकश्चौर शिल्पी वा । कुत्सनेति किम् । नागरा ब्राह्मणा ॥

1352 The affix वुञ् comes after the word 'nagara' in the remaining senses, when censure or praise is implied

The word कुत्सन which is equivalent to निन्दन or 'blame or censure, and प्रावीण्य which means नैपुण्य "dexterity", qualify the sense of the affix

Thus नागरक 'a thief or a skilful person' The word literally means 'a town born, or town bred, but by the usage of language, it always denotes a person having the vices or virtues of a town, such as a thief or an artist

Why do we say "when censure or dexterity is implied"? Observe नागरा ब्राह्मणा 'the Nâgara Brâhmanas"

१३५३ । अरण्यान्मनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १२६ ॥

वुञ् । अरण्याण्णइत्यस्यापवाद ।

पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यहस्तिष्विति वाच्यम् * ॥ आरण्यक पन्था अध्यायो न्यायो विहारो मनुष्यो हस्ती वा ॥

वा गोमयषु * ॥ आरण्यका आरण्या वा गोमया ॥

1353 The affix वुञ् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word अरण्य, in the sense of a man

This debars the affix ण of 1325 Vartika Thus आरण्यक मनुष्य 'a forester'

Vârt —It should be stated rather that the affix वुञ् is added to अरण्य in the sense of 'a way' 'a lesson, or doctrine (Upanishad)' 'a maxim' 'a play or game' 'a man' and 'an elephant' Thus आरण्यक पन्था, अध्याय, न्याय विहार मनुष्य or हस्ती ॥

Vârt —Optionally when the sense is that of cow dung, as आरण्या or आरण्यका गोमया ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ॥ As आरण्या पशव 'wild beasts

१३५४ । विभाषाकुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् । ४ । २ । १३० ॥

वुञ् । कौरवक । कौरव । यौगन्धरक । यौगन्धर ॥

1354 The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'Kuru', and 'Yugandhara'

Thus कौरवक or कौरवं, यौगन्धरक or यौगन्धरं ॥

१३५५ । मद्रवृज्योः कन् । ४ । २ । १३१ ॥

जनपदवुञोऽपवाद । मद्रेषु जातो मद्रक । वृजिक ॥

1355 The affix कन् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'madra' and 'vṛiji'

This debars वुञ्, though the words denote inhabited countries Thus मद्रक 'born in Madra', वृजिक ॥

१३५६ । कोपधादण् । ४ । २ । १३२ ॥

माहिषिक ॥

1356 The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after a word denoting a place, and having the letter क as its penultimate

This debars वुञ in the case of words which denote जनपद or inhabited countries Of course the words which do not denote जनपद, will have taken अण् even without this rule Thus आर्षिक "born in ऋषिका" So also माहिषिक ॥

Note —The affix अण् will apply even when the word ends in उ, which would have otherwise taken ठञ् by IV 2 119 S 1343 Thus ऐक्ष्वाक "born in इक्ष्वाकु" ॥ The word देशे is understood in this sutra

१३५७ । कच्छादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३३ ॥

देशवाचिभ्योऽण् । वुञादेरपवाद । काच्छ । सैन्धव ॥

1357 The affix अण् comes, in the remaining senses, after the words kachchha &c denoting places

The word देशे is understood here This debars वुञ् &c Thus काच्छ सैन्धव, वार्णव &c

Note —The words कच्छ &c are not invariable plural words, because by the next sûtra, it is shown that these words may signify men and their habits &c The

word विजापक occurs in this list It would have taken अण् by the last sûtra also, because it has क as its penultimate Its mention in the list is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra by which it takes वुञ् also under certain conditions

1 कच्छ, 2 सिन्धु 3 वर्णु, 4 गन्धार, 5 मधुमत्, 6 कम्बोज, 7 कश्मीर, 8 साल्व, 9 कुरु, 10 अनुषण्ड (अणु अण्ड, खण्ड) 11 द्वीप, 12 अनूप, 13 अजवाह, 14 विजापक, 15 कलूतर (कुलून) 16 रङ्कु ॥

१३५८ । मनुष्यतत्स्थयोर्वुञ् । ४ । २ । १३४ ॥

कच्छाद्यणोऽपवाद । कच्छे जातादि काच्छको मनुष्य । काच्छक हसितम् । मनुष्येति किम् । काच्छो गौ ॥

1358 The affix वुञ् comes after the words kachchha &c in the senses of born &c when the meaning is a 'man or 'what exists in man'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus काच्छक 'a man born in Kutch' काच्छकमस्य हसित जल्पितम् ॥ 'His joke or talk is of Kutch or a Kutch-laughter'

Why do we say "when meaning a man or what exists in man?" Observe काच्छो गौ 'The cow of Kutch'

१३५९ । अपदातौ साल्वात् । ४ । २ । १३५ ॥

साल्वशब्दस्य कच्छादित्वाद्वुञि सिद्धे नियमार्थमिदम् । अपदाताविवेति साल्वको ब्राह्मण । अपदातौ किम् । साल्व पदातिर्व्रजति ॥

1359 The affix वुञ् comes after the word साल्व in the senses of being born &c when denoting a man or what exists in man, provided that it does not mean a foot-soldier

The word साल्व which occurs in the कच्छादि class, would have taken वुञ् by the last sûtra, when the sense was that of a man or some human attribute The present sutra makes a restriction Thus साल्वको मनुष्य , साल्वकमस्य हसित जल्पित ॥

Why do we say 'when not meaning a foot soldier'? Observe साल्व पदाति र्व्रजति 'the Sâlva foot soldier goes'

१३६० । गोयवाग्वोश्च । ४ । २ । १३६ ॥

साल्वाद्वुञ् । कच्छाद्यणोऽपवाद । साल्वको गौ साल्विका यवागू । साल्वमन्यत् ॥

1360 The affix वुञ् comes in the remaining senses of being born &c, after the words साल्व, when the word signifies 'a cow' or 'a barley gruel'

This debars अण् of IV. 2 133 S 1357 Thus साल्वको गौ "the cows born in Salva'. साल्विका यवागू 'the barley gruel of Sâlva'. In other cases we have साल्वम् ॥

१३६१ । गर्तोत्तरपदाच्छ । ४ । २ । १३७ ॥

देशे । अणोऽपवाद । वृकगर्तीयम् । उत्तरपदग्रहण बहुच्पूर्वनिरासार्थम् ॥

1361 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after a Nominal-stem denoting a place and having the word गर्त as its second term

This debars अण् ॥ The word देशे is to be read into the sûtra. This rule being a subsequent one debars the affixes ठञ् and ञिठ् of sutra IV 2 117 S 1341 Thus वृकगर्तीय 'born in the wolf's hole' The word उत्तरपद is used in the sûtra, so as to prevent the application of the rule to a word which ends in गर्त but is preceded by the affix बहु as बहुगर्तम् ॥ Here बहु is an affix (V 3 68 S 2023) and not a pada

१३६२ । गहादिभ्यश्च । ४ । २ । १३८ ॥

छ स्यात् । गहीय ॥

मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपश्च * ॥ मुखतीयम् । पार्श्वतीयम् । अव्ययानां भमात्रे टिलोपस्यानित्यत्वं ज्ञापयितुमिदम् ॥

कुग्जनस्य परस्य च * ॥ जनकीयम् । परकीयम् ॥

देवस्य च * ॥ देवकीयम् ॥

स्वस्य च * ॥ स्वकीयम् ॥ वेण्वादिभ्यश्छण्वाच्य * ॥ वेणुकीयम् । वैत्रकीयम् । औत्तरपद-कीयम् ॥

1362 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the words gaha &c

This debars अण् &c Thus गहीय 'belonging to a cave' अन्त स्थीय &c.

Vârtika —The words मुखतस् and पार्श्वत get the affix तस, but before the affix छ the स् of तस् is elided Thus मुखतीयम and पार्श्वतीयम ॥ This Vârtika also indicates that the elision of टि of the Indeclinable as ordained by the Vârtika under S 1324 is a rule of limited scope

Vârt —The augment कुक् is added to जन and पर before the affix छ As जनकीयम, परकीयम ॥

Vârt —The same augment is added to the word देव also as, देवकीयम् ॥

Vârt —The same augment is added to the word स्व as स्वकीयम ॥

Vârt —The affix छण् comes after the words वेणु &c No list of such words is given It is an आकृतिगण ॥ Thus वैणुकीयम, वैत्रकीयम् औत्तरपदकीयम, प्रास्थकीयम माध्यमकीयम् ॥ &c

Note —In the list of गहादि occurs the following "मध्यमध्यम चाण् चरणे ' It means ' The word मध्य becomes changed into मध्यम when the affix छ is to be added Thus मध्यमीया ॥ But when the sense is that of a Veda-school or Charaṇa, the affix अण् is added instead of छ as माध्यमा " ॥ The word मध्यम here

has the restricted sense of 'the middle of the earth', and not any middle generally Thus मध्यमीय means पृथिविमध्ये भवो ॥ So also when the affix अण् is applied in the case of चरण it has the sense of निवास of sûtra IV 3 89 S 1469 and not all the other senses Thus त्रयः प्राच्या त्रय औदिच्या, त्रयो मध्यमाः "three Charanas dwell in the East, three in the West and three in the Middle"

1 गह 2 अन्तस्थ 3 सम 4 विषम 5 मध्यमध्यम चाण् चरणे, 6 उत्तम, 7 अङ्ग, 8 वङ्ग, 9 मगध 10 पूर्वपक्ष 11 अपरपक्ष 12 अधम शाख 13 उत्तम शाख 14 एकशाख 15 समानशाख 16 समानग्राम* 17 एकग्राम, 18 एकवृक्ष 19 एकपलाश 20 इष्वग्र, 21 इष्वनीक (इष्वनी) 22 अवस्यन्दन (अवस्यन्दी and अवस्कन्द), 23 कामप्रस्थ 24 खाडायन (शाडिकाडायनि खाडायनि and खाडायनी) 25 काठेरणि (कावेरणि and कामवेरणि), 26 लावेरणि*, 27 सौमित्रि* 28 शैशिरि 29 आसुत* 0 दैवशर्मि (दैवशर्मन्), 31 श्रौति, 32 आहिंसि 33 आमित्रि 34 व्याडि, 35 बैजि वैन्जि) 36 आध्याश्व 37 आनृशंसि, 38 शार्ङ्गि 39 आग्निशर्मि, (अग्निशर्मन्) 40 भौजि 41 वाराटकि (आराटकि) 42 वाल्मीकि, 43 क्षैमवृद्धि (क्षेमवृद्धिन्) 44 आश्वत्थि 45 औद्गाहमानि*, 46 ऐक 47 बिन्दवि* 48 दन्ताग्र*, 49 हंस* 50 तन्त्वग्र*, 51 उत्तर 52 अनन्तर (अन्तर) 53 मुखपार्श्वतसोर्लोपः (also मुखतीय and पार्श्वतीय) 54 जनपरयोः कुक् च (also जनकीय and परकीय), 55 देवस्य च, 56 वेण्वादिभ्यश्छण् 57 आसुरि, 58 सौवि 59 पारकि it is an आकृतिगण ॥

१३६३ । प्राचां कटादेः । ४ । २ । १३९ ॥

प्राग्देशवाचिनः कटादेश्छः स्यात् । अणोऽपवादः । कटनगरीयम् । कटघोषीयम् । कटपल्वलीयम् ॥

1363 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after the words beginning with कट denoting the places of the East-folk

The word देशे is understood here also The word प्राक् of the sûtra qualifies देशे ॥ This debars अण् ॥ Thus कटनगरीयम्, कटघोषीयम्, कटपल्वलीयम् ॥

१३६४ । राज्ञः क च । ४ । २ । १४० ॥

वृद्धत्वाच्छे सिद्धे तत्सन्नियोगेन ककारमात्रं विधीयते । राजकीयम् ॥

1364, The letter क is the substitute of the final of the word राजन्, when छ is added

This sûtra only teaches the substitution of क, for राजन् would have taken छ by IV 2 114 S 1337 Thus राजकीयम् ॥ The word देश does not govern this sutra, not being appropriate

१३६५ । वृद्धादकेकान्तखोपधात् । ४ । २ । १४१ ॥

अक इक एतदन्तात्खोपधाच्च वृद्धाद्देशवाचिनश्छः स्यात् । आरीहणकं नाम जनपदो यत्र आन्धप्राय आयुधजीविनस्तत्र जातो आरीहणकीयः । शाल्मलीकीय । अयामुखीय ॥

1365 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses, after a Vriddha word denoting a place and ending with अक or इक, or having ख as its penultimate.

The word देशे must be read into the sûtra This debars the अण of IV 2 132 S 1356 as well as the affixes ordained by IV 2 117 and 123 S 1341 and 1347

Thus अक — ब्राह्मणकीयम् ॥ "One born in Brâhmanaka—a country where the Brâhmana caste live by the profession of arms" इक — शाल्मलिकीयम् ॥

Note —The words सौसुक &c are also governed by this rule though they end in उक ॥ Thus सौसुकीयम् मौसुकीयम् एन्द्रेशुकीयम् ॥

१३६६ । कन्थापलदनगरग्रामह्रदोत्तरपदात् । ४ । २ । १४२ ॥

कन्थाद्युत्तरपदाद्देशवाचिनो वृद्धाच्छः स्यात् । ठञ्ञिठादेरपवादः । दाक्षिकन्थीयम् । दाक्षिपलदीयम् । दाक्षिनगरीयम् । दाक्षिग्रामीयम् । दाक्षिह्रदीयम् ॥

1366 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after the Vriddha words, having the words kanthâ, palada, nagara, grâma and hrada, as last terms

This debars the other affixes such as ठञ् and ञिठ् of IV 2 117 S 1341.

Thus दाक्षिकन्थीयम्, दाक्षिपलदीयम्, दाक्षिनगरीयम्, दाक्षिग्रामीयम्, दाक्षिह्रदीयम् ॥

१३६७ । पर्वताच्च । ४ । २ । १४३ ॥

पर्वतीय ॥

1367 The affix छ comes after the word पर्वत in the remaining senses

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पर्वतीयो राजा "the hill king" पर्वतीय पुरुष 'the hill man'

१३६८ । विभाषाऽमनुष्ये । ४ । २ । १४४ ॥

मनुष्यभिन्नेऽर्थे पर्वताच्छो वा स्यात्पक्षेऽण । पर्वतीयानि पार्वतानि वा फलानि । अमनुष्ये किम् । पर्वतीयो मनुष्य ॥

1368 The affix छ optionally comes in the remaining senses after the word पर्वत when it does not denote a man

Thus पर्वतीयानि or पार्वतानि फलानि 'hill fruits'

Why do we say अमनुष्ये 'not human'? Observe पर्वतीयो मनुष्य where there is no option allowed

१३६९ । कृकणपर्णाद्भारद्वाजे । ४ । २ । १४५ ॥

भारद्वाजदेशवाचिभ्यामाभ्यां छ । कृकणीयम् । पर्णीयम् । भारद्वाजे किम् । कार्कणम् । पार्णम् ॥

1369 The affix छ comes in the remaining senses after कृकण and पर्ण when denoting the country of Bhâradvâja

The word देशे is understood here also The word भारद्वाज does not here mean Gotra, but country Thus कृकणीयम् and पर्णीयम् ॥

Why do we say "denoting country of Bhâradvâjas?" Observe कार्कणम्, पार्णम् &c

१३७० । युष्मदस्मदोरन्यतरस्यां खञ् । ४ । ३ । १ ॥

चाच्छ । पक्षेऽण् । युवयोर्युष्माकं वा अयं युष्मदीयः । अस्मदीयः ॥

1370 The affix खञ् also comes optionally in the remaining senses, after the words 'yushmad' and 'asmad'

The regulating power of the word देशे ceases The word च indicates that the affix may be छ as well The word 'optionally' shows that the general affix अण् may also be employed Thus there are three affixes, खञ्, छ and अण and hence there being no equal enumeration, the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10) does not apply

The words युष्मद् and अस्मद् are Vriddhi, as they belong to Tyadâdi class (I 1 74 S 1336), and would have taken छ by IV 2 114 S 1337, the present sûtra enjoins three affixes for each Thus युष्मद् + अण् = युष्माक + अण् (IV 3 2 S 1371) यौष्माक । युष्मद् + छ = युष्मद् + ईय = युष्मदीय (VII 1 2)

युष्मद् + खञ् = युष्माक + ईन (IV 3 2 S 1371) = यौष्माकीण (VII 1 2, and VIII 4 2 S 475 and 197) So also आस्माक । अस्मदीय, and आस्माकीन ॥

१३७१ । तस्मिन्नणि च युष्माकास्माकौ । ४ । ३ । २ ॥

युष्मदस्मदोरेतावादेशौ स्तः खञ्यणि च । यौष्माकीण । आस्माकीन । यौष्माक । आस्माक ॥

1371 When this affix खञ् is added and when अण् is added, then युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् ॥

Note —The pronoun तस्मिन् refers to the visible affix खञ् and not to the understood affix छ which was drawn into the last sutra by the word च ॥

Why does the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10 S 128) not apply here, there being two affixes, two words, and two substitutes? This however, is not done, because the sutra can be divided into two separate aphorisms as (1) तस्मिन् खञि युष्मदस्मदोर्युष्माकास्माकौ भवतः (2) तताऽणि च ॥ i e (1) when खञ् is added, युष्माक and अस्माक are the substitutes of युष्मद् and अस्मद् respectively (2) So also when अण् follows

As for illustrations, see the preceding sûtra, e, g यौष्माकीण, आस्माकीन with खञ्, and यौष्माक and आस्माक with अण ॥

Note —This substitution does not take place when छ is added, as युष्मदीय and अस्मदीय ॥

१३७२ । तवकममकावेकवचने । ४ । ३ । ३ ॥

एकार्थवाचिनोर्युष्मदस्मदोस्तवकममकौ स्तः खञ्यणि च । तावकीनः । तावकः । मामकीनः । मामकः । छे तु ॥

1372 In expressing one individual, तवक and ममक are the substitutes of 'yushmad' and 'asmad' respectively, when खञ् and अण् follow

As तावकीन 'belonging to thee' मामकीन 'belonging to me" तावक and मामक ॥ But when the affix is छ, the form will be त्वदीय, and मदीय by the following rule

Note —The word एकवचने should not be construed as meaning the affix of the singular number, as the affix सु ॥ Because the affix of the singular is always elided (लुक्) after these words, and by rule I 1 63, S 263 there will not be the application of this rule This difficulty is, however, got over by explaining the word एकवचने as equal to एकार्थे ॥

१३७३ । प्रत्ययोत्तरपदयोश्च । ७ । २ । ९८ ॥

मपर्यन्तयोरेकार्थयोस्त्वमौ स्तः प्रत्यये उत्तरपदे च । त्वदीयः । म ॥

1373 त्व is substituted for युष्म and म for अस्म्, when they signify a single individual, even when an affix follows, or a word is in composition

As त्वदीय मदीय, with the affix छ (IV 2 114, S 1337 I 1 74 S 1336)

Similarly when a second member of the compound follows As तव पुत्र, = त्वत्पुत्र, मत्पुत्र ॥ त्वं नाथोऽस्य = त्वन्नाथ ॥

Note —When more than one individual is signified the substitution does not take place, as युष्मदीय (= युष्माकमिद) अस्मदीय, युष्मत्पुत्र (= युष्माकं पुत्र) अस्मत्पुत्र ॥

१३७४ । अर्धाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । ४ ॥

अर्द्ध्यः ॥

1374 The affix यत् comes after the word अर्द्ध in the remaining senses

This debars अण् ॥ Thus अर्द्ध्य 'belonging to half'

१३७५ । परावराधमोत्तमपूर्वाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५ ॥

परार्द्ध्यम् । अवरार्द्ध्यम् । अधमार्द्ध्यम् । उत्तमार्द्ध्यम् ॥

1375 The affix यत् comes, in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha', when preceded by 'para', 'avara', 'adhama', and 'uttama'

Thus परार्द्ध्यम् अवरार्द्ध्यम् अधमार्द्ध्यम्, उत्तमार्द्ध्यम् ॥

१३७६ । दिक्पूर्वपदाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ३ । ६ ॥

चाद्यत् । पौर्वार्धिकम् । पूर्वार्ध्यम् ॥

1376 And the affix ठञ् also (as well as यत्) comes in the remaining senses, after the word 'ardha,' when the prior term denotes a direction

By च, the affix यत् is also used This debars अण् ॥ Thus पूर्वार्ध्यम् or पौर्वार्धिकम् ॥

१३७७ । ग्रामजनपदैकदेशादञ्ठञौ । ४ । ३ । ७ ॥

ग्रामैकदेशवाचिनो जनपदैकदेशवाचिनश्च दिक्पूर्वपदादर्धान्तादञ्ठञौ स्तः । इमेऽस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धाः । पौर्वार्धिकाः । ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्धे भवा इति तद्धितार्थे समासः । ठञ्ग्रहणं स्पष्टार्थम् । अञ्चेत्युक्ते यतोऽप्यनुकर्षः सम्भाव्येत ॥

1377 The affixes अञ् and ठञ् come in the remaining senses after the word 'ardha', preceded by a word denoting direction, when a particular portion of a village or an inhabited country is meant

The phrase दिक्पूर्वपदात् is to be read into the sûtra This debars यत् ॥ Thus इमे खल्वस्माकं ग्रामस्य जनपदस्य वा पौर्वार्धा or पौर्वार्धिका "Those verily belong to the eastern half of our village or country" The word पौर्वार्द्ध = ग्रामस्य पूर्वस्मिन्नर्द्धे भवा and is a Taddhitârtha compound

Though the anuvritti of ठञ् was current in this Sûtra from the preceding, yet it is repeated here for the sake of precision,, for had the sûtra been ग्राम जनपदैकदेशादञ्च then the च would have drawn in not only the affix ठञ but the affix यत् which is not desired

१३७८ । मध्यान्मः । ४ । ३ । ८ ॥

मध्यमः ॥

1378 After the word मध्य there is the affix म in the remaining senses

This debars अण ॥ As मध्यम "middlemost"

१३७९ । अ सांप्रतिके । ४ । ३ । ९ ॥

मध्यशब्दादकारप्रत्ययः स्यात्सांप्रतिकेऽर्थे । उत्कर्षापकर्षहीनो मध्यो वैयाकरणः । मध्यं दारु । नातिह्रस्वं नातिदीर्घमित्यर्थः ॥

1379 The affix अ comes in the remaining senses after the word 'madhya', the meaning being 'fit' or 'proper'

The word सांप्रतिक means 'equity, propriety, right, fit' As नातिदीर्घं नातिह्रस्वं मध्यं दारु "the proper piece of wood—neither too long nor too short" मध्यो वैयाकरणः "the fit Grammarian, neither too refined nor too dull"

१३८० । द्वीपादनुसमुद्रं यञ् । ४ । ३ । १० ॥

समुद्रस्य समीपे यो द्वीपस्तस्माद्यञ् स्यात् । द्वैप्यम् । द्वैप्या ॥

1380 The affix यञ् comes, in the remaining senses after the word द्वीप, which is near the sea

Note —The word द्वीप occurs in the list of Kachchhâdi (IV 2 133 S 1357), and would have taken अण्, and by sûtra IV 2 134 S 1358, it would have taken वुञ् also The present sûtra debars both those affixes, when the word द्वीप means अनुसमुद्र or 'near the sea'

Thus द्वैप्यम् or द्वैप्या, 'living on or relating to an island' As द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् ॥

१३८१ । कालाट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ११ ॥

कालवाचिभ्यष्ठञ् स्यात् । मासिकम् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सायंप्रातिकः । पौनः पुनिकः । कथं तर्हि शार्वरस्य तमसो निषिद्धये इति कालिदास अनुदिनैर्वसरागेति भारविः, समानकालीनं प्राक्कालीनमित्यादि च । अपभ्रंशा एवैत इति प्रामाणिका ॥ तत्र जात इति यावत्कालाधिकार ॥

1381 The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the words denoting time

This debars अण ॥ The affix ञ which comes after Vṛiddha words is prohibited by this sûtra Thus मासिकम् 'monthly' सांवत्सरिकम् annual' सायंप्रातिकः "morning and evening," पौनः पुनिकः 'again and again'

How do you explain the forms शार्वर and आवस in the following lines of Kâlidâsa and Bhâravi शार्वरस्य तमसो निषिद्धये (Kâlidâsa) and अनुदिनैर्वसरागा (Bhâravi)? Or the forms समानकालीनम् and प्राक्कालीनम्? These forms are ungrammatical according to the best authorities

Note —The words which denote time even indirectly, also take this affix, As आरम्भपुष्पिक, त्रैहिपलालिकम् ॥

The word काल governs all the subsequent sûtras upto IV 3 25 S 1393 (तत्र जात) ॥

१३८२ । श्राद्धे शरद । ४ । ३ । १२ ॥

ठञ् स्यात् । ऋत्वणोऽपवाद । शारदिकं श्राद्धम् ॥

1382 The affix ठञ् comes in the remaining senses after the word शरद्, when expressing श्राद्ध ॥

This debars अण् (IV 3 16 S 1387) The word श्राद्धे means the 'funeral oblation', and not श्रद्धावान् पुरुष 'a faithful or believing person' Thus शारदिकं श्राद्धं 'the autumnal 'Śrâddha' When not meaning 'Śrâddha', it will be शारदम् ॥

१३८३ । विभाषा रोगातपयो । ४ । ३ । १३ ॥

शारदिक शारदो वा रोग आतपो वा । एतयो किम । शारद दधि ।

1383 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word शरद् when expressing illness or heat

Thus शारदिको or शारदो रोग 'the autumnal disease', शारदिक or शारद आतप 'the autumnal heat or sunshine'

Why do we say "when denoting sickness or heat"? Observe, शारद दधि 'the autumnal curd' This ठञ् debars the ऋतु अण् (IV 3 16)

१३८४ । निशाप्रदोषाभ्यां च । ४ । ३ । १४ ॥

वा ठञ् स्यात् । नैशिकम् । नैशम । प्रादोषिकम । प्रादोषम् ॥

1384 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the words 'niśâ', 'and pradosha'

This makes optional, where by sûtra IV 3 11 S 1381, the ठञ् would have been obligatory Thus नैशम् or नैशिकम् 'nocturnal', प्रादोषम् or प्रादोषिकम् ॥

१३८५ । श्वसस्तुट् च । ४ । ३ । १५ ॥

श्वस्शब्दाट्ठञ् वा स्यात्तस्य तुडागमश्च ॥

1385 The affix ठञ् comes optionally in the remaining senses after the word श्वस् and it takes the augment तुट् ॥

The word श्वस् takes the affix त्यप by sûtra IV 2 105 S 1326 This sûtra ordains ठञ् ॥ When free from the scope of these rules, it takes tyu and tyul affixes also by IV 3 23 S 1391 Thus श्वस्+तुट्+ठञ् now applies the following sutra —

१३८६ । द्वारादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ४ ॥

द्वार, स्वर, व्यल्कश, स्वस्ति, स्वर स्फयकृत, स्वादु मृदु श्वस् श्वन्, स्व एषा न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । शौवस्तिकम् ॥

1386 Before a Taddhita-affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is not substituted for the first vowel after य् or व् but ऐ and औ are respectively placed before these semivowels in द्वार &c

The following is a list of Dvârâdi words —

1 द्वार, 2 स्वर, 3 स्वाध्याय, 4 व्यल्कश, 5 स्वस्ति, 6 स्वर् (स्वर), 7 स्फयकृत, 8 स्वादुमृदु 9 श्वस्*, 10 श्वन् 11 स्व ॥

Thus श्वस् + तुट् + ठञ् = शौवस + त् + इक (VII 3 3 S 1098) = शौवस्तिकम् (ephemeral)

Note·—As द्वारे नियुक्त = दौवारिक , दौवारपालम् from द्वारपाल ॥ The Tadâdi rule applies here. सौवर from स्वर, (स्वरमधिकृत्यकृतोमन्थ) ॥ So also सौवरोऽध्याय:, सौवर्य

सम्य ॥ वैयल्कश from व्यल्कश, (व्यल्कशे भव) सावस्तिक from स्वस्ति, (स्वस्तीति आह), सौर from स्वर (स्वर्भव) ॥

Some read the word स्वाध्याय also in this list, but it is unnecessary as it would be governed by the last rule, because it is a compound of सु + अध्याय (शोभनोऽध्याय), or it may be a compound of स्व + अध्याय then also it is unnecessary, as स्व is separately mentioned, in this list, and therefore when स्व begins a word it would get this peculiar substitution then also Similarly स्फैयकृत from स्फयकृत, सौवादुमृदुम from स्वादुमृदु शौवनम् from श्वन् the prakriti bhava is by (VI 4 167 S 1155) while शौवम् from श्वन् where there is no prakritibhâva (by अन् IV 3 154) शौवादंष्ट्र (श्वादंष्ट्रा भव) Similarly सौवम् from स्व (= स्वस्येद), सावग्रामिक from स्वग्राम with the affix ठञ् (अध्यात्मादित्वाट ठञ्) This sutra is made because the य् and व् here are not final of a पद or word, as they were in the preceding sutra

१३८७ । सन्धिवेलाद्यृतु नक्षत्रेभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६ ॥

सन्धिवेलादिभ्य ऋतुभ्यो नक्षत्रेभ्यश्च कालवृत्तिभ्योऽण् स्यात् । सन्धिवेलायां भव सान्धिवेलम् । ग्रैष्मम् । तैषम् ॥ सन्धिवेला, सन्ध्या, अमावास्या, त्रयोदशी चतुर्दशी पौर्णमासी प्रतिपत् ॥

संवत्सरात् फलपर्वणो * ॥ सांवत्सर फल पर्व वा । सांवत्सरिकमन्यत् ॥

1387 The affix अण् comes in the remaining senses, after the words 'sandhi-velâ' &c, and the words expressing 'season' and 'asterism'

The word कालात् is to be read into the sûtra All the words must be expressive of time This debars ठञ् ॥ The repetition of अण् debars छ also in the case of those words, which are Vriddha in this list (IV 2 114S 1337) Thus (1) सान्धिवेलम्, सान्ध्यम् (2) ग्रैष्मम् शैशिरम् (3) तैषम्, पौषम् are examples of sandhivelâ, season and asterisms respectively

1 सन्धिवेला, 2 सन्ध्या, 3 अमावास्या 4 त्रयोदशी 5 चतुर्दशी, 6 पौर्णमासी, 7 प्रतिपद् ॥

Vârt —The affix अण् is added to संवत्सर when denoting 'fruit' and 'festival,' as सांवत्सर फल or पर्व ॥ Otherwise सांवत्सरिकम् ॥

१३८८ । प्रावृष एण्य । ४ । ३ । १७ ॥

प्रावृषेण्य ॥

1388 The affix एण्य comes in the remaining senses after the word प्रावृष् ॥

Note —This debars the अण् of the last sûtra though 'prâvrish' is a season-denoting word Thus प्रावृषेण्यो बलाहक "the cloud belonging to the rainy season"

१३८९ । वर्षाभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १८ ॥

वर्षासु साधु वार्षिक वास । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेष्विति साध्वर्थे ॥

1389 The affix ठक् comes in the remaining senses after the word वर्षा ॥

This debars अण् of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus वार्षिकमनुलेपनम्। The ठक् has the force of साधु &c of IV 3 43 S 1418 here

१३९० । सर्वत्राण् च तलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । २२ ॥

हेमन्तादण् स्यात्तलोपश्च वेदलोकयो । चकारात्पक्षे ऋत्वण् । हैमनम् । हैमन्तम् ।

1390 The affix अण् comes always after the word 'hemanta,' and (before this affix) the letter त of 'hemanta' is elided

Thus हैमनम् or हैमन्तम् ॥

Note —The word सर्वत्र is used to show that the sûtra applies in the Chhandas as well as in the classical literature

The word हेमन्त will take अण् by sûtra IV 3 16 S 1387 as हैमन्ती पङ्क्ति but there is no elision of त there Thus there are three forms हैमन्त (IV 3 16 S 1387), हैमन्तिक (IV 3 21 S 3452) and हैमनम् ॥

१३९१ । सायंचिरंप्राह्णेप्रगेऽव्ययेभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ तुट् च । ४ । ३ । २३ ॥

सायमित्यादिभ्यश्चतुर्भ्योऽव्ययेभ्यश्च कालवाचिभ्यष्ट्युट्युलौ स्तस्तयोस्तुट् च । तुट् प्रागनाद्यश्च अनद्यतन इत्यादिनिर्देशात् । सायन्तनम् । चिरन्तनम् । प्राह्णप्रगयोरेदन्तत्वं निपात्यते । प्राह्णेतनम् । प्रगेतनम् । दोषातनम् । दिवातनम् ॥

चिरपरुत्परारिभ्यस्त्नो वक्तव्य * ॥ चिरत्नम् । परुत्नम् । परारित्नम् ॥

अग्रादिपश्चाड्डिमच् * ॥ अग्रिमम् । आदिमम् । पश्चिमम् ॥

अन्ताच्च * ॥ अन्तिमम् ॥

1391 After the words साय 'at eve', चिर 'for a long time', प्राह्णे 'in the fore-noon', प्रगे 'at dawn', and after Indeclinables expressing time, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and their augment is तुट् ॥

The word कालात् is understood here also Thus साय + ट्यु = साय + अन = साय + तुट् + अन = सायतनम् 'belonging to the evening' चिरतनम्, 'lasting', प्राह्णेतनम् 'what is of the forenoon', प्रगेतनम् "what is of the early morn"

The replacement of यु by अन under VII 1 1 S 1247 takes place prior to the addition of the augment तुट् to the affix because we find it so in the forms like अनद्यतन &c used by Panini himself in III 2 111 S 2205 &c Had it been added first then the affix would have become त्यु, and the form would have been अनद्यत्यु like कृत्यु for there is no rule which would have changed त्यु into तन ॥ प्राह्णे and प्रगे always end in ए ॥

As regards Indeclinables, the examples are दोषातनम् 'belonging to the night' दिवातनम् 'belonging to the day'

Vârt —The affix त्न comes after the words चिर, परुत् (meaning in the past year) and परारि (meaning in the year before the last). As चिरत्नम्, परुत्नम्, and परारित्नम् ॥

Vârt —The affix डिमच् comes after अग्र आदि and पश्चात्, as, अग्रिमम् आदिमम् and पश्चिमम् ॥

Vârt —So also after अन्त, as, अन्तिमम् ॥

Note —The difference between tyu and tvul is in accent Thus सायन्तन and सायन्तन चिरन्तन and चिरन्तन प्राह्णेतन and प्राह्णेतन, प्रगेतन, प्रगेतन, दिवातन and दिवातन, दोषातन and दोषातन ॥ See VI 1 193 S 3676

१३०२ । विभाषा पूर्वाह्णापराह्णाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । २४ ॥

आभ्यां ट्युट्युलौ वा स्तस्तयोस्तुट् च । पक्षे ठञ् । पूर्वाह्णेतनम् । अपराह्णेतनम् । घकालतनेषु इति अलुक् । पूर्वाह्ण सोढोऽस्येति विग्रहे तु पूर्वाह्णतनम् । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

1392 Optionally after the words पूर्वाह्ण and अपराह्ण, there are the affixes ट्यु and ट्युल् and then augment is तुट् ॥

In the alternative ठञ् of IV 3 11 S 1381 also occurs As पूर्वाह्णेतनम् अपराह्णेतनम् with tyu, or पौर्वाह्णिकम् आपराह्णिकम् with thañ With tvul we have पूर्वाह्णेतन and अपराह्णेतन ॥ The sign of the locative is not elided by rule VI 3 17 S 975 When the compound is such as not retaining the case affix, because not in the locative case, as when it is analysed by saying पूर्वाह्ण सोढोऽस्य (IV 3 52 S 1427) then we have, पूर्वाह्णतन । अपराह्णतनम् । पौर्वाह्णिकम् । आपराह्णिकम् ॥

१२६३ । तत्र जात । ४ । ३ । २५ ॥

सप्तमीसमर्थाज्जात इत्यर्थेऽणादयो घादयश्च स्यु । स्रुघ्ने जात स्रौघ्न । औत्स । राष्ट्रिय । अवारपारीण इत्यादि ॥

1393 The affixes ordained above or here after, come after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'born or grown or originated there or then'

The affixes अण् &c घ &c have been taught, but no particular sense was assigned to them See IV 2 92 S 1312 This sûtra gives one of the senses, and also declares the particular case in which the stem must be, to which the affix is to be added Thus स्रुघ्नेजात = स्रुघ्न + अण् = स्रौघ्न born in Srughna' औत्स 'born in Utsa', राष्ट्रिय (IV 2 93 S 1313) अवारपारीण &c

१३६४ । प्रावृषष्ठप् । ४ । ३ । २६ ॥

एण्यस्यापवाद । प्रावृषि जात प्रावृषिक ॥

1394 After the word प्रावृष् being in the 7th case-affix, there is the affix ठप् in the sense of produced therein

This debars एण्य of sûtra IV 3 17 S 1388 The प् of ठप् is for the sake of accent प्रावृषिजात = प्रावृषिक 'produced in the rainy season'

१३९५ । सञ्ज्ञायां शरदो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । २७ ॥

ऋत्वणोऽपवादः । शारदका दर्भविशेषाः मुद्गविशेषाश्च ॥

1395 The affix वुञ् comes after the word शरद् in the 7th case-affix, in the sense of 'born therein' the whole word being a name

This debars अण् of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus शारदका दर्भाः 'the grass called Śâradaka' शारदका मुद्गाः 'the pulse called Śâradaka'

Note —According to some the word सञ्ज्ञायां governs all the succeeding sutras up to IV 3 38 S 1413

१३९६ । उत्तरपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १० ॥

अधिकारोऽयम् । हनस्त इत्यस्मात्प्राक् ॥

1396 Upto VII 3 31 S 1789 inclusive, the substitution of Vriddhi will take place, for the first vowel of the second member in a compound

This is an adhikâra sûtra, and exerts governing influence upto VII 3 32 S 2574 exclusive The phrase "of the second member of the compound" should be supplied in all those sutras, to complete the sense Thus in VII 3 11 S 1397 the word उत्तरपदस्य should be supplied As पूर्ववार्षिक अपरवार्षिकम्, पूर्वहैमनम्, अपरहैमनम् ॥

Note —In those sutras where the word denoting the first member is not exhibited in the Ablative case, as in VII 3 18, 19, 20, 21 the present sutra is absolutely necessary for causing the vriddhi of the second member But in those sutras where the first member is exhibited in the ablative case, as in VII 3 11 S 1397 (अवयवात्), there this sutra is only explanatory (and not absolutely necessary), and serves also the purpose of placing such vriddhis under the category of 'uttarapada-vriddhi' This peculiar vriddhi is liable to certain rules of accent, as in VI 2 105 Hence the importance of the present aphorism in those sutras also, where the word is exhibited in the fifth case

१३९७ । अवयवादृतोः । ७ । ३ । ११ ॥

अवयववाचिन पूर्वपदादृतुवाचिनोऽचामादेरचो वृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च तद्धिते परे । पूर्ववार्षिक । अपरहैमन । अवयवात्किम् । पूर्वासु वर्षासु भव पौर्ववार्षिक । ऋतोर्वृद्धिमद्विधाववयवानामिति तदन्तविधि पूर्वेण । इह तु न । अवयवत्वाभावात् ॥

1397 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of a word denoting season, when it is preceded by a word denoting a part

As पूर्ववार्षिक from पूर्व+वर्षा+ठक् meaning वर्षायाम् पूर्वे ॥ अपरहैमन meaning हेमन्तस्यापर ॥

Note —The composition with पूर्व and अपर &c takes place by II 2 1 S 712 and then by IV 3 18 S 1389 there is ठक् after वर्ष, and अण after हेमन्त with the elision of त by IV 3 22 S 1390 The Tadanta viddhi as a general rule does not apply to compounds, so that a rule made applicable to a particular word, will not apply to a compound which ends with that word but tadanta viddhi applies to a word denoting season when it takes an affix causing Vriddhi, and is preceded by a word denoting a portion We draw this rule from the present sutra, for हैमन being formed from हेमन्त by a vriddhi causing affix (IV 3 22 S 1390) the affix अण् will be applied to हेमन्त even when it is the second member of a compound the first member of which denotes a part (ऋतोर्वृद्धि मद्विधाववयवात् I 1 72 Vart Mahâbhâshya)

Why do we say 'denoting a portion'? Observe पूर्वासु वर्षासु भव पावार्षिक with ठञ् (IV 3 11 S 1389) and no vriddhi of the अ of व because of the maxim "The Tadanta-vidhi applies, when an affix causing Vriddhî is ordained after a word denoting season, provided that, the word denoting season is preceded in composition by a word denoting a part and not otherwise" Therefore the vriddhi does not take place here, because the preceding word in composition is not a word which denotes a part of varshâ, but is in apposition with it The tadanta vidhi applies only when the first member denotes a portion

१३९८ । सुसर्वार्धाज्जनपदस्य । ७ । ३ । १२ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धि । सुपाञ्चालक । अर्धपाञ्चालक । जनपदतदवध्योरिति वुञ् । सुसर्वार्धदिक्शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्येति तदन्तविधि ॥

1398 After सु, सर्व and अर्ध, the first vowel of the name of a country gets the Vriddhi, when a Taddhita affix with an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् follows

As सुपाञ्चालक, सर्वपाञ्चालक, and अर्धपाञ्चालक, formed with वुञ् (IV 2 124 S 1348) read with IV 2 125 S 1349 though the word is not a Vriddha This sutra also gives rise to the following rule सुसर्वार्धदिक् शब्देभ्यो जनपदस्य 'The tadantavidhi applies to words denoting country, when the first member is सु, सर्व, अर्ध or a direction denoting word"

Note —As shown in the above examples, and for direction-denoting words see the following sutra (1 1 72 Vârt Mahâbhâshya)

१३९९ । दिशोऽमद्राणाम् । ७ । ३ । १३ ॥

दिग्वाचकाज्जनपदवाचिनो वृद्धि । पूर्वपाञ्चालक । दिश किम् । पूर्वपञ्चालानामय पौर्वपञ्चाल । अमद्राणा किम् । पौर्वमद्र । योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ ॥

1399 After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a country, with the exception of मद्र,

gets Vriddhi before a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ्, णि्, or क् ॥

As पूर्वपाञ्चालक, (IV 2 125, 107) The Tadanta vidhi applies here, as shown in the preceding sûtra Why do we say 'denoting direction,? Observe पूर्वं पञ्चालाना=पूर्वपञ्चाल, तत्र भव, = पौर्वपञ्चालक ॥ Why do we say with the exception of मद्र? Observe पौवमद्र with अञ् (IV 2 108 S 1329). The separation of this sutra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of "direction" only runs

१४०० । प्राचां ग्रामनगराणाम् । ७ । ३ । १४ ॥

दिश परेषा नगरवाचिना ग्रामवाचिनामङ्गानामवयवस्य च वृद्धि । पूर्वेषुकामशम्या भवः पूर्वैषुकामशम । नगरे पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक ॥

1400 After a word denoting direction, the first vowel of the name of a town or city in the land of the eastern people, gets the Vriddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, णि् or क् ॥

Thus पूर्वैषुकामशम "born in Purveshu kâmaśamî" So also अपरैषुकामशम, पूर्वकाष्णमृत्तिक, अपरकार्ष्णमृत्तिक (IV 2 107 S 1328) These are town names पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक, अपरपाटलिपुत्रक, पूर्वकान्यकुब्ज, अपरकान्यकुब्ज ॥ These are city names

Note —The word प्राचा in this sûtra, as well as in VII 3 24 S 1431 does not here mean 'the eastern grammarians" but 'the eastern countries', because of the context पूर्वैषुकामशम is thus formed पूर्वा च असौ इषुकामशमी=पूर्वेषुकामशमी ॥ The compounding takes place by II 1 50 S 727 Then the affix ञ is added to it, in the sense of ततो भव by IV 2 107 S 1328 In पूर्वपाटलिपुत्रक the affix वुञ् is added by IV 2 123 S 1347 Though Pataliputra is the name of *one* city, Purva pataliputra means the Eastern portion of the city Pataliputra

१४०१ । पूर्वाह्णापराह्णार्द्रामूलप्रदोषावस्करादवुन् । ४ । ३ । २८ ॥

पूर्वाह्णक । अपराह्णक । आर्द्रक । मूलक । प्रदोषक । अवस्करक ॥

1401 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'born therein' after the words पूर्वाह्ण, अपराह्ण, आर्द्रा, मूला, प्रदोष, and अवस्कर, the whole being a Name

Thus पूर्वाह्णक । अपराह्णक ॥ This debars IV 3 24 S 1392 So also आर्द्रक । मूलक ॥ This debars अण of IV 3 16 S 1387 प्रदोषक ॥ This debars ठञ् of IV 3 14 S 1384 अवस्करक This debars the general अण् affix

When it is not a Name, the other affixes are employed

१४०२ । पथ पन्थ च । ४ । ३ । २९ ॥

पथि जात पन्थक ॥

1402 - The affix वुन् comes after the word पथ, in the sense of 'produced therein', and there by in the room of पथ, the substitute is पन्थ ॥

Thus पथि जात = पन्थक 'produced in the way'

This debars the अण् ॥

१४०३ । अमावास्याया वा । ४ । ३ । ३० ॥

अमावास्यक । आमावास्य ॥

1403 The affix वुन् comes optionally after the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein'

This debars अण् of IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus अमावास्यक or आमावास्य ॥

Note —This affix वुन् is applied to the word अमावस्य also, on the maxim एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्यत्वात् "That which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place" Thus अमावस्यक or आमावस्य ॥

१४०४ । अ च । ४ । ३ ३१ ॥

अमावस्य ॥

1404 And the affix अ also is added to the word amâvâsyâ, in the sense of 'born therein

This adds a third affix to the वुन and अण् already given Thus अमावास्य, अमावास्यक, आमावास्य ॥ So also after the word अमावस्य, as अमावस्य, अमावस्यक and आमावस्य ॥

१४०५ । सिन्ध्वपकराभ्यां कन् । ४ । ३ । ३२ ॥

सिन्धुक । कच्छाद्यणि मनुष्यवुञि च प्राप्ते । अपकरक । औत्सर्गिकेऽणि प्राप्ते ॥

1405 After the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', there is the affix कन् in the sense of 'born therein'

The word सिन्धु occurs in the Kachchhâdi class and takes अण् and वुञ् (IV 2 133 S 1357), and अपकर would have also taken अण् under the general rule This sûtra debars these affixes Thus सिन्धुक, अपकरक, ॥

१४०६ । अणञौ च । ४ । ३ । ३३ ॥

क्रमात् स्त । सैन्धव । आपकर ॥

1406 And the affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively after the words 'sindhu' and 'apakara', in the sense of 'produced therein'

Thus सैन्धव and औपर ॥

१४०७ । श्रविष्ठाफल्गुन्यनुराधास्वातितिष्यपुनर्वसुहस्तविशाखाषाढाबहुलाल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । ३४ ॥

एभ्यो नक्षत्रवाचिभ्य परस्य जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् ॥

1407 The affix denoting 'born therein', is elided by luk, after the words 'śravishthâ', 'phalgunî,' 'anurâdhâ', 'svâti', 'tishya', 'punarvasu', 'hastâ', 'viśâkhâ', ashâdhâ', and 'bahulâ,' all denoting asterisms

Note —The feminine affixes are also elided after these words by I 2 49 S 1408 Thus श्रविष्ठासु जात = श्रविष्ठ produced under Śravishthâ' So also फल्गुन, अनुराध, स्वाति, तिष्य, पुनर्वसु हस्त, विशाख, अषाढ, बहुल ॥ The 'Bahulâ' is another name of the asterism कृत्तिका ॥ It is exhibited in the sutra as bahula with a short अ, as it is a Samâhâra Dvandva shortening

१४०८ । लुक् तद्धितलुकि । २ । २ । ४९ ॥

तद्धितलुकि सत्युपसर्जनस्त्रीप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् श्रविष्ठासु जात श्रविष्ठ । फल्गुन इत्यादि ॥

चित्रारेवतिरोहिणीभ्य स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चित्रायां जाता चित्रा । रेवती । रोहिणी । आभ्या लुक्तद्धितलुकीति लुकि कृते पिप्पल्यादेराकृतिगणत्वात्पुनर्ङीष् ॥

फाल्गुन्यषढाभ्या टानौ वक्तव्यौ * ॥ स्त्रियामित्येव । । फल्गुनी । अषाढा ॥

श्रविष्ठाषाढाभ्या छण्वक्तव्य * ॥ अस्त्रियामपि । श्राविष्ठीय । आषाढीय ॥

1408 When a Taddhita affix is elided by the word luk, there takes place the elision by luk of the feminine affix also, of the original stem to which the Taddhita affix was added

The word लुक् defined in I 1 61 S 260, is twice used in this sûtra Where a Taddhita affix is elided by the word लुक, there the feminine suffix of the prâtipadika is also dropped, or becomes *luk* The word upasarjana used in explaining this sûtra by the author should be taken in its popular sense of non principal, secondary, and not the technical upasarjana of grammar

Thus श्रविष्ठा + (अण्लुक्) = श्राविष्ठ ॥ The Taddhita suffix being *luked*, the original feminine termination आ also becomes *luk* Therefore the derivative of श्रविष्ठा (is not a longer word, as might have been expected) but actually a shorter word, namely श्रविष्ठ, similarly from फल्गुनी we have फल्गुन &c

Vârt —So also the affix is elided after the asterisms चित्रा, रेवती and रोहिणी when the word is feminine Thus चित्रायां जाता 'a woman produced under Chitra' will be called चित्रा ॥ So also रेवती, रोहिणी ॥ The feminine

affix which had been elided after the two words Revatî and Rohinî, by the present sutra I 2 49 S 1408 is reordained by IV 1 41, S 498 because these words belong to the Pippalyâdi subdivision of the गौरादि class. The Pippalyâdi being an âkṛitigaṇa contains these words also

Vârt —The affixes ट and अन् come respectively after फल्गुनी and अषाढा in forming the Feminine derivatives As फाल्गुनी (IV 1 15 S. 470) and अषाढा ॥ The difference is in accent and meaning

Vârt —The affix छण् also comes after 'Śravishthâ' and 'Ashâḍhâ,' even when females are not denoted As श्राविष्ठीय and आषाढीय ॥

१४०९ । जे प्रोष्ठपदानाम् । ७ । ३ । १८ ॥

प्रोष्ठपदानामुत्तरपदस्याचामादेर्वृद्धिः स्याज्जातार्थे ञिति णिति किति च । प्रोष्ठपदासु जातः प्रोष्ठपादो माणवकः । जे इति किम् । प्रोष्ठपदासु भवः प्रौष्ठपदः । बहुवचननिर्देशात्पर्यायोऽपि गृह्यते । भाद्रपादः ॥

1409 In प्रोष्ठपद् and its synonyms, the first vowel of the second member gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix meaning 'born in that time', and having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

The word ज means 'born', the affixes denoting 'born under that asterism' are meant here प्रोष्ठपदा is the name of an asterism the day when the moon is there is also called प्रोष्ठपद (the affix अण् of IV 2 3 S 1204 is elided by IV 2 4 S 1205) प्रोष्ठपदासु जात = प्रोष्ठपादो माणवक (with अण् IV 3 16 S 1387) Why do we say 'born in that time'? Observe यदा प्राष्ठपदोमेघ (= प्रोष्ठपदासु भव) धरणीमभिवर्षति ॥ The plural number प्रोष्ठपदानां indicates that the synonyms of प्रोष्ठपद such as भाद्रपद are also to be included As भाद्रपाद ॥

१४१० । स्थानान्तगोशालखरशालाच्च । ४ । ३ । ३५ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । गोस्थान । गोशाल । खरशाल । विभाषा सेनेति नपुंसकत्वे ह्रस्वत्वम् ॥

1410 There is luk-elision of the affix denoting "born therein" after a word ending in 'sthâna', and after the words 'gośâla' and 'kharaśâla'

Thus गोस्थाने जात = गोस्थान अश्वस्थान गोशाल खरशाल ॥ The word gośala and kharaśâla in the sutra end in a short अ because they are Neuter under II 4 25 S 828

१४११ । वत्सशालाभिजिदश्वयुक्शतभिषजो वा । ४ । ३ । ३६ ॥

एभ्यो जातार्थस्य लुग्वा स्यात् । वत्सशाले जातो वत्सशाल । वात्सशाल इत्यादि ॥
जातार्थे प्रतिप्रसूतोऽण्वा ङिद्वक्तव्य * ॥ शातभिष । शातभिषज । शतभिषक् ॥

1411 There is optionally luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein' after the words 'vatsasâla', 'abhijit', 'aśvayuk', and 'śatabhik'

As वत्सशाले जात = वत्सशाल or वात्सशाल, अभिजित् or आभिजित, अश्वयुक् or आश्वयुज शतभिषक् or शातभिषज ॥ The two words वत्सशाल and वत्सशाला are both to be taken These are all diversities of बहुल as used in the next sutra

Vârt —The affix अण् in the sense of 'born', is optionally treated as ङित्, provided that, it be that अण् which being debarred by IV 3 11 S 1381 is reordained by IV 3 16 S 1387 The affix अण् governs all sûtras up to IV 4 2 S 1550 by force of IV 1 83 S 1073 but it is debarred by ठञ् of IV 3 11 S 1381 and is re ordained in IV 3 16 S 1387 Thus शतभिषजि जात = शातभिष or शातभिषज, or शतभिषक् ॥

१४१२ । नक्षत्रेभ्यो बहुलम् । ४ । ३ । ३७ ॥

जातार्थप्रत्ययस्य बहुलं लुक् स्यात् । रोहिण । रौहिण ॥

1412 There is diversely luk-elision of the affix denoting 'born therein', after the name of an asterism

Thus रोहिण or रौहिण (IV 3 16 S 1387 'person born when the moon is in the asterism of Rohini Aldebaran)

१४१३ । कृतलब्धक्रीतकुशलाः । ४ । ३ । ३८ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । स्रुघ्ने कृतो लब्धः क्रीतः कुशलो वा स्रौघ्न ॥

1413 An affix (one of those already taught) comes after a word in the seventh case-affix in construction, in the sense of 'done there', 'obtained there', 'bought there', and 'dexterous therein'

Thus स्रौघ्न may mean "done in, or bought in, or obtained in, or skilfull in Srughna"

१४१४ । प्रायभवः । ४ । ३ । ३९ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । स्रुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति स्रौघ्नि ॥

1414 After a word being in construction in the 7th case, an affix (one of those ordained already) comes in the sense of 'generally found therein'

The word प्राय means something less than all i e abundant Thus स्रौघ्न 'what is abundant or mostly to be found in Srughna', = स्रुघ्ने प्रायेण बाहुल्येन भवति ॥

Note —This sûtra according to Patanjali, is superfluous, as it is covered by the more comprehensive sûtra तत्रभव (IV 3 53 S 1428) If प्रायभव be explained as अनित्यभव i e what sometimes is to be found and sometimes not, still it will make little difference

१४१५ । उपजानूपकर्णोपनीवेष्ठक् । ४ । ३ । ४० ॥

औपजानुक । औपकर्णिक , औपनीविक ॥

1415 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'generally found there in', after the words 'upajânu', 'upakarṇa', and upanîvi', being in the 7th case in construction

This debars अण् &c Thus औपजानुक औपकर्णिक औपनीविक ॥

Note :—All these three words of the sutra are Indeclinables, because they are Avyayîbhâva compounds In the sutra, they have formed a samâhâra Dvandva and masculine

१४१६ । सम्भूते । ४ । ३ । ४१ ॥

स्रुघ्ने सम्भवति स्रौघ्न ॥

1416 After a nominal-stem or a word ending in the feminine affix ङी and आप्, being in the 7th case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'adapted therein'

Note —Except the word 'adapted' which is the meaning of the word सम्भूत all the other words of the sutra have been supplied from the previous aphorisms The word सम्भूत does not mean in this sutra origin or 'existence for the words जात and भव already express that notion It here means suitableness' 'adequacy, i e अवक्लृप्ति and प्रमाणानतिरेक ॥

Thus स्रुघ्ने सम्भवति = स्रौघ्न 'what is suited to the country of Srughna' The word तत्र is understood here also

१४१७ । कोशाड्ढञ् । ४ । ३ । ४२ ॥

कौशेय वस्त्रम् ॥

1417 The affix ढञ् comes after the word कोश in the sense of 'adapted to that'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus कोशे सम्भूत = कौशेय वस्त्रम् 'silken clothes

Note —The word कोश means 'cocoon' कौशेय may literally therefore mean 'anything suited to the cocoon' and may apply to the caterpillar as well as to the silk made out of cocoon The word कौशेय is however रूढि and means 'silken' Nor does it mean 'suited to the sheath', as a sword, though kosa means 'sheath' also This sûtra would have been more properly placed after IV 3 134 S 1514 under the heading of विकार rather than of सम्भूत ॥

In fact, after the sûtra एण्या ढञ् (IV 3 159 S 1537) the addition of कोशाच्च would have been more appropriate

१४१८ । कालात्साधुपुष्प्यत्पच्यमानेषु । ४ । ३ । ४३ ॥

हेमन्ते साधुर्हैमन्त प्राकार । वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति वासन्त्य कुन्दलता । शरदि पच्यन्ते शारदा शालय ॥

1418 An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'being good therein', 'flowering therein' or 'ripening therein'

Thus हेमन्ते साधु = हैमन्त 'what is good or pleasant in autumn' as हैमन्त प्राकार । So also वसन्ते पुष्प्यन्ति = वासन्त्य कुन्दलता 'verral creepers i e which flower in spring' So also शरदि पच्यन्ति = शारदा शालय the grains that ripen in autumn'

Note —This sutra teaches the base and the sense of the affix It does not directly teach the affix The above illustrations are examples of the affix अण् &c The word pushpyat in the sûtra is the Present Participle or शतृ of the Divâdi पुष्प ॥

१४१९ । उप्ते च । ४ । ३ । ४४ ॥

हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते हैमन्ता यवा ॥

1419 An affix comes after a word denoting time, being in the 7th case in construction, meaning 'sown therein'

Thus हेमन्ते उप्यन्ते = हैमन्ता यवा 'the barley sown in autumn' ग्रैष्मा व्रीहय ॥

Note —The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra in which the anuvritti of उप्त only goes, which could not have been the case had this word been included in the last sutra

१४२० । आश्वयुज्या वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ४५ ॥

ठञोऽपवाद । आश्वयुज्यामुप्ता आश्वयुजका माषा ॥

1420 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'sown' after the word आश्वयुजी ॥

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus आश्वयुज्या मुप्ता = आश्वयुजका माषा 'the pulse sown in Âsvayujî' Âśvayujî is the name of the full moon in the Asterism of Aśvayuj Aśvayuj and Asvini are the same Some texts read अश्विनी instead of अश्वयुज् ॥

१४२१ । ग्रीष्मवसन्तादन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ४६ ॥

पक्षे ऋत्वण् । ग्रैष्मकम् । ग्रैष्मम् । वासन्तकम् । वासन्तम् ॥

1421 The affix वुञ् comes optionally after the words 'grîshma' and 'vasanta', in the sense of 'sown therein'

This debars अण् (IV 3 16 S 1387) Thus ग्रैष्मम् or ग्रैष्मकम् सस्यम् the crop sown in summer' वासन्तम् or वासन्तकम् ॥

१४२२। देयमृणे। ४। ३। ४७॥

कालादित्येव। मासे देयमृणं मासिकम् ॥

1422 After a nominal stem being in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, an affix comes in the sense of 'being then due', provided that the thing due be 'debt'

Thus मासे देयमृण = मासिक "a debt due in a month'

Note —Why do we say ऋणे 'it being a debt' Observe मासेदेया भिक्षा where no affix is added

१४२३। कलाप्यश्वत्थयवबुसाद्वुन्। ४। ३। ४८॥

यस्मिन् काले मयूरा कलापिनो भवन्ति स उपचारात्कलापी तत्र देयमृणं कलापकम्। अश्वत्थस्य फलमश्वत्थस्तेनोपलक्षितः कालोऽप्यश्वत्थ। यस्मिन् कालेऽश्वत्था फलन्ति तत्र देयमश्वत्थकम्। यस्मिन् यवबुससमुत्पद्यते तत्र देयं यवबुसकम् ॥

1423 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'debt then due,' after the words कलापिन्, अश्वत्थ, and यवबुस denoting time and being in the 7th case in construction

The words कलापी &c are terms which indirectly denote time Thus the time in which the peacocks mate and make noise is called कलापी ॥ The time in which the asvatha tree fructifies is called अश्वत्थ ॥ The time in which barley is thrashed out is called यवबुस 'barley chaff' Thus कलापिनिकाले देयमृण = कलापकम् 'a debt to be paid when the peacocks make noise (i e mating or rainy season)' So also अश्वत्थकम् "a debt due when the fig tree, flowers" And यवबुसकम् ॥ 'a debt due when the barley is thrashed"

१४२४। ग्रीष्मावरसमाद्वुञ्। ४। ३। ४९॥

ग्रीष्मे देयमृणं ग्रैष्मकम्। आवरसमकम् ॥

1424 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'debt-due at that time' after the words 'grishma' and 'avarasama'

This debars the अण् and ठञ् ॥ Thus ग्रीष्मेदेयमृण = ग्रैष्मकम ॥ So also आवरसमकम् 'a debt which will de due *next* year', or 'which fell due *last* year'

Note —This affix causes Vriddhi, while वुन् would not have done it Hence the separate affix The word समा is synonymous with वर्ष 'a year' The word आवरसमकम् means either आगामिना संवत्सरेणागामिसंवत्सरे देयम् or अतीते वत्सरे देयं यद्यपि न दत्तम्, 'a debt which will be due *next* year,' or 'which fell due *last* year'

१४२५। संवत्सराग्रहायणीभ्यां ठञ्च। ४। ३। ५०॥

चाद्वुञ् । सांवत्सरिकम् । सांवत्सरकम् । आग्रहायणिकम् । आग्रहायणकम् ॥

1425 The affix ठञ् also (as well as वुञ्) comes after the words 'samvatsara' and 'âgrahâyanî' in the sense of 'debt due'

Thus संवत्सरे देयमृण = सांवत्सरिक, and सांवत्सरक ॥ आग्रहायणिक or आग्रहायणक ॥

Note —The word संवत्सर occurs in Sandhivelâdi Class (IV 3 16 S 1387) and takes अण् when 'fruit' or 'festivity' is meant The present sûtra enjoins ठञ् when 'debt' is indicated

१४२६ । व्याहरति मृग । ४ । ३ । ५१ ॥

कालवाचिन सप्तम्यन्ताच्छब्दाद्यत इत्यर्थे भवादय स्यु यो व्याहरति स मृगश्चेत् । निशाया व्याहरति नैशो मृग । नैशिक ॥

1426 An affix (like अण् or ठञ् &c) comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting time, in the sense of 'who then makes noise', and the word so formed refers to a wild beast

Thus निशाया व्याहरति मृग = नैश or नैशिक "an animal that makes noise at night" So also प्रादोष or प्रादोषिक (IV 3 14. S 1384) 'a brute that yells in the morning' The affix added is ठञ्, in the alternative with अण्, by IV 3 14 S 1384

Note:—Why do we say मृग 'a beast'? Observe निशाया व्याहरति उलूक for 'owl' is a bird Here there is no affixing The word व्याहरति also means 'to wander' The Sutra may, therefore, also be translated as "After a word denoting time, an affix (IV 1 83 S 1073) comes in expressing a wild beast who roams at large at that time"

१४२७ । तदस्य सोढम् । ४ । ३ । ५२ ॥

कालादित्येव । निशासहचरितमध्ययन निशा तत्सोढमस्य नैश । नैशिक ॥

1427 An affix comes after a word in the 1st case in construction denoting time, in the sense of 'this is his habit or endurance'

The word कालात् is understood here also तद् = that सोढम् = जितम् or अभ्यस्त "endured or habituated" Thus निशा सहचारितमध्ययन = निशा "reading by night" तत् सोढमस्य छात्रस्य = नैश or नैशिक 'a student who is habituated or enured to reading by night' The affix is ṭhañ by IV 3 14. S 1384

१४२८ । तत्र भव । ४ । ३ । ५३ ॥

स्रुघ्ने भव स्रौघ्न । राष्ट्रिय ॥

1428 An affix comes after a word in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'who stays there'

The anuvritti of कालात् ceases The sense of भव here is 'existence', and not that of 'birth' because the sense of 'birth' is taught in the sutra तत्र जात (IV 3 25 S 1393) Thus, स्रुघ्ने भव = स्रौघ्न "who stays in Srughna" राष्ट्रियः ॥

Note —The repetition of तत्र in the sûtra, though its anuvritti could have been drawn from the previous sutra, is for the sake of stopping the anuvritti of तत्रस्थ ॥

१४२९ । दिगादिभ्यो यत् । ४ । ३ । ५४ ॥

दिश्यम् । वर्ग्यम् ॥

1429 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the Nominal stems दिक् &c

This debars अण् and छ ॥ As दिशि भव = दिश्यम 'lying in a particular quarter', वर्ग्यम ॥

Note —The words मुख and जघन which ordinarily mean 'mouth' and 'hip' respectively, have not this meaning when this affix is to be added They must refer to non corporeal or abstract objects As सेनामुख्य 'who stays in the van of the army' सेनाजघन्यम् 'who stays in the rear of the army' In fact the words 'mukha' and 'jaghana' here mean the 'van' and the 'rear' of an army The word उदक् takes this affix when the word so formed is a Name As उदक्या = रजस्वला, otherwise we have औदको मत्स्य ॥

1 दिश्, 2 वर्ग, 3 पूग 4 गण, 5 पक्ष, 6 धाय्य (धाय्या), 7 मित्र, 8 मेधा, 9 अन्तर, 10 पथिन्, 11 रहस्, 12 अलीक, 13 उखा, 14 साक्षिन्, 15 देश*, 16 आदि, 17 अन्त, 18 मुख, 19 जघन, 20 मेघ, 21 यूथ, 22 उदकात्संज्ञायाम्, 23 न्याय, 24 वंश, 25 वेश (विश), 26 काल, 27 आकाश, 28 अनुवंश ॥

१४३० । शरीरावयवाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५५ ॥

दन्त्यम् । कर्ण्यम् ॥

1430. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what stays there' after a word denoting a part of the body

This debars अण् ॥ As दन्तेषु भव = दन्त्यम् 'dental, i e what stays there, कर्ण्यम ॥

१४३१ । प्राचां नगरान्ते । ७ । ३ । २४ ॥

प्राचां देशे नगरान्तेऽङ्गे पूर्वपदस्योत्तरपदस्य चाचामादेरचो वृद्धिर्ञिति णिति किति च । सुह्मनगरे भव सौह्मनागर । पौण्ड्रनागर । प्राचां किम् । मद्रनगरमुदक्षु तत्र भवो माद्रनगर ॥

1431 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowels of

both members of the compound, which is the name of a city of the Eastern People, and which ends in the stem नगर ॥

As सौह्मनागर (= सुह्मनगरे भव), पौर्वनागर ॥ Why do we say 'of the Eastern people'? Observe माद्रनगर, from मद्रनगर the city of the Northern people

Note —The word अङ्गस्य of VI 4 1 S 200 governs this sûtra also, with this difference that it is changed into the locative case here and does not give its genitive termination

१४३२ । जङ्गलधेनुवलजान्तस्य विभाषितमुत्तरम् । ७ । ३ । २५ ॥

जङ्गलाद्यन्तस्याङ्गस्य पूर्वपदस्याचामादेरचो वृद्धिरुत्तरपदस्य वा ञिति णिति किति च । कुरुजङ्गले भव कौरुजङ्गलम् । कौरुजाङ्गलम् । वैश्वधेनवम् । वैश्वधैनवम् । सौवर्णवलजम् । सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

1432 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vṛiddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the compound ending in the stems जङ्गल, धेनु and वलज, and optionally for the first vowel of these second members also

As कौरुजङ्गलम or कौरुजाङ्गलम, "existing in Kurujangala" वैश्वधेनवम् or वैश्वधैनवम् सौवर्णवलजम् or सौवर्णवालजम् ॥

१४३३ । दृतिकुक्षिकलशिवस्त्यस्त्यहेर्ढञ् । ४ । ३ । ५६ ॥

दार्तेयम् । कौक्षेयम् । कलशिर्घट तत्र भव कालशेयम् । वास्तेयम् । आस्तेयम् । आहेयम् ।

1433 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'what stays there', after the words 'dṛiti' 'kukshi', 'kalaśi', 'vasti', 'asti' and 'ahi'.

Thus दार्तेयम् what stays in a leathern bag', कौक्षेयम् कालशेयम्, 'what exists in a pot' वास्तेयम, आस्तेयम and आहेयम् ॥ आहेयम् is the name of a poison The word अस्ति is a noun and not a verb here Its use as a Noun is to be seen in phrases like अस्तिक्षीरा गौः, आस्तिमान् = धनवान् ॥

१४३४ । ग्रीवाभ्योऽण् च । ४ । ३ । ५७ ॥

चात् ढञ् । ग्रैवेयम् । ग्रैवम् ॥

1434 The affix अण् also (as well as ढञ्) comes after the word 'grîvâ' in the sense of 'what stays there

This debars यत् (IV 3 55 S 1430) ग्रीवासु भव = ग्रैवेयम् or ग्रैवम् ॥

Note —The word ग्रीवा means blood vessels, and as they are many, the word is used in the plural in the sûtra

१४३५ । गम्भीराञ्ञ्य । ४ । ३ । ५८ ॥

गम्भीरे भवं गाम्भीर्यम् ॥

1435 The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'who stays there', after the word 'gambhîra'

This debars अण् ॥ गम्भीरे भव = गाम्भीर्यम् 'gravity'

Vârt —So also after पञ्चजन ॥ As पाञ्चजन्यम् ॥

१४३६ । अव्ययीभावाच्च । ४ । ३ । ५९ ॥

परिमुख भव पारिमुख्यम् ॥ परिमुखादिभ्य एवेष्यते * ॥ नेह औपकूल ॥

1436 After an Avyayîbhâva compound, the affix ञ्य is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

Ishti —The affix comes only after the Avyayîbhâva compounds parimukha and the rest The affix ञ्य does not come after every Avyayîbhâva compound, but only after the words included in the list of परिमुखादि as given in the Ganapâtha

Thus परिमुख भव = पारिमुख्यम्, So also पारिहनव्यम् ॥ Not so औपकूलम्, the word उपकूल not belonging to the class परिमुख ॥

1 परिमुख, 2 परिहनु 3 पर्योष्ठ, 4 पर्युलूखल, 5 पर्युपमूल, 6 उपस्थून 7 परिसीर 8 अनुसीर, 9 उपसीर, 10 उपस्थल, 11 उपकलाप, 12 अनुपथ, 13 अनुखड्ग, 14 अनुतिल 15 अनुशीत 16 अनुमाष, 17 अनुयव, 18 अनुयूप, 19 अनुवंश, 20 अनुगङ्ग, 21 प्रतिशाख, 22 अनुसाय ॥

१४३७ । अन्तःपूर्वपदाट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ६० ॥

अव्ययीभावादित्येव । वेश्मनि इति अन्तर्वेश्मम् तत्र भवमान्तर्वेश्मिकम् । आन्तर्गणिकम् । अध्यात्मादेष्ठञिष्यते * ॥ अध्यात्म भवमाध्यात्मिकम् ॥

1437 After an Avyayîbhâva compound, having the word अन्तर् as prior term, the affix ठञ् is employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus आन्तर्वेश्मिकम् from antar-veśmam which means "in the house" That which exists in the house is "ântar veśmikam," So also आन्तर्गणिकम् ॥

Vârt —So also after the words अध्यात्म &c as, आध्यात्मिकम्, आधिदैविकम् आधिभौतिकम् ॥ The class अध्यात्मादि is Âkritigana

१४३८ । अनुशतिकादीनां च । ७ । ३ । २० ॥

एषामुभयपदवृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च । आधिदैविकम् । आधिभौतिकम् । ऐहलौकिकम् । पारलौकिकम् । अध्यात्मादिराकृतिगण ॥

1438 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of both members of the compounds अनुशतिक &c.

Thus आधिदैविकम्, आधिभौतिकम्, ऐहलौकिकम्, पारलौकिकम् ॥ These words belong to the Âkritigana of अध्यात्म &c

Note —(1) आनुशातिकम् (= अनुशातिकस्येदम्) V 1 21 and IV 3 120, (2) आनुहोडिक (= अनुहोडेन चरति IV 4 8) (3) आनुसावरणम् (अनुसवरणे दीयते V 1 96). (4) आनुसांवत्सरिक (IV 3 60 formed by ठञ् from अनुसम्वत्सरेण दीयते) (5) आगारैवणव (son of अङ्गारवेणु) (6) आसिहत्यम् (= असिहत्ये भव) Some read this word as अस्यहत्य, this will also take अण् as belonging to विमुक्तादि class As आस्यहात्य (= अस्यहत्यशब्दोऽस्मिन्नध्यायेऽस्ति) Others read this as अस्यहेति, as आस्यहैतिक (= अस्यहेतिः प्रयोजनमस्य) The word अस्य in these is treated like a Prâtipadika, its case-affix is not elided (7) वाध्योग (= वध्योगस्य अपत्य) It belongs to Bidâdi class (8) पुस्करसदोऽपत्य = पौस्करसादि ॥ This belongs to Bâhvâdi class (9) आनुहारत from अनुहरत् ॥ The same as above (10) कुरुकत belongs to Gargâdi class Its partonymic is कौरुकात्य (11) कौरुपाञ्चाल (= कुरुपञ्चालेषु भव) ॥ The affix वुञ् is not added here, because जनपदसमुदायो जनपदग्रहणेन गृह्यते ॥

१४३९ । देविकाशिंशपादित्यवाड्दीर्घसत्रश्रेयसामात् । ७ । ३ । १ ॥

एषां पञ्चानां वृद्धिप्राप्तावचामादेरात् स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च । दाविकम् । देविकाकूले भवा दाविकाकूला शालयः । शिंशपाया विकारः शांशपश्चमसः । पलाशादिभ्यो वेत्यण् । दित्यौह इव दात्यौहम् । दीर्घसत्रे भवं दार्घसत्रम् । श्रेयसि भवं श्रायसम् ॥

1439. When a Taddhita-affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, follows आ is substituted instead of Vriddhi for the first vowels of the following five words — devikâ, simśapâ, dityavât, dîrghasatra, and śreyas

Thus दाविकम् (= देविकाया भवम्) in दाविकमुदकम्, दाविकाकूला शालयः (= देविका-कूले भवाः), Similarly शांशपश्चमसः (= शिंशपाया विकारः) ॥ The word belongs to the Palâśâdi class (IV 3 141 S 1521), and takes अण् or अञ्, the difference being in accent Similarly दात्यौहम् from दित्यवाह्, (दित्यौह इव) and दार्घसत्रम् (दीर्घसत्रे भवं) and श्रायसम् (श्रेयसि भवं) ॥

१४४० । ग्रामात्पर्यनुपूर्वात् । ४ । ३ । ६१ ॥

ठञ् स्यात् । अव्ययीभावादित्येव । पारिग्रामिकः । आनुग्रामिकः ॥

1440 After the word 'grâma', preceded by 'pari' or 'anu', (the whole being an Avyayîbhâva), there is the affix ठञ् in the sense of 'who stays there'

The word "after an Avyayîbhâva" is understood here also Thus पारिग्रामिक and आनुग्रामिक ॥

१४४१ । जिह्वामूलाङ्गुलेश्छः । ४ । ३ । ६२ ॥

जिह्वामूलीयम् । अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

1441 After the words 'jihvâmûla', and 'anguli' there is the affix छ in the sense of 'what stays there'

This debars यत् (IV 3 55) Thus जिह्वामूलीयम्, अङ्गुलीयम् ॥

१४४२ । वर्गान्ताच्च । ४ । ३ । ६३ ॥

कवर्गीयम् ॥

1442 After a word ending with 'varga', the affix छ is employed in the sense of 'what occurs there'

As कवर्गीयम्, चवर्गीयम् ॥

१४४३ । अशब्दे यत्खावन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ३ । ६४ ॥

पक्षे पूर्वेण छः । मद्वर्ग्यं । मद्वर्गीण । मद्वर्गीय । अशब्दे किम् । कवर्गीयो वर्णः ॥

1443 After a word ending in 'varga', but not meaning a 'letter or word', the affixes यत् and ख are optionally employed, in the sense of 'who stays there'

As मद्वर्ग्यः (by यत्) मद्वर्गीण, (by ख), and मद्वर्गीय (by छ) ॥

Why do we say, when it does not mean 'शब्द'? For then it takes one affix only i e छ, as कवर्गीयोवर्णः 'a letter belonging to क class'

१४४४ । कर्णललाटात्कनलंकारे । ४ । ३ । ६५ ॥

कर्णिका । ललाटिका ॥

1444 The affix कन् comes in the sense of 'what occurs there', after 'karṇa' and 'lalâṭa', the word denoting an ornament.

Thus कर्णिका 'an ear-ring', ललाटिका ॥

Note —Why do we say 'denoting an ornament'? Observe कर्ण्यम् 'what is in the ear'

१४४५ । तस्य व्याख्यान इति च व्याख्यातव्यनाम्नः । ४ । ३ । ६६ ॥

सुपां व्याख्यानः सौपो ग्रन्थः । तैङः । कार्तः । सुप्सु भवं सौपम् ॥

1445 After the name of a subject of commentary, an affix comes in the sense of 'its commentary', as well as in the sense of 'what occurs there'.

Note —That by which a thing is explained is called व्याख्यान 'commentary The name of a thing explainable is called व्याख्यातव्यनाम ॥ After such a name being in the 6th case in construction, the affix is added The affix means तस्यव्याख्यानम् as well as तत्रभव, the latter being read into the sutra by virtue of च ॥

Thus सुपां व्याख्यानं = सौपो ग्रन्थः 'Saupa, a book on the explanation of case affixes' So also तैङ 'Tainga—a Commentaty on Verbal affixes' कार्त 'Karta—a Commentary on krit affixes' सौप &c may also mean सुप्सु भव &c

Note —The anuvritti of भव and व्याख्यान runs simultaneously in all the subsequent apavada sutras, and hence we have read the anuvritti of भव into this sûtra also

१४४६ । बह्वचोऽन्तोदात्ताट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ६७ ॥

षत्वणत्वयोर्विधायकं शास्त्रं षत्वणत्वम् । तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा षात्वणत्विक ॥

1446 The affix ठञ् comes in the senses of 'staying' and 'a commentary', after a polysyllabic word having udâtta on the final, (the word being the name of a thing to be explained)

This debars अण् ॥ Thus षात्वणत्विकम् 'a commentary on the rules of changes of स and न into ष and ण ॥' The word षत्वणत्वम् is acutely accented on the final by the rule of a compound having accent on the final (VI 1 169)

Note —Why do we say बह्वच 'polysyllabic'? Observe सौपम् तैङम् &c A word of two syllables will take ठक् (IV 3 72 S 1451) So the counter example must be of words of one syllable

Why do we say 'having acute accent on the final'? Observe साहितम् from संहिता ॥ This word has acute accent on the initial by the rule of Gati accent (VI 2 49)

१४४७ । क्रतुयज्ञेभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । ६८ ॥

सोमसाध्येषु यागेष्वेतौ प्रसिद्धौ तथाप्यतत्रोपादानेन सिद्धे उभयोरुपादानसामर्थ्यादसोमका अपीह गृह्यन्ते । अग्निष्टोमस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा आग्निष्टोमिक । वाजपेयिक । पाकयज्ञिक । नावयज्ञिकः । बहुवचनं स्वरूपविधिनिरासार्थम् । अनन्तोदात्तार्थ आरम्भ ॥

1446 The affix ठञ् comes, in the senses of 'occurring', and 'a commentary', after the name of a work to be explained, provided that such work relates to a kratu or a yajña.

These two words generally refer to a sacrifice in which the soma juice is the chief ingredient But as they can be accomplished without Soma also, so these words include here non soma sacrifices also

This debars अण् ॥ Kratu —आग्निष्टोमिक, 'a commentary on a work on Agnishtoma sacrifices' वाजपेयिक, ॥ yajña —पाकयज्ञिक, राजसूयिक ॥ The word पाक means 'small' a minor or small sacrifice is called पाकयज्ञ । It is a Karmadhâraya samâsa and has the final acute accent of samâsa in general The

sacrifice with new (nava) rice is नवयज्ञ । The word यज्ञ is derived from √यज् with the affix नङ् (III 3 90 S 3268) It retains its accent in the compound being a Krit word नावयज्ञिक ॥

This sûtra refers to words which are not antodâtta The word 'vâjapeya' is acute in the middle, because पेय being a Kridanta word, formed by यत्, retains its accent in the compound (VI 2 139 S 3873)

Note —The words क्रतु and यज्ञ mean generally the same thing i e 'a soma sacrifice', but the separate mention of यज्ञ implies that the rule applies to yajñas other than Soma yajñas, because the word 'kratu' is technically applied to Soma-sacrifice only Thus पाञ्चौदनिक, दाशौदनिक ॥

Note —The word stoma (स्तोम) is synonymous with stuti (स्तुति) "praise" The sacrifices in which Agni is praised is called Agnishtoma It has acute on the final by परादिश्च परान्तश्च ॥

The word vâjapeya is a compound of vâja "a kind of barley gruel" and peya "a sacrifice in which something is *drunk*" It is formed by यत् affix of the 'kritya lyuto bahulam' subdivision The acute is on पे by VI 1 213 S 3701

The sûtra is in the plural to prevent the application of the affix to the word forms 'kratu' and 'yajña' (I 1 68 S 25)

१४४८ । अध्यायेष्वेवर्षेः । ४ । ३ । ६९ ॥

ऋषिशब्देभ्यो लक्षणया व्याख्येयमन्यवृत्तिभ्यो भवे व्याख्याने चाध्याये ठञ् स्यात् । वसिष्ठेन दृष्टो मन्त्रो वसिष्ठस्तस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा वासिष्ठिको ऽध्याय । अध्यायेषु किम् । वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

1448 The affix ठञ् comes after the name of an explainable work called after a Rishi, in the senses of 'occurring therein' or 'a commentary thereon', when it refers to an Adhyaya only

Note —The word ऋषि is the name of प्रवर and those Rishis are only meant whose names are in the Pravara list The word so formed means always an Adhyâya or Chapter of the work The phrase व्याख्यातव्यनाम is understood in this sûtra, hence the word ऋषि means "a work the author of which is a Rishi"

Thus a Vedic hymn first seen by (revealed to) Vasishtha is called by lakshana or indirectly वसिष्ठ also वसिष्ठस्य व्याख्यानस्तत्र भवो वा = वासिष्ठिकोऽध्यायः "Vâsishthika—a chapter containing commentary on Vashishtha"

Why do we say meaning 'chapter'? Observe वासिष्ठी ऋक् ॥

१४४९ । पौरोडाशपुरोडाशात्ष्ठन् । ४ । ३ । ७० ॥

पुरोडाशसहचरितो मन्त्र पुरोडाश स एव पौरोडाश तत्र ष्ठन् । पौरोडाशिक ॥

1449 The affix ष्ठन् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after the words 'paurodâsa' and 'purodâsa'

The verses on the purification &c of Puroḍâśa 'a sacrificial rice cake', are called पौरोडाशाः the commentary on such pauroḍâśa mantras will be called पौरोडाशिक its feminine will be पौरोडाशिकी (IV 1 41 S 498) A book on Puroḍâśa cake is called पुरोडाश, a commentary there on will be पुरोडाशिकः f पुरोडाशिकी (IV 1 41 S 498) The ष of the affix indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV 1 41 S 498) The commentary here refers to the mantras or verses relating to Puroḍâśa, and not to the sacrifice

१४५० । छन्दसो यदणौ । ४ । ३ । ७१ ॥

छन्दस्य । छान्दस ॥

1450 The affixes यत् and अण् come in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon' after the word Chhandas

This debars ठक् of the following sûtra As छन्दस्य or छान्दस ॥

१४५१ । द्व्यजृद्ब्राह्मणर्क्प्रथमाध्वरपुरश्चरणनामाख्याताट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । ७२ ॥

द्व्यच् । ऐष्टिक । पाशुक । ऋत् । चातुर्होतृक । ब्राह्मणिक । आर्चिक । इत्यादि ॥

1451 The affix ठक् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commentary thereon', after a word of two syllables, and a word ending in short ऋ, and the words 'brâhmana', 'ṛik', 'prathama', 'adhvara', 'purascharana', 'nâma', 'âkhyâta' and 'nâmâkhyâta', being the names of explainable works

Note —The word nâma being a dissyllabic word would have been covered by the first part of the sûtra, viz, dvyach Its separate enumeration shows that it is to be taken singly, as well as in composition with akhyata

This debars अण् and ठञ् ॥ 1 Dissyllabic —ऐष्टिक, पाशुक ॥ 2 Ending in ऋ —चातुर्होतृक ॥ ब्राह्मणिक, आर्चिक, प्राथमिक, आध्वरिक, पौरश्चरणिक, नामिक, आख्यातिक, नामाख्यातिक ॥

१४५२ । अणृगयनादिभ्यः । ४ । ३ । ७३ ॥

ठञादेरपवाद । आर्गयन । औपनिषद । वैयाकरण ॥

1452 The affix अण् comes in the senses of 'occurring therein' and 'a commetary thereon after the words 'ṛigayana' &c

This debars ठञ, ठक् and छ ॥ आर्गयन, औपनिषद, वैयाकरण ॥

Note —The repetition of अण् in the sûtra, though the anuvritti of this affix was current from before, is for the sake of preventing the application of any subsequent apavâda rule to the words in this list Thus वास्तुविद्य ॥

1 ऋगयन, 2 पदव्याख्यान 3 छन्दोमान 4 छन्दोभाषा 5 छन्दोविचिति 6 न्याय, 7 पुनरुक्त, 8 निरुक्त, 9 व्याकरण 10 निगम, 11 वास्तुविद्या, 12 क्षत्रविद्या, 13 अङ्गविद्या, 14 विद्या, 15 उत्पात 16 उत्पाद, 17 उद्याव 18 संवत्सर, 19 मुहूर्त, 20 उपनिषद्, 21 निमित्त, 22 शिक्षा 23 भिक्षा, 24 छन्दो विजिनी 25 न्याय ॥

१४५३ । तत आगत । ४ । ३ । ७४ ॥

स्रुघ्नादागत स्रौघ्न ॥

1453 An affix (IV 1 83 S 1373 &c) comes after a word being in the 5th case in construction, in the sense of 'what has come thence'

Thus स्रुघ्नादागत = स्रौघ्न 'what has come from Srughna'

१४५४ । ठगायस्थानेभ्य । ४ । ३ । ७५ ॥

शुल्कशालाया आगत शौल्कशालिक ॥

1454 After a word denoting sources of revenue, there is the affix ठक् in the sense of 'come thence'

Note —The word आय means what is the share appropriated by the lord The source of आय is called आयस्थान ॥

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus शौल्कशालिक 'what is derived from custom house'

Note —The plural in the sutra prevents Svarupavidhi (I 1 68 S 25)

१४५५ । शुण्डिकादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । ७६ ॥

आयस्थानठकछादीना चापवाद । शुण्डिकादागत शौण्डिक । कार्कण । तैर्थ ॥

1455 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'thence come', after the words शुण्डिक &c

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शौण्डिक 'excise revenue' कार्कण तैर्थ ॥

Note —The repetition of अण् serves the same purpose as in IV 3 73 S 1452, बाधकबाधनार्थम् ॥ As औदपान ॥

1 शुण्डिक, 2 कृकण, 3 स्थण्डिल, 4 उदपान, 5 उपल, 6 तीर्थ, 7 भूमि, 8 तृण, 9 पर्ण ॥

१४५६ । विद्यायोनिसंबन्धेभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ७७ ॥

औपाध्यायक । पैतामहक ॥

1456 The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'thence come,' after a word denoting a person connected through the relationship of learning or family origin

Persons related (sambandha) through learning (such as teacher and pupil), or through blood (yoni, e g father and son) are called विद्यायोनिसम्ब

भ्या ॥ Words denoting such persons take the affix वुञ् ॥ This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus उपाध्यायादागत = औपाध्यायक, 'knowledge derived from a spiritual teacher' So also योनिसबन्ध as पैतामहक 'wealth derived from a grand-father'

१४५७ । ऋतष्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ७८ ॥

वुञोऽपवाद । हौतृकम् । भ्रातृकम् ॥

1457 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'come thence,' after a word ending in short ऋ, and denoting a person related through learning or blood

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus होतुरागतम् = हौतृकम् 'derived from Hotṛi' So also of 'blood,' as —भ्रातृकम् ॥

Note —The त् in ऋत् is for the sake of facility of pronunciation, there being no such word ending in long ॠ ॥

Note —When the words do not denote relationship through learning or blood, this affix is not employed As, सावित्रम् ॥

१४५८ । पितुर्यच्च । ४ । ३ । ७९ ॥

चाद्ठञ् । रीङ् ऋत । यस्येति लोप । पित्र्यम् । पैतृकम् ॥

1458 The affix यत् as well as ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'come thence,' after the word 'pitṛi'

Thus पितुरागत = पितृ + यत् = पितरी + य = पितर् + य = पित्र्यम् (the ṛi is replaced by री by VII 4 27 and the long ई of री is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) 'paternal—i e wealth inherited from father' With ठञ् = पैतृक ॥

१४५९ । गोत्रादङ्कवत् । ४ । ३ । ८० ॥

बिदेभ्य आगत बैदम् । गार्गम् । दाक्षम् । औपगवकम् ॥

1459 After a word ending with a patronymic affix, the rule of affix in the sense of 'thence come,' is like that relating to the affix denoting 'its mark'

Note —The word गोत्र in the sûtra does not mean the technical Gotra of Grammar, but a descendant denoting affix in general The affixes denoting अङ्क are taught in IV 3 126 S 1506 and 127 S 1507 The affix वुञ् of IV 3 126 S 1506 which comes after Gotra words, in the sense of 'this is his,' is referred to in this sûtra, not merely the affix अण् of IV 3 127 S 1507 denoting, 'this is his mark'

Thus बैदम, गार्गम, दाक्षम formed by अण् of IV 3 127 S 1507 mean not only 'the mark belonging to the Vaidas the Gârgyas, the Dâkshis,' but also that which comes from the Vaidas &c औपगवानामङ्क = औपगवक 'the mark belonging to the descendants of Upagu' So also कापटवक नाडायनक चारायणक ॥ The same words will also denote 'come there from' as औपगवेभ्य आगतम् = औपग-

वकम्, कापटवकम्, नाडायनकम्, चारायणकम्) formed by वुञ् (IV 3 126 S 1506)

Note —The word वत् has the force of 'complete similarity' as in कालेभ्यो भववत् (IV 2 34 S 1237), चरणेभ्यो धर्मवत् (IV 2 46 S 1255)

१४६० । नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञकुशलनिपुणानाम् । ७ । ३ । ३० ॥

नञः परेषां शुच्यादिपञ्चानामाद्यचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ञिति णिति किति परे । आशौचम् । अशौचम् । आनैश्वर्यम् । अनैश्वर्यम् । आक्षेत्रज्ञम् । अक्षेत्रज्ञम् । आकौशलम् । अकौशलम् । आनैपुणम् । अनैपुणम् ॥

1460 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, the Vṛiddhi is always substituted for the first vowel of शुचि, ईश्वर, क्षेत्रज्ञ, कुशल and निपुण when preceded by the Negative particle, but this substitution is optional for the vowel of the Negative particle

As अशौचम् or आशौचम् , अनैश्वर्यम् or आनैश्वर्यम् , अक्षैत्रज्ञ्यम् or आक्षैत्रज्ञ्यम् , अकौशलम् or आकौशल , अनैपुणम् or आनैपुणम् ॥

१४६१ । हेतुमनुष्येभ्योऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यः । ४ । ३ । ८१ ॥

समादागतं समरूप्यम् । विषमरूप्यम् । पक्षे गहादित्वाच्छः । समीयम् । विषमीयम् । देवदत्तरूप्यम् । देवदत्तीयम् । दैवदत्तम् ॥

1461 The affix रूप्य denotes that which from something has originated, when it is added to a word denoting 'cause', or to the name of a man viewed as a cause

The word मनुष्य is used meaning 'men as causes' हेतु means cause or instrument Thus समागत = समरूप्यम् or समीयम् by छ of IV 2 138 S 1362 meaning 'what proceeds from a like cause' So also विषमरूप्यम् or विषमीयम् ॥ So of men also देवदत्तरूप्यम् or दैवदत्तम् (IV 1 83 S 1073) 'what originates with देवदत्त' ॥

Note —The word हेतुमनुष्येभ्य is in the plural in the sûtra, indicating that svarupavidhi (1 1 68 S 25) does not apply here

In denoting हेतु, there is employed the Instrumental case as taught in II 3 23 S 568 and according to the jñapaka in the present sûtra, the Ablative case may also be employed in denoting a हेतु ॥ Or the use of the ablative case in the sense of हेतु, may be explained by II 3 25 S 602

१४६२ । मयट् च । ४ । ३ । ८२ ॥

सममयम् । विषममयम् । देवदत्तमयम् ॥

1462 After a word denoting a cause or a man viewed as a cause, there is the affix 'mayat' in the sense of 'come thence'

Thus सममयम्, विषममयम्, देवदत्तमयम्, ॥

Note —The ट् of मयट् indicates that the feminines of these words are formed by ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470), as, सममयी ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of preventing the application of the rule of mutual correspondence (I 3 10 S 128) which would have been the case had the rule stood as हेतुमनुष्येभ्यो ऽन्यतरस्यां रूप्यमयटौ ॥

१४६३ । प्रभवति । ४ । ३ । ८३ ॥

'तत' इत्येव । हिमवत प्रभवति हैमवती गङ्गा ॥

1463 After a Nominal-stem which is in the 5th case in construction, an affix (one of those already taught) comes in the sense of 'what appears for the first time'

The word तत is understood in the sûtra The word प्रभवति means what manifests itself, or appears for the first time Thus हिमवत प्रभवति = हैमवती "The Haimavatî", a name of the Ganges, meaning 'which manifests itself for the first time or appears in the Snowy Range, its source being unknown'

Note —So also दारदी "The Daradi" i e the Indus appearing for the first time in Dardistan The word प्रभवति has not the sense of उत्पत्ति, because that is included in तत्र जात, it therefore means प्रकाशते, प्रथमतः उपलभ्यते, the source or origin being unknown.

१४६४ । विदूराञ्ञ्यः । ४ । ३ । ८४ ॥

विदूरात्प्रभवति वैदूर्यो मणि ॥

1464 The affix ञ्य comes, in the sense of 'what manifests itself there', after the words 'vidûra'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus विदूरात् प्रभवति = वैदूर्य 'a kind of gem found at Vidûra'

Note —The gem as a matter of fact is not found at Vidûra, but in a mountain called वालवाय ॥ Vidûra is the city where the rough stone is worked upon In other words, it may be said that the affix is really added to वालवाय, when the latter word is replaced by विदूर, such substitute being only shown in the sûtra, the appropriate sthâni (vâlavâya) being left to inference Or the word Vidûra may denote both the city as well as a mountain If it be said that there is no mountain known as Vidûra, then we say that the Grammarians call Vâlavâya by the name of Vidûra, as the merchants call Benares by the name of Jitvari

१४६५ । तद्गच्छति पथिदूतयोः । ४ । ३ । ८५ ॥

स्रुघ्नं गच्छति स्रौघ्न पन्था दूतो वा ॥

1465 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word, being in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'what

goes thereto ', provided that, that which goes, is a road or a messenger

Thus स्रुघ्नम् गच्छति = स्रौघ्न "a road or a messenger that goes to Srughna" The road may either lead to Srughna, or being in Srughna be used for going

Note —Why do we say पथिदूतयो "meaning a road or a messenger" Observe स्रुघ्न गच्छति साथ 'he goes to Srughna for his own sake

१४६६ । अभिनिष्क्रामति द्वारम् । ४ । ३ । ८६ ॥

तदित्येव । स्रुघ्नम भिनिष्क्रामति स्रौघ्न कान्यकुब्जद्वारम ॥

1466 An affix comes, after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'a door which looks towards that'

Thus स्रौघ्न 'a gate which looks towards Srughna —as a gate of Kânyakubja

Note —Why do we say द्वारम् "when it is a gate" ? Observe स्रुघ्नमभिनिष्क्रामति पुरुष 'a person faces towards Srughna'

१४६७ । अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ८७ ॥

तदित्येव । शारीरकमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शारीरकीय । शारीरक भाष्यमिति त्वभेदोपचारात् ॥

1467 An affix comes after a word in the 2nd case in construction, in the sense of 'made in relation to any subject', when the thing made is a 'book

The word अधिकृत्य means 'aiming at' 'alluding to, referring to' Thus शारीरक मधिकृत्य कृतोग्रन्थ = शारीरकीय i e a book relating to the sâiraka sutras The form शारीरक भाष्यम् is however more generally employed Here no distinction is made between the sûtras and the bhâshya Hence the commentary is called sarhaka

१४६८ । शिशुक्रन्दयमसभद्वन्द्वेन्द्रजननादिभ्यश्छः । ४ । ३ । ८८ ॥

शिशूना क्रन्दन शिशुक्रन्द तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शिशुक्रन्दीय । यमस्य सभा यमसभम् क्लीबत्व निपातनात् । यमसभीयः । किरातार्जुनीयम । इन्द्रजननादिराकृतिगणः । इन्द्रजननीयम् । विरुद्ध मोजनीयम् ॥

1468 The affix छ comes in the sense of a book made relating to a subject', after the following words in the 2nd case in construction, viz 'sisukranda, yamasabha' and after the Dvandva compounds, and the words 'indra-janana' &c

The word तद् (IV 3 85 S 1465) and अधिकृत्य कृते ग्रन्थे should be read into the sûtra This debars अण् ॥ Thus शिशुक्रन्दीय 'a book treating of the crying of infants' यमसभम 'a book relating to the court of Yama' The compound is Neuter irregularly (nipâtana)

Dvandva-Compound as क्रियाताुर्नीयम् ॥

There is no list of इन्द्रजननादि words They are âkritigana, and must be determined by usage Thus इन्द्रजननीयम् विरुद्धभोजनायम् &c

Note —The words शिशुक्रन्द and यमसभ might have been included in the inchoate class इन्द्रजननादि ॥ The separate enumeration of these words in the sûtra, is merely for the sake of amplification

१४६९ । सोऽस्य निवास । ४ । ३ । ८९ ॥

स्रुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य स्रौघ्न ॥

1469 After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his dwelling place'

Note —The word स shows that the word to which the affix is to be added is in the nominative case अस्य his' shows that the meaning of the affix is that of a genitive case निवास shows that the first word in construction must signify a dwelling place निवास means "a country i e where a person lives (nivasanti asmin)".

स्रुघ्नो निवासोऽस्य = स्रौघ्न 'a present dweller of Srughna',

१४७० । अभिजनश्च । ४ । ३ । ९० ॥

स्रुघ्नोऽभिजनोऽस्य स्रौघ्न यत्र स्वयं वसति स निवासः । यत्र पूर्वैरुषित सोऽभिजन ॥ इति विवेक ॥

1470 After a word in the 1st case in construction, an affix comes in the sense of 'this is his mother-land'

The difference between निवास and अभिजन is this Where a person lives himself for the present, that is his निवास or dwelling place Where his ancestors (अभिजना) have lived, that is his अभिजन 'native country, home or ancestral abode' Thus स्रौघ्न 'a person whose ancestral home is in Srughna'

Note —The separation of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra, in which the anuvritti of 'abhijana' only runs

१४७१ । आयुधजीविभ्यश्छ पर्वते । ४ । ३ । ९१ ॥

पर्वतवाचिन प्रथमान्तादभिजनशब्दादस्येत्यर्थे छ स्यात् । हृद्गोल पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषामायुधजीविना ते हृद्गोलीया । आयुधेति किम् । ऋक्षाद पर्वतोऽभिजनो येषा ते आर्क्षोदा द्विजा ॥

1471 The affix छ comes after a word denoting mountain, in the sense of 'this is his mother-land', when it is a person who lives by arms

The word आयुधजीवी means a person who earns his livelihood by arms The phrase सोऽस्याभिजन is to be read into the sûtra Thus हृद्गोल पर्वतोऽभिजन एषामायुधजीविनां = हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soldiers whose ancestral abode is the Hṛidgola mountain'

Why do we say आयुधजीविभ्य ? Observe ऋाक्षोदा द्विजा " the Brâhmaṇas whose native place is Rikshoda mountains "

Note —Why do we say 'mountains'? Observe, साङ्काश्यका आयुधजीविन ॥

१४७२ । शण्डिकादिभ्यो ञ्य । ४ । ३ । ९२ ॥

शण्डिकोऽभिजनोऽस्य शाण्डिक्य ॥

1472 The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his native-land', after the words शण्डिक &c

This debars अण् &c Thus शाण्डिक्य , सार्वसेन्य &c

1 शण्डिक, 2 सर्वसेन, 3 सर्वकेश, 4 शक, 5 शट (सट), 6 रक, 7 शङ्ख, 8 बोध ॥

१४७३ । सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ । ४ । ३ । ९३ ॥

सिन्ध्वादिभ्योऽण् तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽञ् स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे। सैन्धव । तक्षशिला नगरी अभिजनोऽस्य ताक्षशिल ॥

1473 The affixes अण् and अञ् come respectively, after the words 'Sindhu' &c and 'Takshaśila' &c in the sense of 'this is his native-land'

Thus सैन्धव । So also ताक्षशिल ॥

Note —Many of the words occurring in the Sindhu class, are found in the Kachchhâdi class (IV 2 133 S 1357) also Those words would have taken अण् by sûtra IV 2 133 S 1357 The present sûtra prevents the affixing of वुञ् (IV 2 134 S 1358) to those words under circumstances mentioned in sûtra IV 2 134, S 1358 when the further significance of अभिजन is added to them

1 सिन्धु, 2 वर्णु 3 मधुमत्, 4 कम्बोज, 5 साल्व, 6 कश्मीर, 7 गन्धार, 8 किष्किन्धा, 9 उरसा (उरस) 10 दरद् (दरद), 11 गन्दिका (गान्दिका), 12 कुलून, 13 दिरसा ॥

1 तक्षशिला, 2 वत्सोद्धरण, 3 कैर्मेदुर (कौमेदुर), 4 ग्रामणी, 5 छगल*, 6 क्रोष्टुकर्ण (कर्णकोष्ठ), 7 सिंहकर्ण (सिंहकोष्ठ), 8 संकुचित, 6 किंनर, 10 काण्डधार (काण्डवारण), 11 पर्वत*, 12 अवसान, 13 बर्बर, 14 कंस, 15 सरालक ॥

१४७४ । तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः । ४ । ३ । ९४ ॥

तूदी अभिजनोऽस्य तौदेय । शालातुरीय । वार्मतेय । कौच्चवार्य ॥

1474 After the words तूदी, शालातुर, वर्मती, and कूचवार, come respectively the affixes ढक्, छण्, ढञ्, and यक् in the sense of 'this is his native land'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus तौदेय, शालातुरीय, वार्मतेय and कौच्चवार्य ॥

१४७५ । भक्ति । ४ । ३ । ९५ ॥

सोऽस्येत्यनुवर्तते । भज्यते सेव्यते इति भक्ति । स्रुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य स्रौघ्न ॥

1475 An affix (IV 1 83) comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration or love'

The word भक्ति in the sûtra means 'serving', 'worshipping', or 'loving'

Thus स्रुघ्नो भक्तिरस्य = स्रौघ्न 'a person who is loyal to Srughna'

The anuvritti of the word अभिजन ceases The words स and अस्य should be read into the sutra

१४७६ । अचित्ताददेशकालाट्ठक । ४ । ३ । ९६ ॥

अपूपा भक्तिरस्य आपूपिक । पायसिक । अचित्तादिति किम् । दैवदत्त । अदेशादिति किम् । स्रौघ्न । अकालादिति किम् । ग्रैष्म ॥

1476 After a word denoting a thing not possessing consciousness, but not being the name of a country or time, the affix ठक् is employed, in the sense of 'this is his object of devotion or love'

This debars अण्, and छ also Thus अपूपा भक्तिरस्य = आपूपिकः 'a person who loves cakes' पायसिकः ॥

Why do we say 'not possessing consciousness'? Observe दैवदत्तः ॥ Why do we say 'not being the name of a country'? Observe स्रौघ्नः ॥ Why do we say 'not denoting time'? Observe ग्रैष्मः 'who loves summer'

१४७७ । महाराजाट्ठञ् । ४ । ३ । ९७ ॥

माहाराजिक ॥

1477 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the word महाराज ॥

This debars अण् ॥ As माहाराजिक 'who loves or serves the Mahârâja' The difference between this ठञ् and the ठक् of the last aphorism, is in the accent only

१४७८ । वासुदेवार्जुनाभ्यां वुन् । ४ । ३ । ९८ ॥

वासुदेवक । अर्जुनक ॥

1478 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after the words 'Vâsudeva' and Arjuna.

This debars छ and अण ॥ Thus वासुदेवक, अर्जुनक ॥

१४७९ । गोत्रक्षत्रियाख्येभ्यो बहुलं वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ९९ ॥

अणोऽपवादः । परत्वाद्वृद्धाच्छं बाधते । ग्लुचुकायनिर्भक्तिरस्य ग्लौचुकायनकः । नाकुलकः । बहुलग्रहणान्नेह । पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य पाणिनीयः ॥

1479 The affix वुञ् comes diversely, in the sense of 'this is his object of veneration', after a word denoting Gotra or a Kshatriya

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus ग्लौचुकायनक 'who loves or serves &c Gluchukâyani' Kshatriyas —नाकुलक ॥

Note —The word आख्या in the sutra indicates that the words should be the names of *well known* or *famous* Kshatriyas, and not of any body who is a Kshatriya by profession

The word बहुल shows the non-universality of this rule Thus पाणिनो भक्तिरस्य = पाणिनीय ॥

Note —The word गोत्र does not mean here the Grammatical Gotra, but a word formed by a patronymic affix in general

१४८० । जनपदिनां जनपदवत्सर्वं जनपदेन समानशब्दानां बहुवचने । ४ । ३ । १०० ॥

जनपदस्वामिवाचिनां बहुवचने जनपदवाचिना समानश्रुतीनां जनपदवत्सर्वं स्यात्प्रत्ययः प्रकृतिश्च । जनपदतदवध्योश्चेति प्रकरणे ये प्रत्यया उक्तास्तेऽत्रातिदिश्यन्ते । अङ्गाः जनपदो भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्याङ्गकः । जनपदिनां किम् । पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य पाञ्चालः । जनपदेनेति किम् । पौरवो राजा भक्तिरस्य पौरवीयः ॥

1480 Of words denoting Princes (lit who are lords of janapada) the base and the affix meaning 'this is his object of veneration' are the same, in every respect, like those of a word denoting kingdom, provided that, the Prince-denoting words have, in the plural, the same form, as the kingdom-denoting words

Note —The words of this sûtra require a detailed analysis जनपदिनाम् gen plural of जनपदिन् meaning 'lord of an inhabited country' i e Kshatriya Princes, बहुवचने 'in the plural' जनपदेन समान शब्दानां 'the same form as the janapada

denoting word', जनपदवत् सर्वम् 'every thing is like jana-pada' In other words, 'after those bases denoting Kshatriya princes which in the plural have the same forms as the names of the countries, the affix in the sense of veneration will be the same as will come after a janapada word' Now the affixes denoting भक्ति as regards जनपद words are given in Sûtras IV 2 124 S 1348 &c and those affixes will apply here

Thus अङ्गा जनपदो भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गक formed by वुञ् of sûtra IV 2 125, S 1349 meaning 'who loves the country of Angâs' Similarly वाङ्गक, सौह्मक, पौण्ड्रक ॥

Similarly अङ्गाः क्षत्रिया भक्तिरस्य = आङ्गक formed by the same affix वुञ्, with this difference of meaning who loves the Kshatriyas Angâs' So वाङ्गक, सौह्मक &c.

Why do we say 'of Kshatriyâ Princes', (janapadinâm) Observe, पञ्चाला ब्राह्मणा भक्तिरस्य = पाञ्चाल ॥ Here the general affix अण् is employed

Why do we say जनपदेन समान शब्दानाम् 'the word having the same sound as the janpada word'? Thus पौरवो राजा स भक्तिरस्य = पौरवीय ॥

१४८१ । तेन प्रोक्तम् । ४ । ३ । १०१ ॥

पाणिनिना प्रोक्तं पाणिनीयम् ॥

1481 After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him'

The word प्रोक्त means प्रकर्षेणोक्त 'preeminently spoken' It should be distinguished from the word कृत meaning 'done or made' For the sense of कृत has been already taught in the sûtra कृते ग्रन्थे (IV 3 16 S 1387) Thus पाणिनीयम् 'the system of grammar enounced by Pânini'

१४८२ । तित्तिरिवरतन्तुखण्डिकोखाच्छण् । ४ । ३ । १०२ ॥

छन्दोब्राह्मणानीति तद्विषयता । तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्तमधीयते तैत्तिरीया ॥

1482 The affix छण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'tittiri', 'varatantu', 'khandika', and 'ukha'

Thus तैत्तिरीया 'those who learn (IV 2 66 S 1278) the Veda enounced by Tittiri'

Note —According to Kâśika this is confined to the Chhandas only There fore it will not apply to classical ślokas, as तित्तिरिणा प्रोक्त श्लोक ॥ The word Chhandas is drawn from sûtra IV 3, 106 S 1486 and तद्विषयता from IV 2 66 S 1278

१४८३ । काश्यपकौशिकाभ्यामृषिभ्यां णिनि । ४ । ३ । १०३ ॥

काश्यपेन प्रोक्तमधीयते काश्यपिन ॥

1483 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words 'Kâśyapa' and 'Kauśika' when denoting Vedic Seers

This debars छ ॥ The ण of णिनि is for the sake of Vriddhi (useful in the subsequent sûtra) This is confined, like the last, to the Vedic works Thus काश्यपिन 'those who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the Kalpa enounced by Kâśyapa'

Note —Why do we say "Vedic Sages"? Observe इदानीन्तनेन गोत्रकाश्यपेन प्रोक्तं = काश्यपीयम् "a work enounced by a modern Kâśyapa,—one belonging to the Gotra Kâśyapa, not a Rishi'

१४८४ । कलापिवैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १०४ ॥

कलाप्यन्तेवासिभ्य, हरिद्रुणा प्रोक्तमधीयते हारिद्रविण । वैशम्पायनान्तेवासिभ्य, आलम्बिन ॥

1484 After words denoting the pupils of 'Kalâpî' and 'Vaiśampâyana', the affix णिनि is employed in the sense of 'enounced by him'.

Note :—This debars अण् and छ ॥ There are four words which express pupils of Kalâpa as हरिद्रु, छगली, तुम्बुरु, उलप ॥ There are nine words expressing pupils of Vaiśampâyana as, आलम्बि, पलङ्ग, कमल, ऋचाभ, आरुणि, ताण्ड्य, श्यामायन, कठ, कलापी ॥

Thus हारिद्रविण 'those who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the works enounced by Haridru' So also आलम्बिन ॥

Note —The word चरक means वैशम्पायन hence चरक means pupils of वैशम्पायन ॥

१४८५ । पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । ४ । ३ । १०५ ॥

तृतीयान्तात्प्रोक्तार्थे णिनि स्यात् । यत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्ताश्चेद्ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेन चिरन्तनेन मुनिना प्रोक्ता । भाल्लु भाल्लविन । शाट्यायन, शाट्यायनिन । कल्पे, पिङ्गेन प्रोक्त । पैङ्गी कल्प । पुराणेति किम् । याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथ कल्प । ऋषि । आपत्यस्येति यलोपः ॥

1485 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after a word in the 3rd case in construction, when it denotes a Brâhmaṇa or a Kalpa-work enounced by ancient sages

This sûtra further gives the sense of the affix पुराण means 'Ancient Sages' equivalent to पुरातण of the Brâhmana literature, the example is शाट्यायनिन so also from भल्लु—भाल्लविन ॥ Kalpa work as पैङ्गीकल्प ॥

Why do we say पुराणोप्रोक्तेषु 'announced by ancient sages'? Observe याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि, आश्मरथ कल्प ॥ The य of these words is elided by VI 4. 151 S 1082 Yajñavalkya &c being sages of modern times The तद् विषय affix IV 2 66 S 1278 will not also apply to these, because the word ब्राह्मण in IV 2 66 S 1278 is restricted to पुराणप्रोक्त of the present sutra

१४८६ । शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि । ४ । ३ । १०६ ॥

छन्दस्यभिधेय एभ्यो णिनि । शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शौनकिन ॥

1486 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words शौनक &c, in denoting chhandas

This debars छ and अण् ॥ Thus शौनकेन प्रोक्तमधीयत = शौनकिन 'who study (IV 2 64 S 1274) the chhandas enounced by Śaunaka' वाजसनेयिन &c

Note —Why do we say 'in denoting Chhandas'? Observe शौनकीया शिक्षा the orthography of Śaunaka

The word कठशाठ occurs in this list This must always be taken as a compound for affixing this affix After the single word कठ the affix is elided (IV 3 107 S 1487) Thus कठशाठाभ्यां प्रोक्तमधीयते = काठशाठिन ॥

1 शौनक, 2 वाजसनेय, 3 शार्ङ्गरव 4 शापेय (सापेय), 5 शाष्पेय (शाखेय), 6 खाडायन, 7 स्तम्भ (स्कम्भ) 8 स्कन्ध 9 देवदर्शन, 10 रज्जुभार 11 रज्जुकण्ठ, 12 कठशाठ, 13 कषाय (कशाय) 14 तल*, 15 दण्ड* 16 पुरुषासक (पुरुषांसक), 17 अश्वपेज (अश्वपेय), 18 सार्ङ्गरव, 19 स्कन्द 20 देवदत्तशठ, 21 तलवकार ॥

१४८७ । कठचरकाल्लुक् । ४ । ३ । १०७ ॥

आभ्यां प्रोक्तप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् । कठेन प्रोक्तमधीयते कठा । चरका ॥

1487 The affix denoting 'enounced by him' is elided, by luk-substitution, after the words Katha ane Charaka

The word कठ would have taken णिनि as it is a वैशम्पायनान्तेवासी word and चरक would have taken the affix अण् ॥ Both are elided Thus कठा 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Katha' चरका &c

Note —The word 'Chhandas' qualifies this sûtra Observe काठा चारका श्लोका

१४८८ । कलापिनोऽण् । ४ । ३ । १०८ ॥

कलापिना प्रोक्तमधीयते कालापा ॥ नान्तस्य टिलोपे सब्रह्मचारिपीठसर्पिकलापिकौथुमितैतिलिजाजलिलाङ्गलिशिलालिशिखण्डिसूकरसद्मसुपर्वणामुपसंख्यानाट्टिलोप ॥

1488 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word Kalâpî '

This debars णिनि of IV 3 104 S 1484 Thus कलापा 'who study the work enounced by Kalâpi'

Note —The word कलाप is thus formed —कलापिन् + अण् ॥ Here comes in force Sutra VI 4 144 S 679 which declares that इन् of कलापिन् should be elided before the taddhita affix This elision is, however, debarred by sûtra VI 4 164 S 1245 which declares that words ending in the affix इन् retain their form when अण not denoting a progeny follows Therefore कलापिन् would have retained its इन् but for the following Vartika

Vârt —The टि portion of the following words is elided when a Taddhita follows —सब्रह्मचारिन् पीठसर्पिन्, कलापिन्, कुथुमिन्, तैतिलिन् जाजलिन् लाङ्गलिन्, लाङ्गलिन् शिलालिन्, शिखण्डिन्, सूकरसद्मन्, सुपर्वण ॥ Thus इन् being elided, we have कलापा ॥

The final न् with the vowel that precedes it, is dropped before a Taddhita in the following 1 सब्रह्मचारिन्—साब्रह्मचारा (IV 3 120 S 1500) पीठसर्पिन्—पैठसर्पा (IV 3 120 S 1500), 3 कलापिन्—कालापा (IV 3 108 and IV 2 59 S 1488 and 1269), 4 कुथुमिन्—कौथुमा (IV 3 101 S 1481), 5 तैतिलिन्—तैतिला (IV 3 116 S 1496), 6 जाजलिन्—जाजला (IV 2 59 S 1269), 7 लाङ्गलिन्—लाङ्गला, 8 शिलालिन्—शैलाला 9 शिखण्डिन्—शैखण्डा 10 सुकरसद्मन्—सौकरसद्मा 11 सुपर्वन्—सौपर्वा ॥ In the above those which end in इन्, elide the इन् in spite of VI, 4 164, and those in मन् contradict VI 4 167

१४८९ । छगलिनो ढिनुक् । ४ । ३ । १०९ ॥

छागलिनो प्रोक्तमधीयते छागलेयिन ॥

4489 The affix ढिनुक् comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the word 'Chhagalin'

The word छगलिन् being a word denoting the pupil of कलापी would have taken णिनि (IV 3 104 S 1484) This debars that Thus छागलेयिन् 'who study the Chhandas enounced by Chhagali'

१४९० । पाराशर्यशिलालिभ्यां भिक्षुनटसूत्रयो । ४ । ३ । ११० ॥

पाराशर्येण प्रोक्तं भिक्षुसूत्रमधीयते पाराशरिणो भिक्षव । शैलालिनो नटा ॥

1490 The affix णिनि comes in the sense of 'enounced by him', after the words Pârâsarya and Silalin the works enounced being Bhikshu-Sûtra and Nata-Sutra respectively

Note —The affix णिनि is to be read into the sutra and not ढिनुक ॥ The भिक्षुसूत्र and नटसूत्र are works treating of the duties of भिक्षुक 'religious mendicants and नट jugglers dancers'

Thus पाराशर्य + णिनि = पराशर + णिनि (VI 4 152 S 2119) = पाराशरिन्, the treatise of Pârâsarya on the duties of Bhikshus' Similarly शैलालिन् ॥

Note —These words of course, have the additional sense of 'he who studies the works so enounced by Parâsarya and Sailalin' See IV 2 66 S 1278 As पाराशरिणो भिक्षव, शैलालिनो नटा ॥ According to some, it always expresses this relation (तद्विषयता IV 2 66) and never a प्रोक्त alone These are treated metaphorically as Chhandas

Why do we say 'denoting Bhikshu and Nata Sutras'? Observe पाराशरम्, शैलालम् ॥

१४६१ । कर्मन्दकृशाश्वादिनि । ४ । ३ । १११ ॥

भिक्षुनटसूत्रयोरित्येव । कर्मन्देन प्रोक्तमधीयते कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षव । कृशाश्विनो नटा ॥

1491 The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'enounced by him', the thing enounced being Bhikshu Sûtra and Nata -Sûtra, after the words 'Karmanda' and 'Krisâsva'

Thus कर्मन्दिनो भिक्षव, 'the mendicants who study the Bhikshu-sûtra of Karmandin' कृशाश्विनो नटा 'the actors who study the Nata sûtra of Krisâsvin' Otherwise कार्मन्दकम् and कार्शाश्वम् ॥ See IV 2 66.

१४६२ । तेनैकदिक् । ४ । ३ । ११२ ॥

सुदाम्ना अद्रिणा एकदिक् सौदामनी ॥

1492 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'

The word एक दिक् means तुल्य दिक् i e a common direction Thus सुदाम्ना एकदिक = सौदामनी विद्युत् "a lightening literally, that which is in the same direction as the hill called the Sudâman"

Note —The repetition of तेन, though it could have been supplied by anuvritti from IV 3 101 S 1481 is for the sake of indicating that the anuvritti of the छन्दसि which regulated all the preceding ten sûtras, does not extend to this aphorism, and therefore the तद्विषयता of IV 2 66 S 1278 which was applied to those sûtras does not apply here

१४६३ । तसिश्च । ४ । ३ । ११३ ॥

स्वरादिपाठादव्ययत्वम् । पीलुमूलेन एकदिक पीलुमूलत ॥

1493 The affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that'

This ordains another affix in addition to the previously taught अण् &c घ &c The words formed by this affix are Indeclinables as it is an affix mentioned in the svarâdi class (I 1 37 S 447), Thus हिमवत्त 'in the same direction as Himavat.' पीलुमूलत, सुदामत ॥

१४९४ । उरसो यच्च । ४ । ३ । ११४ ॥

चात्तसि । अणोऽपवाद । उरसा एक दिक उरस्य । उरस्त ॥

1494 The affix यत् as well as the affix तसि comes in the sense of 'in the same direction with that,' after the word उरस् ॥

Thus उरसा एकदिग् = उरस्य or उरस्त ॥ The तसि is read into the sutra by force of the word च ॥

१४९५ । उपज्ञाते । ४ । ३ । ११५ ॥

तेनत्येव । पाणिनिना उपज्ञात पाणिनीयम् ॥

1495 After a word in the 3rd case in construction, an affix is employed in the sense of 'discovered by him'

Knowledge acquired by oneself without being taught is called उपज्ञात i e an intuition or self taught knowledge Thus पाणिनिनोपज्ञात = पाणिनीयम् व्याकरणम् 'the law of Grammar discovered by Pânini'

१४९६ । कृते ग्रन्थे । ४ । ३ । ११६ ॥

वररुचिना कृतो वाररुचो ग्रन्थ ॥

1496 An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made', the thing made being 'a book',

Thus वररुचिना कृता = वाररुचा । श्लोका 'the verses composed by Vararuchi'

Note —Why do we say 'a book'? Observe तक्षकृत प्रासाद 'the palace made by Takshas'.

That which one originates is called कृत and is therefore an 'art', while knowledge of laws &c that already exist, but are discovered for the first time by some one, is called उपज्ञात ॥

१४९७ । सज्ञायाम् । ४ । ३ । ११७ ॥

तेनेत्येव । अग्रन्थार्थमिदम् । मक्षिकाभि कृत माक्षिक मधु ॥

1497 An affix comes after a word in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made by him', when the whole word is a Name

Thus मक्षिकाभि कृतम् = माक्षिकम्, 'honey', literally 'made by a bee', मक्षिका meaning a bee' मक्षिका + अण् = माक्षिक (VI 4 148 S 311) The anuvritti of "ग्रन्थ" does not, of course, apply here

१४९८ । कुलालादिभ्यो वुञ् । ४ । ३ । ११८ ॥

तेन कृते सञ्ज्ञायाम् । कुलालेन कृतं कौलालकम् । वारुडकम् ॥

1498 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'made by him', after the words Kulâla &c the whole word so formed being a Name

Thus कौलालकम् 'a porcelain' lit 'made by a potter' So also वारुडकनम ॥

1 कुलाल, 2 वरुड, 3 चण्डाल, 4 निषाद 5 कर्मार, 6 सेना, 7 सिरिध्र (सिरिन्ध्र), 8 सैरिन्ध्र (सेन्द्रिय) 9 देवराज 10 परिषद् (पर्षद्), 11 वधू 12 मधुक, 13 रुरु, 14 रुद्र, 15 अनडुह्, 16 ब्रह्मन्, 17 कुम्भकार 18 श्वपाक, 19 ध्रुव ॥

१४९९ । क्षुद्राभ्रमरवटरपादपादञ् । ४ । ३ । ११९ ॥

तेन कृते सञ्ज्ञायाम् । क्षुद्राभिः कृतं क्षौद्रम् । भ्रामरम् । वाटरम् । पादपम् ॥

1499 The affix वुञ् comes after the words 'kshudrâ', 'bhramara', 'vatara' and 'pâdapa' in the sense of 'made by him', the whole word being a Name

This debars अण्, there being difference in accent between अण् and अञ् ॥ Thus क्षुद्राभिः कृतम्=क्षौद्रम् 'honey' lit 'made' by a *small* bee' So also भ्रामरम्, वाटरम् and पादपम् ॥

१५०० । तस्येदम् । ४ । ३ । १२० ॥

उपगोरिदमौपगवम् ॥ वहेस्तुरीणद् च * ॥ सवोढुः स्वं सावहित्रम् ॥ अग्नीधः शरणे रण् भं च * ॥ अग्निमिन्धे अग्नीत् तस्य स्थानमाग्नीध्रम् । तात्स्थ्यात्सोऽप्याग्नीध्रः ॥ समिधामाधाने षेण्यण् * ॥ सामिधेन्यो मन्त्रः । सामिधेनी ऋक् ॥

1500 After a word in the 6th case in construction, an affix (IV 1 13 &c) comes in the sense of 'this is his'

The five universals अण् &c (IV 1 83) and the affixes घ &c (IV 2 93) come in this sense Thus उपगोरिदम्=औपगवम्, 'of Upagu'

Note--The affixes, however, do not come, when the word governed by the possessive case, is अनन्तर &c Thus देवदत्तस्यानन्तरम् ॥ In short the thing possessed must be property, village, kingdom or men

Vârt —The verb वह takes तृ (तृण् and तृच्) and अण् preceded by an इट् As, सवोढुः स्वं सावहित्रम् ॥

Vârt—The affix रण् comes after अग्नित्, (=अग्निमिन्धे 'who kindles the sacred fire' formed by Kvip) in the sense of 'sanctuary', and the base gets the designation of भ ॥ Agnit is the name of a Ritvik priest As आग्नीध्रम् "The place where the sacred fire is kept" as well the officiating priest of Agni The word अग्नीध् being treated as a Bha and not as a pada, the ध् is not changed to द् (VIII 2 39)

Vârt —The affix 'shenyan' comes after समिधा, in the sense of placing Thus सामिधेन्यो मन्त्र 'the verses (recited while) placing the fuel on fire', सामिधेनी (IV 1 41) ऋक् ॥

१५०१ । रथाद्यत् । ४ । ३ । १२१ ॥

रथ्य चक्रम् ॥

1501 The affix यत् comes after रथ, in the sense of this is his'

This debars अण् ॥ Thus रथस्येद रथ्यम् 'belonging to the chariot—i e wheel or the axle',

Note —The word रथ्य is confined to describe the parts of chariot This rule applies also to compounds ending with रथ as, परमरथ्यम्, उत्तमरथ्यम् because of the Vârtika रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ, after रथ, सीता and हल in applying the affix यत् there is tadanta vidhi

१५०२ । पत्रपूर्वादञ् । ४ । ३ । १२२ ॥

पत्र वाहनम् । अश्वरथस्येदमाश्वरथम् ॥

1502 When preceded by a word denoting 'a draught animal', रथ takes the affix अञ् in the sense of 'this is his'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus आश्वरथ चक्र 'the wheel of a horse-cart,

Note —The word पत्र means 'that by which any one goes or a draught-animal like camel It is formed by the affix ष्ट्रन् (III 2 182)

१५०३ । पत्राध्वर्युपरिषदश्च । ४ । ३ । १२३ ।

अञ् ॥ पत्राद्वाह्ये * ॥ अश्वस्येद वहनीयमाश्वम् । आध्वर्यवम् । पारिषदम् ॥

1503 After a word denoting a draught-animal, and after the words 'adhvaryu' and 'parishad,' the affix अञ् is added

This debars अण् ॥ The पत्र means वाहन ॥

Vârt —When the sense is that of a thing to be carried, then is अञ् added, to a word denoting 'a draught animal Thus अश्वस्येदम् वहनीयम्=आश्वम् 'a load to be or suited for being, carried by a horse' So also आध्वर्यवम् and पारिषदम् ॥

१५०४ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ३ । १२४ ॥

हालिकम् । सैरकम् ॥

1504 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is his,' after the words 'hala' and sîra'

Thus हलस्येदम्=हालिकम्, सैरिकम् ॥

१५०५ । द्वन्द्वाद्वुन्वैरमैथुनिकयोः । ४ । ३ । १२५ ॥

काकोलूकिका । कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥ वैरे देवासुरादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधः * ॥ दैवासुरम् ॥

1505 The affix वुन् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after Dvandva compounds of words denoting 'mutual enmity', or 'matrimonial relationship'

This debars अण् and छ ॥ Thus of 'enmity' काकोलूकिका ॥ Similarly of married couples as, कुत्सकुशिकिका ॥

Note —The Dvandva compounds of words denoting natural enemies will be singular neuter by II 4 9 S 913 Their secondary derivatives, however, are feminine

Vârt —Prohibition must be stated of the word देवासुर &c As दैवासुरम् ॥ राक्षोऽसुरम् वैरम् ॥

१५०६ । गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । १२६ ॥

औपगवकम् । चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरिति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ काठकम् ॥

1506 The affix वुञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is his' after the words denoting Family-names or names of Vedic Schools

This debars अण् as well as छ ॥ Thus gotra —औपगवकम् ॥

Vârt —The word चरण which ordinarily means Vedic School, means here duties or doctrines (dharma), and traditions (âmnâya) Thus कठानां धर्म आम्नायो वा=काठकम् 'the dharma Sûtras or the tradition belonging to the school of Kathas'

१५०७ । सङ्घाङ्कलक्षणेष्वञ्यञिञामण् । ४ । ३ । १२७ ॥

घोषग्रहणमपि कर्तव्यम् * ॥ अञ्, बैद सङ्घोऽङ्को घोषो वा । बैद लक्षणम् । यञ्, गार्ग । गार्गम् । इञ्, दाक्ष । दाक्षम् । परपरासंबन्धोऽङ्कः स्वस्वात्तु लक्षणम् ॥

1507 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'this is his', after a Patronymic word ending with the affix अञ्, यञ् or इञ्, the words so formed expressing a multitude, a mark or a sign

Note —The word सङ्घ means congregation' The word लक्षण and अङ्क should be distinguished लक्षण means a mark which is the property of that person and forms a *distinguishing* feature of that person, as विद्या 'learning' is a लक्षण of the clan of Bidas, the Bidas being famous for learning The word अङ्क is a mark which shows that the thing so marked is the property of another as a mark on a cow showing

to what person or clan that cow belongs The अङ्क though occurring in a person or thing does not *belong* to that person or thing, as the mark of a cow does not belong to the cow, but the लक्षण is a mark which belongs to the person or thing wherein it is found

This sûtra debars वुञ् of the last aphorism

Vârt —The word घोष 'a cow pen', should also be read along with the सघ &c Thus the words so formed denote *four* things (1) congregation, (2) mark, (3) sign, and (4) a hamlet or cowpen This being so, the rule of mutual correspondence according to order of enumeration (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply

Thus अनन्तात् (IV 1 104 S 1106)—बैद (Masculine), 'a congregation but बैदम् (Neuter) meaning, a sign or a hamlet of the Bidas' अनन्तात्· (IV 1 105 S 1107)—गार्ग्य + अण्=गार्ग (VI 4 148, 151 S 311, 1082) "a congregation, or a mark of the Gârgyas" इञन्तात् (IV 1 95 S 1095), —दाक्षि + अण्=दाक्ष (VI 4 148 S 311) 'a congregation &c of the Dâkshis', दाक्षम्, 'a mark of the Dâkshis?

Note —The ण् of अण् could not serve the purpose of Vriddhi here, for all the words to which this affix is added, have Vriddhi by virtue of the affixes अञ् or इञ् in which they end The अ would have served the purpose as well, so far as Vriddhi is concerned, but अण् is used to show that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470), Thus बैदी ॥ It further prevents पुंवद्भाव in compounnds (VI 3 39 S 849), as बैदी विद्याऽस्य=बैदीविद्य i, e विदानामसाधारणी या विद्या सा यस्यास्ति स ॥

१५०८ । शाकलाद्वा । ४ । ३ । १२८ ॥

अण् वोक्तऽर्थे । पक्षे चरणत्वाद्वुञ् । शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते शाकलास्तेषां सङ्घोऽङ्को घोषो वा शाकल । शाकलक । लक्षणे क्लीबता ॥

1508 The affix अण् optionally comes, in the sense of 'this is his congregation, mark, sign or hamlet,' after the word शाकल ॥

This debars वुञ् ॥ Thus शाकलेन प्रोक्तमधीयते=शाकला (IV 3 101 S 1481 and IV 2 64 S 1274), शाकलानाम् सघ =शाकल or शाकलक (IV 3 126 S 1506) meaning 'a congregation, &c of the students of the science revealed by Śakala' When denoting लक्षण it will be of the neuter gender

१५०९ । छन्दोगौक्थिकयाज्ञिकबह्वृचनटाञ् ञ्य । ४ । ३ । १२९ ॥

छन्दोगाना धर्म आम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् । औक्थिक्यम् । याज्ञिक्यम् । बाह्वृच्यम् । नाट्यम् ॥ चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययोरित्युक्त तत्साहचर्यान्नटशब्दादपि तयोरेव ॥

1509 The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'this is his Law or Tradition,' after the words 'chhandoga,' 'aukthika,' 'yâjñika,' 'bahvricha' and 'nata.'

Note —The anuvritti of सच &c ceases The उस debars अण and वुञ् ॥ The phrase चरणाद्धर्माम्नाययो from sûtra IV 3 126 S 1506 is understood here and applies even to the word नंद ॥

Thus छन्दोगानां धर्मो वा ऽऽम्नायो वा छान्दोग्यम् 'the Law or Tradition peculiar to the Chhandoga' So also औक्थिक्यम्, आथर्वणम्, आह्वृच्यम्, and नाट्यम् ॥

Not having this sense we have छान्दोग कुलम् 'the family of Chhandoga.'

१५१० । न दण्डमाणवान्तेवासिषु । ४ । ३ । १३० ॥

दण्डप्रधाना माणवा दण्डमाणवास्तेषु शिष्येषु च वुञ् न स्यात् । दाक्षा दण्डमाणवा शिष्या वा ॥

1510 The affix वुञ् is not used after a Family-name, when it denotes a 'beginner pupil', and 'a boarder pupil'

The word दण्डमाणव means a little naughty boy (माणव), the only means of instilling knowledge in whom is the rod (दण्ड), or whose principal sign of studentship is the 'daṇḍa' and nothing intrinsic. i e a mere beginner The न is changed to ण in माणव by IV 1 161 S 1185, अन्तेवासिन are pupils or boarders who live in their teacher's houses The word 'gotra' is understood here Thus दाक्षा "the junior pupils of Dâkshi"

१५११ । रैवतिकादिभ्यश्छ । ४ । ३ । १३१ ॥

तस्येदमित्यर्थे । वुञोऽपवाद । रैवतिकीय । बैजवापीय ॥

1511 The affix छ comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words रैवतिक &c

All these words end with Gotra affixes, and require वुञ् (IV ३ 126 S 1506), this ordains छ instead Thus रैवतिकीय बैजवापीयः &c.

1 रैवतिक, 2 स्वापिशि, 3 क्षैमवृद्धि, 4 गौरग्रीवि (गौरग्रीव), 5 औदमेघि (औदमेघि) 6 औदवापि (औदवाहि), 7 बैजवापि ॥

१५१२ । कौपिञ्जलहास्तिपदादण् । ४ । ३ । १३२ ॥

कुपिञ्जलस्यापत्यम् इत्येव निपातनादण् तदन्तात्पुनरण् । कौपिञ्जल । गोत्रवुञोऽपवाद । हस्तिपादस्यापत्य हास्तिपदस्तस्याय हास्तिपद ॥

1512. The affix अण् *comes in the sense of 'this is his', after the words 'kaupinjala' and 'hâstipada'.*

This debars वुञ् (IV 3 126) Thus कौपिञ्जल, हास्तिपद ॥ This sûtra is really a Vârtika The word कौपिञ्जल means the descendant of कुपिञ्जल ॥ It is formed by अण् by the nipâtana of this sutra To this is again added अण् in order to exclude the वुञ् affix Similarly the son of हस्तिपाद is called हास्तिपद ॥ It is formed by अण् and पाद changed to पद by nipâtana To हास्तिपद is added the affix of this sûtra

१५१३ । आथर्वणिकस्येकलोपश्च । ४ । ३ । १३३ ॥

अण् स्यात् । आथर्वणिकस्यायमाथर्वण धर्म आम्नायो वा । चरणाद्वुञोऽपवाद ॥

1513. The affix अण् *comes, in the sense of 'this is his', after the word 'âtharvanika', and the penultimate 'ika' is elided.*

This debars वुञ् (IV 3 126 S 1506) आथर्वणिकस्यायम्=आथर्वणो धर्म आम्नायोवा "the Atharvana i e the Law or the Tradition of the Atharvanikas". The phrase चरणाद् धर्माम्नाययो is understood here. This sutra is also a vârtika.

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अथ प्रागदिव्यतीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXIX

PRÂGDÎVYATÎYA

१५१४ । तस्य विकार । ४ । ३ । १३४ ॥

अश्मनो विकारे टिलोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ अश्मनो विकार आश्म । भास्मन । मार्तिक ॥

1514 An affix (IV 1 83 &c) comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'a modification thereof'

Note —The word विकार means the change of condition of the original The word तस्य, though its anuvritti could have been supplied from the previous sûtras, has been repeated here, in order to show that the governing force of शेषे (IV 2 92) does not extend further The affixes taught, therefore, under शेषे (IV 2, 92 S 1312 &c) such as घ, ख &c have not the sense of तस्य विकार ॥

No affix has been taught here in this sûtra the general affix अण् (IV 1 83) therefore will come in this sense, as well as the affixes to be taught ereafter

Vârt —अश्मन् loses its अन् before a Taddhita affix meaning 'prepared there with' as, आश्म, otherewise आश्मन ॥ So also भास्मन and मार्तिक ॥

१५१५ । अवयवे च प्राण्योषधिवृक्षेभ्य' । ४ । ३ । १३५ ॥

चाद्विकारे । मयूरस्यावयवो विकारो वा मायूर । मौर्व काण्ड भस्म वा । पैप्पलम् ॥

1515 An affix comes after a word denoting an animal, a herb and a tree, in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'this is its part', (as well as 'this is its modification')

By the word च in the sûtra, the phrase तस्य विकार is also read into the sûtra,

Thus मयूरस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = मायूर (IV 3 154) 'a modification, product or part of a peacock—viz a fan' &c So also of 'herbs', as मौर्वम् 'product of Murva i e ashes or the stalk of Murva' So also of 'trees', as, पैप्पलम् meaning "the stalk or the ashes of Pîpala tree"

Note —In the subsequent sûtra, both the words विकार and अवयव have governing force But after words which denote non animals, non-plants or non-trees, the affixes have only the sense of विकार ॥ This is a rather unique case of double anuvritti, not co-extensive in every respect

१५१६ । बिल्वादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १३६ ॥

बैल्वम् ॥

1516 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its modification or its part', after the words बिल्व &c

This debars अञ् and मयट् ॥ Thus बैल्वम् 'the modification or part of Bilwa'

Note —The word गवेधुका occurs in this list It would have taken अण् by the next sutra also, its inclusion in the class of Bilwadi is for the sake of preventing the application of मयट् to this word

1 बिल्व 2 व्रीहि, 3 काण्ड, 4 मुद्ग, 5 मसूर, 6 गोधूम, 7 इक्षु 8 वेणु, 9 गवेधुका, 10 कर्पासी, 11 पाटली, 12 कर्कन्धू 13 कुटीर ॥

१५१७ । कोपधाच्च । ४ । ३ । १३७ ॥

अण् अञोऽपवादः । तर्कु, तार्कवम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1517 After a word having क् as penultimate, the affix अण् comes, in the sense of modification or a part, or both, as appropriate

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus from तर्कु we get तार्कवम्, from तित्तिडीक we get तैत्तिडीक, ॥ The words तित्तिडीक &c have acute on the middle (Phit Su II 16)

१५१८ । त्रपुजतुनोः षुक् । ४ । ३ । १३८ ॥

आभ्यामण् स्याद्विकारे एतयोः षुगागमश्च । त्रापुषम् । जातुषम् ॥

1518 The affix अण् with the augment षुक् comes in the sense 'its modification', after the words 'trapun' and 'jatun'

This debars अञ् (IV 3 139 S 1519) As, त्रपुणो विकारः = त्रापुषम्, so also जातुषम् "modification of tin and lac"

Note —In these words denoting non-organic beings the sense of अवयव is not denoted by the affix

१५१९ । ओरञ् । ४ । ३ । १३९ ॥

दैवदारवम् । भाद्रदारवम् ॥

1519 The affix अञ् comes after a word ending in short उ, in the sense of 'modification or part', (provided that, the word has not grave accent on the first syllable)

Thus दैवदारवम्, भाद्रदारवम् ॥

Note —The words देवदारु and भद्रदारु are âdy udâtta owing to Phit Su II 14 (पीतद्रुवर्णानाम्—the trees denoting soft timber trees have acute on the first).

१५२० । अनुदात्तादेश्च । ४ । ३ । १४० ॥

दाधित्थम् । कापित्थम् ॥

1520 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'modification or part', after a word having anudâtta accent on the first syllable

This debars मयट् ॥ Thus दाधित्थम्, कापित्थम् ॥

Note —The word दधित्थम् is an upapada-samâsa of दधि + स्थ + क, the स being changed to त as it belongs to Prishodaradi class, and it is finally acute by कृदुत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वर ॥

१५२१ । पलाशादिभ्यो वा । ४ । ३ । १४१ ॥

पालाशम् । कारीरम् ॥

1521 The affix अञ् comes optionally in the sense of 'modification or part', after the words पलाश &c

Thus पालाशम् or पालाशम् so also खादिरम् or खादिरम्, कारीरम् or कारीरम् ॥

Note —This sutra is an example of prâpta and aprâpta vibhâshâ The words पलाश, खदिर, शिंशपा and स्यन्दन being gravely accented on the first syllable the affix अञ् was obligatory by the last aphorism This makes it optional, and is prâpta vibhâshâ In the case of others it is aprâpta-vibhâshâ

1 पलाश, 2 खदिर, 3 शिंशपा 4 स्यन्दन (स्पन्दन), 5 पूलाक*, 6 करीर 7 शिरीष, 8 यवास, 9 विकङ्कत ॥

१५२२ । शम्या (ट्) ष्लञ् । ४ । ३ । १४२ ॥

शामीलं भस्म । षित्वान्ङीष् शामीली स्रुक् ॥

1522 The affix ष् (ट्) लञ् comes in the sense of 'its modification or part', after the word शमी ॥

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus शामीलं भस्म । शामीली स्रुक (IV 1 60 S 515) The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicatory ष् ॥ According to Mâdhâva the anubandha is ट् and so the feminine is formed in ङीप् ॥

१५२३ । मयड्वैतयोर्भाषायामभक्ष्याच्छादनयोः । ४ । ३ । १४३ ॥

प्रकृतिमात्रान्मयड्वा स्याद्विकारावयवयोः अश्ममयम् आश्मनम् । अभक्ष्येत्यादि किम् । मौद्गः सूपः । कार्पासमाच्छादनम् ॥

1523 The affix मयट् comes optionally after any base, in those two meanings of "product" and "part", in

the classical language, when neither food nor clothing is spoken of

Thus अश्ममयम् or आश्मनम् '(IV 3 134)

Note —Why do we say भाषायाम् 'in the classical language,? Witness बैल्व खादिरो वा यूप स्यात् ॥

Why do we say 'when neither food nor clothing is spoken of,? Observe मौद्ग सूप 'a soup made of kidney beans' कार्पासम् आच्छादनम् ', cotton dress"

Note —Why the word एतयो 'in those two meanings' is used in the sûtra, when by context, the words विकार and अवयव were to be read into the sûtra? Its use indicates that the special affixes, such as taught in IV 3 135 136 &c are replaced also by मयट् ॥ Thus कपोतमयम् or कापोतम् (IV, 3 135 S 1515) लाहमयम् or लौहम् ॥

१५२४ । नित्यं वृद्धशरादिभ्य । ४ । ३ । १४४ ॥

आम्रमयम् । शरमयम् ॥ एकाचो नित्यम् * ॥ त्वङ्मयम् । वाङ्मयम् । कथं तर्हि आप्यमम्मयामिति । तस्येदमित्यण्णन्तात्स्वार्थे ष्यञ् ॥

1524 The affix मयट् comes in the sense of its "product" or "part", when neither food nor clothing is spoken of, invariably after Vṛiddha words, and after शर &c

Thus after Vṛiddha—आम्रमयम् ॥ After शरादि words —शरमयम् ॥

Vart —The affix मयट्, comes invariably after words of one syllable Thus त्वङ् मयम्, वाङ् मयम् ॥ How do you explain the form आप्यम् "modification of water", as given by Amarakosha (I 10 5)? It is formed by ष्यञ् added to अपस् after the latter had taken अण् of तस्यदम् ॥ अप+अण्=आप, आप+य=आप्यम् ॥ ष्यञ् does not change the meaning

1 शर, 2 दर्भ, 3 मृद्, 4 कुटी, 5 तृण, 6 सोम, 7 बल्वज (वल्वज) ॥

१५२५ । गोश्च पुरीषे । ४ । ३ । १४५ ॥

गो पुरीष गोमयम् ॥

1525 The affix मयट् comes after the word गो in the sense of 'its dung'

Thus गोमयम् 'cow dung'

Note —'Dung' is neither a modification nor a part of cow Therefore this separate sutra for गो ॥ Why do we say meaning 'its dung'? Observe गव्य=milk The affix यत् here comes in the sense of product or part (IV 3 160 S 1538), though strictly speaking 'milk' also is not an 'avayava' or a 'vikâra' of गो ॥

१५२६ । पिष्टाच्च । ४ । ३ । १४६ ॥

मयट् स्यात्विकारे । पिष्टमयं भस्म । कथं पैष्टी सुरेति । सामान्यविवक्षाया तस्येदमित्यण् ॥

1526 The affix मयट् invariably comes in the sense of its product or part, after the word पिष्ट ॥

This debars अण् ॥ Thus पिष्टमयं भस्म ॥ Otherwise अण्, as पैष्टी सुरा in the sense of तस्येदम् ॥ (IV 3 120 S 1500) in a general signification

१५२७ । संज्ञायां कन् । ४ । ३ । १४७ ॥

पिष्टादित्येव । पिष्टस्य विकारविशेषः पिष्टक । पूपोऽपूप पिष्टकं स्यात् ॥

1527 The affix कन् comes in the sense of product after the word पिष्ट, the whole word being a Name

This debars मयट् ॥ As पिष्टक ॥ 'cake', (Amarakosha II 9 48)

१५२८ । व्रीहेः पुरोडाशे । ४ । ३ । १४८ ॥

मयट् स्यात् । बिल्वाद्यणोऽपवादः । व्रीहिमयः पुरोडाशः । व्रैहमन्यत् ।

1528 The affix मयट् comes after the word व्रीहि in the sense of a 'Purodâśa'

This debars अण् (IV 3 136 S 1516) Thus व्रीहिमय पुरोडाश 'a sacred cake made of barley' Otherwise व्रैहम् ॥

१५२९ । असंज्ञायां तिलयवाभ्याम् । ४ । ३ । १४९ ॥

तिलमयम् । यवमयम् । संज्ञायां तु तैलम् । यावक ॥

1529 The affix मयट् comes in the sense of 'its product or part", after the words 'tila' and 'yava'—the whole not being a name

Thus तिलमयम् । यवमयम् ॥ Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् "it not being a Name"? Observe तैलम् 'oil,' यावक formed with कन् (यावादिभ्य कन् V 4 29)

१५३० । तालादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १५२ ॥

अण्मयटोरपवाद ॥ तालाद्धनुषि * ॥ तालं धनु । अन्यत्तालमयम् । ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1530 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the words 'tâla &c'

This debars मयट् &c Thus तालं धनु, बार्हिणम्, ऐन्द्रायुधम् ॥

1 तालाद्धनुषि 2 बार्हिण, 3 इन्द्रालिश, 4 इन्द्रादृश, 5 इन्द्रायुध, 6 चय (चाप, चर्म), 7 श्यामक, 8 पीयुक्षा ॥

Vart —The affix अण् comes after ताल, when a 'bow" is meant Thus तालं "a bow made of tâla tree" Otherwise तालमयम् ।

Note —The words ताल and श्यामक being Vriddha words would have taken

मयट् (IV 3 144 S 1524) बर्हिणाम् विकार = बार्हम (by अञ् of IV 3 154 S 1532) then we ought to have added to बार्हम् the affix अञ् by IV 3 155 S 1533 in the sense of 'product or part' The present sûtra prevents that The words इन्द्राविश and इन्द्रादृश are formed by adding क to the roots विश and दृश preceded by the Upapada इन्द्र under Mula vibhujâdi class The lengthening of the अ of Indra is by अन्येषामपि (VI 3 157) The word चण and पीयुक्षा are acute on the middle इन्द्रायुध is final acute by samâsa accent

१५३१ । जातरूपेभ्य परिमाणे । ४ । ३ । १५३ ॥

अण् । बहुवचनात्पर्यायग्रहणम् । हाटक तापनीय सौवर्णो वा निष्क । परिमाणे किम् । हाटकमयी यष्टि ॥

1531 The affix अण् comes after a word denoting 'gold', when the sense is "a weight or measure"

The word जातरूप means 'gold' It is used in the plural in the sûtra indicating that all words synonymous with gold are to be taken

This debars मयट् &c Thus हाटक तापनीयम् सौवर्णो वा निष्क ॥

Why do we say 'meaning a measure' Observe हाटकमयी यष्टि ॥

१५३२ । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् । ४ । ३ । १५४ ॥

शौकम् । बाकम् । राजतम् ॥

1532 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after words expressing living beings, and after रजत &c

Note —This debars अण् &c The affix अञ् has been ordained to come after those words that have anudâtta in the beginning This sutra applies to words other than those having anudâtta in the beginning

Thus —शौकम्, बाकम्, राजतम्, &c

Note —In the class रजतादि those words like रजत कण्टकार &c, which have anudâtta on the beginning and, would have taken अञ् by IV 3 140, S 1520 have been enumerated to prevent the application of मयट् to them

1 रजत, 2 सीस, 3 लोह, 4 उदुम्बर, 5 नीप (नीच, नील), 6 दारु, 7 रोहीतक (रोहितक), 8 विभातक, 9 पीतदारु (कपीत, दारु), 10 तीव्रदारु, 11 त्रिकण्टक, 12 कण्टकार ॥

१५३३ । ञितश्च तत्प्रत्ययात् । ४ । ३ । १५५ ॥

ञितो विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्तदन्तादञ् स्यात्तयोरेवार्थयो । मयटोऽपवाद । शामीलस्य शामीलम् । दाधित्थस्य दाधित्थम् । कापित्थम् । ञित किम् । बैल्वमयम् ॥

1533 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after a word which ends with an affix having an indicatory ञ् such affix denoting its product or part'

The affixes having indicatory ञ denoting product or part, are अञ् (IV 3 139), ढञ् (IV 3 142), अञ् (IV 3 154), वुञ् (IV 3 157), ढञ् (IV 3 159), अञ्, यञ् (IV 3 168) When a tertiary derivative of a word ending with these affixes is to be made, the affix अञ् is used This debars मयट् ॥ Thus शामीलम्, दाधित्थम्, कापित्थम् &c

Why do we say ञित ? Observe बैल्वमयम् ॥ Here मयट् is used after बैल्व and the derivative is formed by अण् of IV 3 136 S 1516 So also वैणमयम् ॥

१५३४ । क्रीतवत्परिमाणात् । ४ । ३ । १५६ ॥

प्राग्वतेष्ठञित्यारभ्य क्रीतार्थे ये प्रत्यया येनोपाधिना परिमाणाद्विहितास्ते तथैव विकारेऽपि स्युः । अणादीनामपवादः । निष्केण क्रीतं नैष्किकम् । एवं निष्कस्य विकारोऽपि नैष्किकः । शतस्य विकारः शत्यः । शतिकः ॥

1534 After a word denoting 'a measure', the affix expressing 'its product or part', is the same as the affix having the sense of purchased

The affixes taught in V 1 18 &c S 1548 &c are the affixes that have the force of क्रीत (V 1 37) These affixes come also after words denoting measure (V 1 19) The same affixes are employed to denote विकार, after words denoting परिमाण ॥ This debars अण &c Thus निष्केन क्रीतम् = नैष्किकम् (V 1 20) It will denote vikâra also, निष्कस्य विकार = नैष्किक formed by ठक् (V 1 20) As शतेनक्रीत = शत्य or शतिकम् (V 1 21), so शतस्य विकार = शत्य or शतिक by ठन् and यत् (V 1 21)

Note —The word वत् in क्रीतवत् indicates that the similarity is complete throughout Thus Sûtra V 1 28 also applies by which the affix is elided. As द्विसहस्र or द्विसाहस्र (V 1 29), द्विनिष्क or द्विनैष्किक ॥ The word परिमाण in this sutra includes संख्या 'the numerals' also, while the technical word परिमाण does not include sankhyâ See IV 1 22 and V 1 19 &c The similarity extends even to the elision of the affix (V 1 28) as, द्विसहस्र, द्विसाहस्र &c

१५३५ । उष्ट्राद्वुञ् । ४ । ३ । १५७ ॥

प्राण्यञोऽपवादः । औष्ट्रकः

1535 The affix वुञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'ushtra'

This debars अञ् (IV 2 154) उष्ट्रस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा = औष्ट्रक ॥

१५३६ । उमोर्णयोर्वा । ४ । ३ । १५८ ॥

औमम् । औमकम् । और्णम् । और्णकम् । वुञभावे यथाक्रममणञौ ।

1536 The affix वुञ् comes optionally in the sense

of 'its product or part', after the words उमा and ऊर्णा ॥

Thus औमम् or औमकम्, और्णम् or और्णकम्।

Note —Umâ has acute on the first syllable by तृणधान्यानां च (Phit II 4) Urṇâ is finally acute, as a Pratipadika

१५३७। एण्या ढञ्। ४। ३। १५९ ॥

एणेयम्। एणस्य तु ऐणम् ॥

1537 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the feminine word एणी ॥

This debars अञ् of IV 3 154 S 1532

Thus ऐणेयं मांसम् 'the flesh of a female black deer' But एणस्य मांसम् = ऐणम् 'the flesh of a male deer', formed by अञ् ॥

१५३८। गोपयसोर्यत्। ४। ३। १६० ॥

गव्यम्। पयस्यम् ॥

1538 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part,' after the words गो and पयस् ॥

Thus गव्यम्, पयस्यम् (VI 1 79 S 63)

१५३९। द्रोश्च। ४। ३। १६१ ॥

द्रुर्वृक्षस्तस्य विकारोऽवयवो वा द्रव्यम् ॥

1539. The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'its product or part', after the word 'dru' (meaning "a tree")

This debars अञ (IV 3 139) Thus द्रु + यत् = द्रव्यम् (VI 1 79 S 63)

१५४०। माने वयः। ४। ३। १६२ ॥

द्रोरित्येव। द्रुवयम्। कौडवं द्रुवयं पाय्यमिति मानार्थक वयम् ॥

1540 The affix वय comes in the sense of 'its product', after the word 'dru,' the word meaning 'a measure'

This debars यत् ॥ As द्रुवयम्, 'a measure' The words द्रुवयम्, कौडव and पाय्यम् are three words denoting measure. (Amarakosha II 9 85)

१५४१। फले लुक्। ४। ३। १६३ ॥

विकारावयवप्रत्ययस्य लुक् स्यात् फले। आमलक्या फलमामलकम्।

1541 The affix denoting 'product or part' is elided by *luk,* when such product or part is 'a fruit'

Thus आमलक्या फल = आमलकी + मयट् लुक् = आमलक 'the fruit of Myrobolans

Note —The fruit is a "product" as well as "part" of a fruit bearing tree

१५४२ । प्लक्षादिभ्योऽण् । ४ । ३ । १६४ ॥

विधानसामर्थ्यान्न लुक् । प्लाक्षम् ॥

1542 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its product or part, it being a fruit,' after the word 'plaksha &c'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus प्लाक्षम् ॥ So also नैयग्रोधम् by the following Sutra

1 प्लक्ष, 2 न्यग्रोध, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 इङ्गुदी, 5 शिग्रु, 6 रुरु 7 ककतु (कर्कन्धु, कर्कन्तु ककतु) 8 बृहती ॥

१५४३ । न्यग्रोधस्य च केवलस्य । ७ । ३ । ५ ॥

अस्य न वृद्धिरैजागमश्च । नैयग्रोधम् ॥

1543 ऐ is placed before the य् of न्यग्रोध, instead of Vriddhi, when the word stands alone, and is not a member of a compound, and is followed by a Taddhita affix with the indicatory ञ्, ण् or क् ॥

As नैयग्रोधम् (=न्यग्रोधस्य विकार) ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when it is alone'? Observe न्यग्रोधमूले भवा शालय = न्यग्रोधमूला ॥ If न्यग्रोध is a derivative word (from न्यग्रोहयति=नीचैर्गतो परोहैर्वर्धते), then it would have been governed by VII 3 3, this separate sûtra is then for the sake of making a restrictive rule (niyama) with regard to this word If it is a primary word then this sutra makes a Vidhi rule The word केवल is a jñâpaka that the rule of Tadâdi applies to this section See VII 3 8, also

१५४४ । जम्ब्वा वा । ४ । ३ । १६५ ॥

जम्बूशब्दात्फलेऽण् वा स्यात् । जाम्बवम् । पक्षे ओरञ् तस्य लुक् । जम्बु ॥

1544 The affix अण् comes optionally in denoting a fruit, after the word 'jambû'

This debars अञ् ॥ Thus जम्बू+अण्=जाम्बव as जाम्बवानि फलानि ॥ But when the general affix अञ् is added, it is elided by IV 3 163 S 1541 As जम्बु+अञ्= (IV 3 139)=जम्बु, as जम्बुनि फलानि (VI 4 8)

१५४५ । लुप् च । ४ । ३ । १६६ ॥

जम्ब्वा फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप् वा स्यात् । लुपि युक्तवत् । जम्ब्वा फल जम्बू ॥ फलपाकशुषामुपसङ्ख्यानम् * व्रीहय । मुद्गा । पुष्पमूलेषु बहुलम् * ॥ मल्लिकाया पुष्प मल्लिका । जात्या पुष्प जाती । विदार्या मूल विदारी । बहुलग्रहणान्नेह । पाटलानि पुष्पाणि । साल्वानि मूलानि । बाहुलकात्क्वचिल्लुक । अशोकम् । करवीरम् ॥

1545 The affix denoting fruit is optionally elided by lup after the word 'jambu'

The word वा is understood here The difference between 'luk' and 'lup' elision is that in the case of 'lup' there is concordance of gender and number See sûtra I 2 51 S 1294 Thus जम्बू + अण्लुप = जम्बू as, जम्बू फल ॥ Optionally जम्ब्वा फल = जम्बु फल, or जाम्बव ॥

Vârt —There is lup elision of the affix denoting fruit, after the words expressing deciduous plants which wither away as soon as the fruit ripens Thus व्रीहि —व्रीहय ब्रुहा ॥

Vart —Diversely so when the affix denotes flowers and roots as, मल्लिकाया पुष्प = मल्लिका नवमल्लिका जाति so also विदार्या मूल = विदारी ॥ अंशुमती । बृहती ॥

In the above example there is concordance By using 'diversely', this concordance does not sometime take place As पाटलानि पुष्पाणि, मल्लानि मूलानि ॥ So अशोकम्, करवीरम्, &c

१५४६ । हरीतक्यादिभ्यश्च । ४ । ३ । १६७ ॥

एभ्य फलप्रत्ययस्य लुप्स्यात् । हरीतक्यादीना लिङ्गमेव प्रकृतिवत् । हरीतक्या फलानि हरीतक्य ॥

1546 The affix denoting 'fruit' is elided by लुप्, after the words 'Harîtakî' &c

Here also there is concordance (I 2, 51 S 1294), As हरीतक्या फल = हरीतकी instead of हरीतक ॥ So also कोशातकी, नखरजनी ॥ According to Patanjali, the concordance is with regard to gender only, the number will be governed by the sense, as हरीतकी फल, हरीतक्य फलानि ॥

1 हरीतकी, 2 कोशातकी, 3 नखरजनी (नखररजनी) 4 शष्कण्डी (शाकण्डी), 5 दाडी, 6 दोडी, 7 श्वेतपाकी, 8 अर्जुनपाकी, 9 द्राक्षा 10 काला, 11 ध्वाक्षा (ध्वाङ्क्षा), 12 गर्भीका (गर्भिका), 13 कण्टकारिका, 14 पिप्पली*, 15 चिञ्चा (चिम्पा), 16 शेफालिका, 17 दडी ॥

१५४७ । कंसीयपरशव्ययोर्यञञौ लुक् च । ४ । ३ । १६८ ॥

कंसीयपरशव्यशब्दाभ्या यञञौ स्तश्छयतोश्च लुक् । कंसाय हित कंसीयम्, तस्य विकार कांस्यम् । परशवे हित परशव्यम् । तस्य विकार पारशव ॥

1547 The affixes यञ् and अञ् come respectively in the sense of 'its product', after the words 'kansîya' and 'paraśavya', and there is luk-elision (of the छ and यत् affixes of those words)

The word कंसीय is formed by छ (V 1 1), and परशव्य is formed by adding यत् (V 1 2) These affixes छ and यत् are elided when the affixes

यञ and अञ are added Thus कंसीय + यञ् = कंस + यञ् = कांस्य so also पारशव from परशव्य , thus परशव्य + अञ् = परशु + अञ = पारशव ॥

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdîvyatîya affixes.

—o—

अथ तद्धित ठगधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXX

THE AFFIX ठक् ॥

१५४८ । प्राग्वहतेष्ठक् । ४ । ४ । १ ॥

तद्वहतीत्यत प्राक् ठगधिक्रियते ॥ तदाहेति माशब्दादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ माशब्द कारि इति य आह स माशब्दिक ॥

1548 The affix ठक् comes as a governing affix, in the senses enumerated hereafter up to sûtra IV 4 76 S 1627

Note —This is an adhikâra sûtra The affix ठक् bears rule from this one forward to the sûtra तद्वहति &c

Vârt —After the words माशब्द &c, the affix 'thak' comes in the sense 'he said that' Thus माशब्द इत्याह=माशब्दिक who says 'don't make noise,' कार्यशब्दिक ॥ This is the case of an affix added to a sentence

Note —Thus in the next sûtra it is said, 'After a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "who plays, digs, conquers, or is conquered" Now this sûtra is incomplete We must read the word ठक् into it Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति=आक्षिक 'who plays with aksha—a dicer' अक्ष+ठक्=आक्षिक (VII 3 50 S 1170)

१५४९ । स्वागतादीनां च । ७ । ३ । ७ ॥

ऐच् न स्यात् । स्वागतमित्याह स्वागतिक । स्वाध्वरिक । स्वङ्गस्यापत्य स्वाङ्गि । व्यङ्गस्यापत्य व्याङ्गि । व्यडस्यापत्य व्याडि ॥ व्यवहारेण चरति व्यावहारिक । स्वपतौ साधु स्वापतेयम् ॥ आहौ प्रभूतादिभ्य * ॥ प्रभूतमाह प्राभूतिक । पार्याप्तिक ॥ पृच्छतौ सुस्नातादिभ्य * ॥ सुस्नात पृच्छति सौस्नातिक । सौखशायनिक । आनुशातिकादि ॥ गच्छतौ परदारादिभ्य * ॥ पारदारिक । गौरुतल्पिक ॥

1549 The prohibition and augment taught in VII 3 3 S 1098, do not apply also to स्वागत &c

As स्वागतिक, (=स्वागतमिति आह), स्वाध्वरिक, (=स्वध्वरेण चरति) स्वाङ्गि, व्याङ्गि, व्याडि (sons of Svanga, Vyanga and Vyada) व्यावहारिक (Vyavahârena charati) and स्वापतेय (=स्वपतौ साधु) ॥ The word व्यवहार does not mean reciprocity of action, for then it would have been governed by VII 3 2 S 1144 स्वपत being a compound with स्व would have been governed by VII 3 4 S 1386 as it is included in the Dvârâdi list, hence its specific mention here The following is the list of svâgatâdi words

I स्वागत 2 स्वध्वर, 3 स्वङ्ग, 4 व्यङ्ग, 5 व्यड, 6 व्यवहार, 7 स्वपति ॥

Vârt —So also after प्रभूत &c in the sense 'he said' as प्रभूतमाह = प्राभूतिक, पार्याप्तिक ॥ These are examples of affixes added to an abverb

Vârt —So also after सुस्नात &c in the sense 'he asks,' as, सुस्नात पृच्छति = सौस्नातिक "Who asks, have you bathed well" सौखरात्रिक, सौखशायनिक ॥

Vârt —So also after परदारा &c in the sense of 'he goes to, or commits adultery with' as परदारान् गच्छति = पारदारिक, गौरुतल्पिक ॥ The word तल्प here refers to "wife"

१५५० । तेन दीव्यति खनति जयति जितम् । ४ । ४ । २ ॥

अक्षैर्दीव्यति आक्षिक । अभ्र्या खनति आभ्रिक । अक्षैर्जयति आक्षिक । अक्षैर्जितमाक्षिकम् ॥

1550 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of, 'he plays', 'he digs', 'he conquers' or 'he is conquered'

Thus अक्षैर्दीव्यति = आक्षिक 'who plays with dice—a dicer' अभ्र्या खनति आभ्रिक कौद्दालिक, अक्षैर्जयतिम् = आक्षिक, अक्षैर्जितम् = आक्षिकम् ॥

१५५१ । संस्कृतम् । ४ । ४ । ३ ॥

दध्ना संस्कृत दाधिकम् । मारीचिकम् ॥

1551 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'refined thereby'

The word संस्कृतम् means 'refining or enhancing the quality of a thing' Thus दध्ना संस्कृत = दाधिकम् 'refined or made tasteful by curd' मारीचिकम् ॥

Note —The separation of this sûtra from the last, is for the sake of the next sûtra, in which the anuvritti of संस्कृत only runs

१५५२ । कुलत्थकोपधादण् । ४ । ४ । ४ ॥

ठकोऽपवाद । कुलत्थै संस्कृत कौलत्थम् । तैत्तिडीकम् ॥

1552 After the word 'kulattha', and after words having a penultimate क्, the affix अण् is added in the sense of 'refined or prepared therewith'

This debars ठक ॥ Thus कौलत्थम्, तैत्तिडीकम्, the two latter being examples of words ending in क ॥

१५५३ । तरति । ४ । ४ । ५ ॥

उडुपेन तरति औडुपिक ॥

1553 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the third

case in construction, in the sense of 'he crosses thereby over the waters'

Thus काण्डप्लवेनतरति = काण्डप्लविक, औडुपिक 'who crosses with a raft'.

१५५४ । गोपुच्छाट्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । ६ ॥

गौपुच्छिक ॥

1554 The affix ठञ् comes after the word 'gopuchchha', in the sense of 'he crosses thereby'

The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent Thus गौपुच्छिक ॥

१५५५ । नौद्व्यचष्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७ ॥

नाविक । घटिक । बाहुभ्या तरति बाहुका स्त्री ॥

1555 The affix ठन् comes after the word नौ and after bases having two syllables, in the sense of 'he crosses there with'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus नावा तरति = नाविक 'a sailor' So also after dissyllabic words as, घटिक, so also बाहुका (बाहुभ्या तरति) in the feminine

Note —The ष in ष्ठन् in the sûtra is not part of the affix, but comes through sandhi rules The feminine of बाहुक being बाहुका ॥ In fact the indicatory ष् occurs in the Fourth book, in sutras IV 4 9 10, 18, 53 and 74

१५५६ । चरति । ४ । ४ । ८ ॥

तृतीयान्तादगच्छति भक्षयतीत्यर्थयोष्ठक् स्यात् । हस्तिना चरति हास्तिक । शाकटिकः । दध्ना भक्षयति दाधिक ॥

1556 After a word in the third case in construction, comes the affix ठक् in the sense of 'he goes on by means thereof'

The word चरति means both to go on and to eat Thus शाकटिक । हास्तिक 'who travels by a car or an elephant' दध्ना भक्षयति = दाधिक 'who gets on, with being fed on curd'

१५५७ । आकर्षात् ष्ठल् । ४ । ४ । ९ ॥

आकर्षो निकषोपल । आकषादिति पाठान्तरम् । तेन चरति आकर्षिक । षित्वान्ङीष् । आकर्षिकी ॥

1557 The affix ष्ठल् comes in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the word 'âkarsha'

Note —This debars ठक् ॥ The ल् is for accent (VI 1 193) The ष of ष्ठल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in IV 4 7. S 1555.

Thus आकर्षेण चरति = आकर्षिक *f* आकर्षिकी ॥ आकर्ष is a touch-stone by which gold is tested Another reading is आकर्षादि ॥

१५५८ । पर्पादिभ्यः ष्ठन् । ४ । ४ । १० ॥

पर्पेण चरति पर्पिकः । पर्पिकी । येन पीठेन पङ्गवश्चरन्ति स पर्पः । अश्विकः । रथिकः ॥

1558 The affix ष्ठन् comes, in the sense of 'he goes on, by means there of' after the words 'parpa' &c

This debars ठक् , the न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI 1 197), and ष् for ङीष् (IV 1 41) Thus पर्पिक *f* पर्पिकी, अश्विक *f* अश्विकी ॥ So also रथिक ॥

1 पर्प, 2 अश्व, 3 अश्वत्थ, 4 रथ, 5 जाल, 6 न्यास, 7 व्याल, 8 पाद पञ्च ॥

१५५९ । श्वगणाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ११ ॥

चात् ष्ठन् ॥

1559 The affix ठञ् as well as the affix ष्ठन्, comes after the word श्वगण, in the sense of 'he goes on by means there of'

This debars ठक् ॥

१५६० । श्वादेरिञि । ७ । ३ । ८ ॥

ऐच्न । श्वभस्त्रस्यापत्यं श्वाभस्त्रिः । श्वादंष्ट्रिः । तदादिविधौ चेदमेव ज्ञापकम् ॥ इकारादावितिवाच्यम् * ॥ श्वगणेन चरति श्वागणिकः । श्वागणिकी । श्वगणिकः । श्वगणिकी ॥

1560 A compound beginning with श्वन्, and followed by the Taddhita affix इञ् is not governed by the prohibition, nor takes the augment, taught in VII 3 4

Thus the descendant of श्वभस्त्र is श्वाभस्त्रि, so also श्वादंष्ट्रि ॥ The word श्वन् is included in the list of Dvârâdi words VII 3, 4, S 1386 The present sutra implies that the rule VII 3 4 applies not only to those words, but to compounds beginning with those words

Vârt —This rule applies when any Taddhita affix beginning with इ follows

Thus श्वगणेन चरति = श्वागणिक 'who lives by dogs' *f* श्वागणिकी ॥ ठञ् श्वगणिक *f* श्वगणिकी ॥

Note —The form श्वागणिक is evolved by the breach of rule VII 3 5 Thus श्वगण + ठञ् ॥ Here by VII 2 117, ञ् requires the Vriddhi of the अ of श्व ॥ But rule VII 3 4 says that instead of Vriddhi, the letter औ comes before व in the case of श्वन् &c The proper form, therefore, would have been शौवगणिक ॥ The irregularity is however, explained by saying that the prohibition contained in VII 3 8 which applies when श्वन् is followed by इञ्, applies also to श्वन् followed by ठञ ॥ In

fact, the rule VII 3 4 does not apply, whenever the word श्वन् is followed by an affix beginning with the letter इ ॥

The prohibition applies, when other Taddhita affixes follow such a word ending with इञ् (an affix beginning with इ) as from श्वाभस्त्रि we have श्वाभस्त्रम (श्वाभस्त्रेरिद) ॥

१५६१ । पदान्तस्यान्यतरस्याम् । ७ । ३ । ६ ॥

श्वादेरङ्गस्य पदशब्दान्तस्येक्वा । श्वापदस्येद श्वापदम । शौवापदम ॥

1561. The rule VII. 3 4 is optionally applied to श्वन् followed by पद ॥

As श्वापदस्येद = श्वापदम or शौवापदम ॥

१५६२ वेतनादिभ्यो जीवति । ४ । ४ । १२ ॥

वेतनेन जीवति वैतनिक. । धानुष्क ॥

1562 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby', after the words 'vetana &c', being in the third case in construction

Thus वेतनेन जीवति = वैतनिक 'who lives upon wages—a menial servant'. In the case of the word धनुर्दण्ड the affix applies to the compound, as well as to the words forming the compound Thus धानुर्दण्डिक, धानुष्कः, दाण्डिकः ॥

1 वेतन, 2 वाहन (वाह), 3 अर्धवाहन (अर्धवाह), 4 धनुर्दण्ड, 5 जाल, 6 वेश (वेस) 7 उपवेश (उपवेष, उपवेस), 8 प्रेषण, 9 उपवस्ति (उपस्ति), 10 सुख, 11 शय्या, 12 शक्ति, 13 उपनिषद्, 14 उपवेश, 15 स्फिज्* (स्फिज), 16 पाद, 17 उपस्थ, 18 उपस्थान,* 19 उपहस्त,* 20 स्रज् ॥

१५६३ वस्नक्रयविक्रयाट्ठन् । ४ । ४ । १३ ॥

वस्नेन मूल्येन जीवति वस्निक । क्रयविक्रयग्रहण सघातविगृहीतार्थम् । क्रयविक्रयिक । क्रयिक । विक्रायिक ॥

1563 The affix ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the words 'vasna', 'kraya' and 'vikraya', being in the 3rd case in construction

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus वस्नेन जीवति = वस्निकः 'who lives by hire, hireling' In the case of क्रय and विक्रय the affix is applied to the words separately, as well as to their compound Thus क्रयविक्रयिक, क्रयिक विक्रयिकः 'a trader'

१५६४ आयुधाच्छ च । ४ । ४ । १४ ॥

चाट्ठन् । आयुधेन जीवति आयुधीय । आयुधिक ॥

1564 The affix छ as well as ठन् comes in the sense of 'he lives thereby' after the word 'âyudha'

१५६८। अण्कुटिलिकाया । ४ । ४ । १८ ॥

कुटिलिका व्याधानां गति विशेष कर्मारोपकरणभूत लोह च । कुटिलिकया हरति मृगानङ्गारान्वा कौटिलिका व्याध कर्मारश्च ॥

1568 The affix अण् comes, in the sense of 'he conveys', after the word कुटिलिका in the third case in construction

Thus कुटिलिकया हरति मृगान् व्याध or (मृगो व्याध)=कौटिलिको व्याध (or मृग) 'a deer which carries (or entices away) into crooked ways' or 'a hunter who hunts by coming stealthily on his prey' कुटिलिकया हरति अङ्गारान्=कौटिलिक कमार 'a blacksmith,—who carries burning coals on an iron forge'

The word कुटिलिका means 'crooked motion, and the iron forge of the blacksmiths'

१५६९ । निर्वृत्तेऽक्षद्यूतादिभ्य । ४ । ४ । १९ ॥

अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तमाक्षद्यूतिक वैरम् ॥

1569 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'completed thereby' after the words 'akshadyûta &c', being in the third case in construction

Thus अक्षद्यूतेन निर्वृत्तम्=आक्षद्यूतिक वैरम् 'enmity—which was growing but has been completed by gambling'

1 अक्षद्यून, 2 जानुप्रहृत (°प्रहृत), 3 जङ्घाप्रहृत, (°प्रहृत), 4 जङ्घाप्रहृत,* 5 पादस्वेदन, 6 कण्टकमर्दन, 7 गतानुगत,° 8 गतागत, 9 यातोपयात, 10 अनुगत ॥

१५७० । क्त्रेर्मम्नित्यम् । ४ । ४ । २० ॥

त्रिप्रत्ययान्तप्रकृतिकात्तृतीयान्तान्निर्वृत्तेऽर्थे मप्स्यान्नित्यम् । कृत्या निर्वृत्त कृत्रिमम् । पक्त्रिमम् ॥

* भावप्रत्ययान्तादिमप् वक्तव्य । पाकेन निर्वृत्त पाकिमम् । त्यागिमम् ॥

1570 The affix मप् comes invariably after the words ending in the affix त्रि, in the sense of 'completed thereby,'

The त्रि here refers to the affix 'ktri' (III 3 88) Thus the root डुपच् takes त्रि and forms पक्त्रि, which is not a complete word but must take the augment मप, to form a full word Thus पच्+क्त्रि+मप्=पक्त्रिमम 'what is completed by being cooked' From डुकृञ् we have कृत्रिमम् ॥

Note —The word नित्य in the sûtra indicates that the affix क्त्रि never comes singly by itself, all words ending in 'Ktri' are invariably followed by मप् also In fact मप् may be regarded as an invariable augment of the affix 'Ktri'

Vârt —After a word ending in an affix denoting 'condition', the affix इमप् is added Thus पाकेन निर्वृत्त=पाकिमम (पच्+घञ् III 3 18+इमप्), so also त्यागिमम सेकिमम कुट्टिमम् ॥

१५७१ । अपमित्ययाचिताभ्यां कक्कनौ । ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

अपमित्येति ल्यबन्तम् । अपमित्य निर्वृत्तं आपमित्यकम् । याचितेन निर्वृत्तं याचितकम् ॥

1571 The affixes 'kak' and 'kan' come respectively after the words 'apamitya' and 'yâchita,' when the sense is that of completion

Thus आपमित्यकम् 'debt', and याचितकम् 'a thing begged for use'

Note —The word अपमित्य is formed from the root मा with the prefix अप, and the sufix क्त्वा (III 4 19) The क्त्वा is changed to ल्यप्, and इ substituted for आ (VI 4 70) The word is an Indeclinable, and therefore the anuvritti of तत् does not run here

१५७२ । संसृष्टे । ४ । ४ । २२ ॥

दध्ना संसृष्टं दाधिकम् ॥

1572, The affix ठक comes, after a word in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

The word तेन is understood here The word संसृष्ट means unification, mixing &c Thus दध्ना संसृष्ट = दाधिकम् 'smeared with curd'

Note —The word 'sanskritam' (IV 4 3) and 'sansrshtam' should be distinguished The former refers to a case where by the combination of two things, a something better is produced, no such idea of bettering is to be found in संसृष्ट ॥

१५७३ । चूर्णादिनिः । ४ । ४ । २३ ॥

चूर्णैः संसृष्टाश्चूर्णिनोऽपूपाः ॥

1573. The affix इनि comes after the word 'chûrna when the sense is mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus चूर्णैः संसृष्टाः = चूर्णिनो ऽपूपाः cakes sprinkled with powder'

१५७४ । लवणाल्लुक् । ४ । ४ । २४ ॥

लवणेन संसृष्टो लवणः सूपः । लवणं शाकम् ॥

1574 The affix ठक् meaning 'mixed therewith is elided by luk, after the word 'lavaṇa'

Thus लवणेन संसृष्ट = लवण 'mixed with salt' as लवण सूप 'soup mixed with salt' So लवण शाक, लवणा यवागू '(I I 51)

Note —The लुक् elision takes place when the word लवण is used as a noun, and not as an adjective

१५७५ । मुद्गादण् । ४ । ४ । २५ ॥

मौद्ग ओदन ॥

1575 The affix अण् comes after the word 'mudga', when the sense is 'mixed therewith'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus मौद्ग ओदन 'rice mixed with mudga pulse

१५७६ । व्यञ्जनैरुपसिक्ते । ४ । ४ २६ ॥

ठक् । दध्ना उपसिक्त दाधिकम् ॥

1576 The affix ठक् comes, after a word denoting a condiment, being in the third case in construction, when the sense is 'sprinkled therewith'

Thus दध्ना उपसिक्त = दाधिकम् 'sprinkled with curd'

Note —Why do we say 'denoting a condiment'? Observe उदकेनोपसिक्त ओदन ॥

१५७७ । ओज सहोऽम्भसा वर्तते । ४ । ४ । २७ ॥

ओजसा वर्तते औजसिक शूर । साहसिकश्चौर । आम्भसिको मत्स्य ॥

1577 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists', after the words 'ojas', 'sahas', and 'ambhas' being in the third case in construction

Thus ओजसा वर्तते = औजसिक शूर 'a hero' lit possessed with energy So also —साहसिक 'a thief' आम्भसिक 'a fish'

१५७८ । तत्प्रत्यनुपूर्वमीपलोमकूलम् । ४ । ४ । २८ ॥

द्वितीया-न्तात्स्माद्वर्तत इत्यस्मिन्नर्थे ठक् स्यात् । क्रियाविशेषणत्वाद्द्वितीया । प्रतीप वर्तते प्रातीपिक । आन्वीपिक । प्रातिलोमिक । आनुलोमिक । प्रातिकूलिक । आनुकूलिक ॥

1578 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of 'it exists,' after 'îpa,' 'loma,' and 'kûla,' preceded by 'anu' and prati,' the word being in the second case in construction

The word तद् shows that the words must be in the second case in construction The verb वर्तते is intransitive, how can it take an object, and how can it be in construction with an objective case? The words in the accusative after the verb वर्तते are not its objects, but are used as adverbs qualifying the sense of the verb, and adverbs are always put in the accusative case Thus प्रतीप वर्तते = प्रातीपिक (प्रतिगता आपो ऽस्मिन्, the आ changed to ई V 4 74 and VI 3 97) retrograde i e 'which is unfavourable' So आन्वीपिक ॥ 'favorable' प्रातिलोमिक 'inverse' आनुलोमिक 'direct' प्रातिकूलिक, आनुकूलिक ॥ The two words प्रातीपिक and आन्वीपिक mean 'unfavourable' and 'favourable' respectively

१५७९ । परिमुखं च । ४ । ४ । २९ ॥

परिमुखं वर्तते पारिमुखिकः । पारिपार्श्विकः ॥

1579 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'it exists,' after the word 'parimukha,' being in the second case in construction

Thus परिमुखं वर्तते = पारिमुखिकः 'being before the face,' 'being near or present'

The word च in the sûtra implies that the affix applies to other words also not mentioned As पारिपार्श्विकः ॥

Note —The word परिमुख is an Avyayîbhâva compound (II 1 12) If परि has the force of exclusion (I 4 88), then पारिमुखिकः will mean 'a servant who always avoids the face of his master स्वामिनो मुखं वर्जयित्वा यः सेवको वर्त्तते," and if परि means 'all round,' then the word will mean "a servant who is always in the presence of his master—यत्र स्वामिनो मुखं ततस्ततो वर्त्तते" ॥

१५८० । प्रयच्छति गर्ह्यम् । ४ । ४ । ३० ॥

द्विगुणार्थं द्विगुणं तत्प्रयच्छति द्वैगुणिकः । त्रैगुणिकः ॥

वृद्धेर्वृधुषिभावो वक्तव्यः * ॥ वार्धुषिकः ।

1580 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he gives', the motive being mean

Thus द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति = द्वैगुणिकः 'a usurer who gives for the sake of double, i, e who charges cent per cent interest The word द्विगुणं means द्विगुणार्थं 'for the sake of double' Similarly त्रैगुणिकः ॥

Vârt —The word वृद्धि is changed to वृधुषि before this affix As, वृद्धिं प्रयच्छति = वार्धुषिकः 'a usurer' 'who gives for the sake of increase' Or the word वृधुषि may be taken as a separate word synonymous with वृद्धि ॥

Note -Why do we say गर्ह्यम् 'with a mean motive' ? Observe द्विगुणं प्रयच्छति अधमर्णः 'the debtor gives double'

१५८१ । कुसीददशैकादशात् ष्ठन्ष्ठचौ । ४ । ४ । ३१ ॥

गर्ह्यार्थाभ्यामाभ्यामेतौ स्तः प्रयच्छतीत्यर्थे । कुसीदं वृद्धिस्तदर्थं द्रव्यं कुसीदं तत्प्रयच्छतीति कुसीदिकः । कुसीदिकी । एकादशार्थत्वादेकादश ते च ते दशस्तुतो दश चेति विग्रहेऽकारः समासान्तः इहैव सूत्रे निपात्यते । दशैकः दशिकः । दशैकादशिकी । दशैकादशान्प्रयच्छतीत्युत्तमर्णः एवंदातृ सन्निनार्थे ॥

1581 The affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् come respectively after the words 'kusîda' and 'daśaikâdaśa', when the sense is 'he gives for a mean motive'

The word कुसीद means 'interest' The lending of ten (दश) on a condition that the borrower will pay eleven (एकादश) after a month is called दशैकादश ॥ This sûtra debars ठक् ॥ The difference between the two affixes ष्ठन् and ष्ठच् is in the accent (VI I 197 and 163) Thus कुसीद + ष्ठन् = कुसीदिक fem कुसीदिकी (IV I 41) So दशैकादशिक fem की ॥

१५८२ । उञ्छति । ४ । ४ । ३२ ॥

बदराण्युञ्छति बादरिक ॥

1582 The affix ठक् comes, after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'who gleans that'.

Thus बदराण्युञ्छति = बादरिक 'who picks up jujubes'

Note —To pick up every grain (कण) fallen on the ground is called उञ्छ ॥

१५८३ । रक्षति । ४ । ४ । ३३ ॥

समाज रक्षति सामाजिक ॥

1583 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the second case in construction, when the sense is 'he aids or protects that'

Thus समाज रक्षति = सामाजिक 'a spectator', lit 'who aids an assembly by his presence'

१५८४ । शब्ददर्दुरं करोति । ४ । ४ । ३४ ॥

शब्द करोति शाब्दिक । दार्दुरिक ॥

1584 The affix ठक् comes after the words 'Śabda' and 'dardura', being in the second case in construction, when the sense is "who makes a sound or a croaking"

Thus शब्दं करोति = शाब्दिकः 'who makes words' i e a grammarian So दार्दुरिक 'who makes a croaking noise like a frog (dardura)' i e a potter

१५८५ । पक्षिमत्स्यमृगान्हन्ति । ४ । ४ । ३५॥

स्वरूपस्य पर्यायाणा विशेषाणा च ग्रहणम् । मत्स्यपर्यायेषु मीनस्यैव । पक्षिणो हन्ति पाक्षिक । शाकुनिक । मायूरिक । मात्स्यिक । मैनिक । शाकुनिक । मार्गिकः । हारिणिक । सारङ्गिकः ॥

1585 The affix ठक् comes after the words in the second case in construction denoting birds, fishes, or wild beasts, when the sense is 'who kills that'.

Thus पक्षिणो हन्ति = पाक्षिक 'a bird-killer' The affix applies not only to the word-forms पक्षि &c, but to words denoting birds &c (See I I 68).

Therefore, we have forms शाकुनिक, मायूरिक ॥ So also with मत्स्य, as, मात्स्यिक, मैनिक, शाकुलिक ॥ So also with मृग, as मार्गिक, हारिणिक, सारङ्गिक ॥

१५८६ । परिपन्थं च तिष्ठति । ४ । ४ । ३६ ॥

अस्माद्द्वितीयान्तात्तिष्ठति हन्ति चेत्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा व्याप्य वा तिष्ठति पारिपन्थिकश्चौरः । परिपन्थं हन्ति पारिपन्थिकः ॥

1586. The affix ठक् comes also in the sense of "who stays", after the word 'paripantham', the word being in the second case in construction

Thus परिपन्थं तिष्ठति = पारिपन्थिक: य पन्थानं वर्जयित्वा तिष्ठति, यो वा पन्थानं व्याप्य तिष्ठति a thief' lit "who stays at roads, a high way man'

Note — The च in the sûtra indicates that the sense of हन्ति 'who kills' of the last is to be connected with this sûtra by the conjunction 'and' Thus परिपन्थं हन्ति = पारिपन्थिक: ॥

The phrase 'being in the second case in construction' is understood in this sûtra, why has then the word परिपन्थम् been shown in the second case in the sûtra, for it is a mere superfluity ? No, it shows the classical form of the word The word परिपन्थ is synonymous with परिपथ, the latter, however, having other senses also

१५८७ । माथोत्तरपदपदव्यनुपदं धावति । ४ । ४ । ३७ ॥

दण्डाकारो माथ: पन्था दण्डमाथ: । दण्डमाथं धावति दाण्डमाथिक: । पादविक: । आनुपदिक: ॥

1587 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who runs", after a word having माथ as its second term, and after the words 'padavî' and 'anupada'

Thus a road (mâtha) straight like a stick (danda) is called दण्डमाथ । From it दण्डमाथं धावति = दाण्डमाथिक 'who runs on a high way' Similarly पादविक, आनुपदिक ॥ The word माथ means 'a way'

१५८८ । आक्रन्दाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ३८ ॥

अस्माट्ठञ् स्याच्चाट्ठक् धावतीत्यर्थे । आक्रन्दं दु:खिना रोदनस्थानं धावति आक्रन्दिक: ॥

1588 The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'âkranda', being in the second case in construction, in the sense of 'who runs'

The word आक्रन्द means 'a place where persons weep' e g a battle-field It also means 'weeping' 'invoking' &c The difference between ठक् and ठञ् is in the accent Thus आक्रन्दं धावति = आक्रन्दिकी or आक्रन्दिक, f आक्रन्दिकी 'a person who runs to a place where cries of distress are heard'

१५८९ पदोत्तरपदं गृह्णाति । ४ । ४ । ३९ ॥

पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति पौर्वपदिक । औत्तरपदिक ॥

1589 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who takes', after a word having 'pada' as its second member, the word being in the second case in construction

Thus पूर्वपदं गृह्णाति = पौर्वपदिक, so also औत्तरपदिक ॥

Note —The word उत्तरपद is used in order to prevent the application of the rule, when पद is preceded by the *affix* बहु ॥

१५९० प्रतिकण्ठार्थललामं च । ४ । ४ । ४० ॥

एभ्यो गृह्णात्यर्थे ठक् स्यात् । प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति प्रातिकण्ठिक । आर्थिक । लालामिक ॥

1590 The affix ठक comes in the sense of 'who takes' after the words 'pratikantha', 'artha', and 'lalâma' being in the second-case in construction

Thus प्रतिकण्ठं गृह्णाति = प्रातिकण्ठिक ॥ So also आर्थिक लालामिक ॥

Note —The word प्रतिकण्ठ here is an Avyayi bhâva meaning कण्ठं कण्ठं प्रति, and not प्रतिगत कण्ठ = प्रतिकण्ठ, for to the latter no affix is added

१५९१ धर्मं चरति । ४ । ४ । ४१ ॥

धार्मिक ॥ अधर्माच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ आधर्मिक ॥

1591 The affix ठक् comes after the word 'dharma', being in the second case in construction in the sense of 'who practises that'

Thus धर्मं चरति = धार्मिक "religious'

Vârtika —It must be stated that the affix ठक् comes after adharma also As आधर्मिक, "irreligious, undutiful",

१५९२ प्रतिपथमेति ठंश्च । ४ । ४ । ४२ ॥

प्रतिपथमेति प्रातिपथिक ॥

1592 The affix ठन् as well as ठक् comes after the word 'prati-patham', in the second-case in construction, in the sense of 'who goes.'

Thus प्रतिपथमेति = प्रतिपथिकः or प्रातिपथिकः "who goes along the road" the ठक् causes Vriddhi (VII 2 118) whilst ठन् does not

१५९३ । समवायान्समवैति । ४ । ४ । ४३ ॥

सामवायिक । सामूहिक ॥

1593 The affix ठक् comes after words in the second case in construction, denoting combination, in the sense of 'who assembles there.'

Thus समवायान् समवैति = सामवायिक 'who assembles in an assembly' So also सामजिक, सामूहिकः, सान्निवेशिक ॥

Note —The word समवाय means combination, collection &c The word समवायान् is in the plural number in the sûtra, indicating that the svarupa-vidhi (I 1 69) does not apply, the affix being applied not only to the word-form समवाय but to its synonyms also समवैति means coming together

१५९४ । परिषदो ण्य । ४ । ४ । ४४ ॥

परिषद् समवैति पारिषद्य ॥

1594 The affix ण्य comes after the word 'parishad, in the sense of 'who assembles there'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus परिषद समवैति = पारिषद्य 'one present in a council, an assessor, a councillor'

१५९५ । सेनाया वा । ४ । ४ । ४५ ॥

ण्य स्यात्पक्षे ठक् । सैन्या । सैनिकाः ॥

1195 The affix ण्य comes optionally in the sense of 'who assembles there,' after the word senâ

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative Thus सेना समवैति = सैन्य or सैनिक 'a soldier a member of an army'

१५९६ । संज्ञायां ललाटकुक्कुट्यौ पश्यति । ४ । ४ । ४६ ॥

ललाट पश्यति लालाटिक सेवकः । कुक्कुटीशब्देन तत्पाताई स्वल्पदेशो लक्ष्यते । कौक्कुटिको भिक्षु ॥

1596 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who sees that,' after the words 'lalâta' and 'kukkutî', in the second case in construction, the whole word being a Name

Thus ललाट पश्यति = लालाटिक 'a non attentive servant' lit 'who always looks at the fore head of his master from a distance, keeps himself aloof ,does not come near to perform any work' So also कौक्कुटिक 'a religious mendicant, a Bhikshu' The space of ground over which a hen can fly without falling, is to be understood here by the word कुक्कुटी ॥ In other words, a small space of ground, for hens cannot sustain their flight for a long distance Therefore, owing to the smallness of space, the mendicant walks looking down over the

ground, and hence he is called कौक्कुटिक ॥ The word also means 'a hypocrite with down cast eyes'

१५९७ । तस्य धर्म्यम् । ४ । ४ । ४७ ॥

आपणस्य धर्म्यमापणिकम ॥

1597 The affix ठक् comes after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'its usage'

The word धर्म्य means 'usual,' 'relating to custom' The word तस्य shows the case of the word Thus शुल्कशालाया धर्म्य = शौल्कशालिक 'the custom house laws or usages' So also आकरिकम्, आपणिकम, गौल्मिकम ॥

१५९८ । अण् महिष्यादिभ्यः । ४ । ४ । ४८ ॥

महिष्या धर्म्यं माहिषम । याजमानम ॥

1598 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'its law', after the word 'mahishî' &c

This debars thak Thus महिष्या धर्म्य = माहिषम 'the usages of queens So याजमानम ॥

1 महिषी 2 प्रजापति, 3 प्रजावति, 4 प्रलेपिका, 5 विलेपिका, 6 अनुलेपिका, 7 पुरोहित, 8 मणिपाली, 9 अनुचारक (अनुवारक), 10 होतृ 11 यजमान ॥

१५९९ । ऋतोऽञ् । ४ । ४ । ४९ ॥

यातुधर्म्यं यात्रम् ॥ नराच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ नरस्य धर्म्या नारी ॥ विशसितुरिड्लोपश्चाञ्च वक्तव्य * ॥ विशसितुर्धर्म्य वैशस्तम् ॥ विभाजयितुर्णिलोपश्चाञ्च वाच्य * ॥ विभाजयितुर्धर्म्यं वभाजित्रम् ॥

1599 The affix अञ् comes in the sense of 'its law', after a nominal-stem ending in ऋ ॥

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus यातु धर्म्यम् = यात्रम 'the office of a Yâtri, i e a pilgrim'

Vârt —So also after the word नर As नरस्य धर्म्या = नारी ॥

Vârt —So also after the word विशसितृ, the इट् affix being elided Thus विशसितृ + अञ् = वैशस्तम ॥

Vârt —So also after the word विभाजयितृ its णि affix also being elided Thus विभाजयितृ + अञ् = वैभाजित्रम् ॥

१६०० । अवक्रय । ४ । ४ । ५० ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताट्ठक् स्यादवक्रयेऽर्थे । आपणस्यावक्रय आपणिक । राजग्राह्य द्रव्यमवक्रय ।

1600 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'its tax after a word in the sixth case in construction

The word अवक्रय means, 'Government tax,' 'price,' 'wages,' 'rent &c coming from the root अवक्री 'to purchase, Thus आपणस्य अवक्रय = आपणिक ॥

Note —Are not धर्म्य (IV 4 47) and अवक्रय the same? No Dharmya is a legal due, and religious, while an 'avakraya' may be a tax exacted from a people by oppression and so transgressing dharma

१६०१। तदस्य पण्यम ।४।४।५१॥

अपूपा पण्यमस्य आपूपिक ॥

1601 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after a word in the first case in construction denoting the thing to be sold.

Thus अपूपा पण्य अस्य = आपूपिक 'a cake-vendor'

१६०२। लवणाट्ठञ् ।४।४।५२॥

लावणिक ॥

1602 The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the word 'lavaṇa'

This debars ठक्, the difference being in accent Thus लवणं पण्यमस्य = लावणिक 'a salt-vendor'

१६०३। किसरादिभ्यः ष्ठन् ।४।४।५३॥

किसर पण्यमस्य किसरिक । षित्वान्ङीष् । किसरिकी । किसर, उशीर, नलद इत्यादि । किसरादयः सर्वे सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेषवाचिन ॥

1603 The affix ष्ठन् comes in the sense of 'this is whose saleable commodity,' after the words 'kisara' &c

This debars ठक् ॥ The word किसर &c all denote perfumes Thus किसरा पण्यमस्य = किसरिक f किसरिकी (IV 1 41) नैरदिक f नरदिकी ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीष् as the affix has an indicatory ष ॥

1 किसर (किशर), 2 नरद, 3 नलद, 4 स्थागल*, 5 तगर, 6 गुग्गुलु 7 उशीर 8 हरिद्रा, 9 हरिद्रु*, 10 पर्णी*, 11 सुमङ्गल, 12 हरिद्रायणी ॥ All these words denote different kinds of sweet scents

१६०४। शलालुनोऽन्यतरस्याम् ।४।४।५४॥

छन्दस्यात् पक्षे ठक् । शालालुक । शालालुकी । शलालुक । शलालुकी । शलालु सुगन्धिद्रव्यविशेष ॥

1604 The affix ष्ठन् comes optionally, in the case of 'this is whose saleable commodity' after the word 'śalâlun'

This debars ठक which comes in the alternative शलालु is a kind of

sweet scent Thus शलालु पण्यमस्य = शैलालुक / शलालुकी ॥ In the alternative with ठक् शालालुकं, f शालालुकी ॥

१६०५ । शिल्पम् । ४ । ४ । ५५ ॥

मृदङ्गवादन शिल्पमस्य मार्दङ्गिक ॥

1605 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose art', after a word denoting art, in the first case in construction

Thus मृदङ्गवादन शिल्पमस्य = मार्दङ्गिकं "a drummer", "an expert in playing on mṛidanga drum"

१६०६ । मड्डुकझर्झरादणन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ५६ ॥

मड्डुकवादन शिल्पमस्य माड्डुक । माड्डुकिक । झार्झर । झार्झरिक ॥

1606 The affix अण् comes optionally in the sense of 'this is whose art', after the words 'madduka', and 'jharjhara'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative Thus मड्डुकवादन शिल्पमस्य = माड्डुक or माड्डुकिक, so also झार्झर and झार्झरिक ॥

१६०७ । प्रहरणम् । ४ । ४ । ५७ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । असि प्रहरणमस्य आसिक । धानुष्क ॥

1607 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after a word denoting 'a weapon', and being in the first case in construction

Thus असि प्रहरणमस्य = आसिक 'a swordsman' So धानुष्क ॥

१६०८ । परश्वधाट्ठञ्च । ४ । ४ । ५८ ॥

पारश्वधिक ॥

1608 The affix ठञ् as well as ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose weapon', after the word परश्वध ॥

This affix ठक् is added by च, the difference being in accent Thus पारश्वधिकं or पारश्वधिक ॥ परश्वध means 'an axe'

१६०९ । शक्तियष्ट्योरीकक् । ४ । ४ । ५९ ॥

शाक्तीक । याष्टीक ॥

1609 The affix ईकक् comes in the sense of "this is whose weapon", after the words 'śakti' and 'yashti'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus शक्ति प्रहरणमस्य = शाक्तिक, So also याष्टीक ॥

१६१० । अस्ति नास्ति दिष्ट मति । ४ । ४ । ६० ॥

तदस्यत्येव । अस्ति परलोक इत्येव मतिर्यस्य स आस्तिक । नास्तीति मतिर्यस्य स नास्तिक । दिष्टमिति मतिर्यस्य स दैष्टिक ॥

1610 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'this is whose belief', after the words 'asti', 'nâsti' and 'dishta',

Thus अस्तिमतिरस्य = आस्तिक 'who believes that it is' i e the here after exists नास्तिक 'whose belief is that there is no here after', an athiest दैष्टिक 'whose belief is that it is fate', a fatalist, दिष्ट = दैव 'fate'

Note —The affix does not apply in the sense of belief in general, but to a particular sort of belief Thus परलोकोऽस्ति इति यस्य मतिरस्ति स आस्तिक an Astika is he who believes that the Hereafter is Contrary to him is a नास्तिक who does not believe in a Hereafter A person who believes what is demonstrated by proof, and nothing else, may also be called दैष्टिक 'a positivist' These various other senses are to be found from dictionary and general literature

१६११ । शीलम् । ४ । ४ । ६१ ॥

अपूपभक्षण शीलमस्य आपूपिक ॥

1611 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this', after a word in the first case in construction.

Thus अपूपभक्षण शीलमस्य = आपूपिक 'one whose habit is to eat cakes'

Note —The act of eating, and its habit are qualities understood in the sense of the affix

१६१२ । छत्रादिभ्यो ण । ४ । ४ । ६२ ॥

गुरोर्दोषाणामावरण छत्र तच्छीलमस्य छात्र ॥

1612 The affix ण comes in the sense of 'whose habit is this' after the words 'chhatra &c'

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus छत्र शीलमस्य = छात्र 'a pupil', lit 'whose habit is to cover (chhadan) the weaknesses of the teacher'

Note —The word स्था occurs in the list It must always be prefixed by some upasarga, thus आस्था संस्था, अवस्था &c

According to Patanjali छात्र means 'a pupil, because, गुरुश्छत्रवत् गुरुणा शिष्यश्छत्रवत् छाद्य "a preceptor is like an Umbrella, the preceptor covers or protects the pupil like an umbrella" Or शिष्येण च गुरुश्छत्रवत् परिपाल्य 'a pupil ought to maintain or protect his preceptor, as an Umbrella'

1 छत्र, 2 शिक्षा 3 प्ररोह (पुरोह), 4 स्था (आस्था, संस्था अवस्था), 5 बुभुक्षा, 6 चुरा, 7 तितिक्षा*, 8 उपस्थान, 9 कृषि (ऋषि) 10 कर्मन्, 11 विश्वधा, 12 तपस्, 13 सत्य, 14 अनृत,

15 विशाखा*, 16 विशिका (शिषिका), 17 भद्रा*, 18 उपस्थान*, 19 पुरोडा (?)*, 20 भिक्षा*, 21 शुक्षा*, 22 मन्द्र ।

१६१३ । कार्मस्ताच्छील्ये । ६ । ४ । १७२ ॥

कार्म इति ताच्छील्ये णे टिलोपो निपात्यते । कर्मशील कार्म । नस्तद्धिते इत्येव सिद्धे भयकार्थ ताच्छीलिके णेऽपि । तेन चौरी तापसीत्यादि सिद्धम् । ताच्छील्ये किम् । कार्मण ॥

1613 कार्म is irregularly formed from कर्मन्, by the elision of the final अन्, when the sense is 'accustomed to such an occupation or proficient therein'

This is formed by ण affix (IV 4 62 S. 1612) if this is the case, then by VI 4 144 S 679 the form कार्म is regularly evolved The fact is, that ण and अण affixes, in the sense of tâchchhîlika are considered as one, and therefore VI 4 167 S 1155 would have prevented the elision of the final अन् syllable. In fact this proves the existence of the following maxim —ताच्छीलिके णेऽण् कृतानि भवन्ति ॥ " The same operations which are occasioned by the addition of the affix अण्, take place, whenever the affix ण is added in the sense of one accustomed to that " Thus though ङीप् is added to अण्-formed words, it is also added to ण—formed words, in the feminine as चौरी , तापसी &c The ण taught in V 2 101 S 1908 and III 1 140, S 2902 is excepted Why do we say, having the sense of accustomed to that ? Observe कर्मण इदम्=कार्मणम् ॥

१६१४ । कर्माध्ययने वृत्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६३ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्षष्ठ्यर्थे ठक् स्यादध्ययने वृत्ता या क्रिया सा चेत्प्रथमान्तस्यार्थ । ऐकान्यिक । यस्याध्ययने प्रवृत्तस्य परीक्षाकाले विपरीतोच्चारणरूप स्खलितमेक जात स ॥

1614 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "this is his act, occuring in study" after a word in the first case in construction, if such a word is an act (karma) which has occurred (vṛittam) in study (adhyayana)

Thus एकमन्यदध्ययने कर्मवृत्तमस्य=ऐकान्यिक 'a pupil who commits one (एक) error (अन्यत्) in reading', &c literal translation being something like " one errorist " He whose, in recitation, at the time of examination, there is the occurrence of one mistake or false reading, is called ऐकान्यिक ॥ In short, in giving explanatory analysis of taddhita words like ऐकान्यिक &c, the whole phrase अध्ययने कर्मवृत्तम् must be employed

१६१५ । बह्वच्पूर्वपदाट्ठच् । ४ । ४ । ६४ ॥

प्राग्विषये । द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तान्यस्य द्वादशान्यिक । द्वादशापपाठा अस्य जाता इत्यर्थ ॥

1615 The affix ठञ् comes, in the sense of 'this is whose act occurring in study', after a compound having a polysyllabic word as a prior member

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus —द्वादशान्यानि कर्माण्यध्ययने वृत्तानि अस्य = द्वादशान्यिक 'an examinee who commits twelve mistakes in his reading' So त्रयोदशान्यिक चतुर्दशान्यिक ॥ The word अन्यत् in these sutras means the 'error', especially in accent, i e he who makes an accent अनुदात्त which ought to be udâtta, or *vice versa*

१६१६ । हितं भक्षा· । ४ । ४ । ६५ ॥

अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै आपूपिक ॥

1616 The affix ठक् comes after a word expressing food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is wholesome diet for whom"

Thus अपूपभक्षणं हितमस्मै = आपूपिक 'He for whom cake is good food' i e who eats cakes with benefit, or who is fond of cakes So also शाष्कुलिक , मौदकिक ॥ In analysing these taddhitas, such as आपूपिक &c, the word हित or its synonym, and a verb denoting eating should be employed

Note —The words तद् and अस्य (IV 4 51) are understood The word हितं governs dative (II 3 13, S 570 Vart) But the sûtra is तदस्य हितं भक्षा , the word अस्य being in the genitive case, how is this? Here अस्य should be changed to dative viz तदस्मै हितं भक्षा 'this *for whom* is wholesome diet' The best way, however, to remove this objection is to read sûtras 65, and 66 in this wise
65 हितं भक्षा तदस्मै and 66 दीयते नियुक्त ॥

१६१७ । तदस्मै दीयते नियुक्तम् । ४ । ४ । ६६ ॥

अग्रभोजनं नियतं दीयते अस्मै आग्रभोजनिक ॥

1617 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "to whom this is to be given rightfully", after a word expressing the thing to be given, in the first (tad) case in construction, the force of the affix being that of a dative (asmai)

The word दीयते नियुक्त means नियोगेन i e अव्यभिचारेण दीयते 'to be given by appointment or rightfully' Thus अग्रे भोजनमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते = आग्रभोजनिक 'a Brâhmana always entitled to occupy the foremost seat at dinner'

Note —Some say that the word नियुक्त means नित्य 'always' According to them आपूपिक would mean अपूपा नित्यमस्मै दीयन्ते 'to whom always cakes are given'

१६१८ । श्राणामांसौदनाट्टिठन् । ४ । ४ । ६७ ॥

आणा नियुक्तं दीयतेऽस्मै आणिक । आणिकी । मांसौदनग्रहण सघातविगृहीतार्थम् । मांसौद-निक । मांसिक । ओदनिक ॥

1618 The affix टिठन् comes in the sense of 'to whom this is to be given rightfully', after the words आणा and मांसौदन ॥

This टिठन् debars ठक् ॥ The ट् of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the ट् indicates that the feminine is formed by ङीप् (IV 1 15) Thus आणा नियुक्तमस्मै दीयते = आणिक f आणिकी 'who is entitled to get rice gruel' So also मांसौदनिक f मांसौदनिकी ॥ The affix टिठन् applies to मांस and ओदन separately also (But ठञ् cannot be applied to ओदन as it would cause Vṛiddhi (VII 2 117) which टिठन् does not) Thus ओदन् + टिठन् = ओदनिक f ओदनिकी ॥ With ठञ् the form would have been औदनिक which is not wanted

Note —The difference between ठक् and टिठन् is in accent, the former having udâtta on the final (VI I 165) the latter on the initial (VI 1 197) The feminine of ठक् and टिठन् will both be formed by ङीप् (IV I 15) Now the affix ठञ् resembles टिठन् both in accent (VI I 197) and in feminine (IV 1 15) Why was not ठञ् used instead of टिठन्, for it would have produced exactly the same form? True, as regards the words आणा and मांसौदन the affix ठञ् might have been employed instead of टिठन् ॥

The words आणा is Past Participle (क्त) of श्रा 'to cook' The श्रा is not changed to शृ as required by VI 1 27 This is an anomaly The nishthâ त is changed to ण (VIII 2 43) The form श्राता is also found, as in VI 1 36, and the regular form is शृत = क्षीरम् (VI 1 27)

१६१९ । भक्तादणन्यतरस्याम् । ४ । ४ । ६८ ॥

पक्षे ठक् । भक्तमस्मै नियुक्तं दीयते भाक्त । भाक्तिक ॥

1619 The affix अण् comes optionally after the word bhakta, in the sense of 'whom this is to be given rightfully'

This debars ठक् which comes in the alternative Thus भक्तमस्मै दीयते नियुक्त = भाक्त ॥ In the alternative भाक्तिक 'a regularly fed' 'i e a retainer'

१६२० । तत्र नियुक्त । ४ । ४ । ६९ ॥

आकरे नियुक्त आकरिक ॥

1620 The affix ठक comes, in the sense 'of appointed there,' after a word in the seventh case (tatra) in construction

Thus आकरे नियुक्त = आकरिक 'a superintendent of the mines'

Note —The word तत्रनियुक्त is a Tatpurusha compound formed by II 1 46

S 723 The word niyukta here has a different meaning from that in IV 4 66, S 1617 hence its repetition here

१६२१ । अगारान्ताट्ठन् । ४ । ४ । ७० ॥

देवागारे नियुक्तो देवागारिक ॥

1621 The affix ठन् comes in the sense of "appointed there," after a word ending with 'agâra'

This debars ठक्। The difference is in accent and want of Vṛiddhi Thus देवागारे नियुक्त =देवागारिक ॥

१६२२ । अध्यायिन्यदेशकालात् । ४ । ४ । ७१ ॥

निषिद्धदेशकालवाचकाट्ठक् स्यादध्येतरि । श्मशानेऽधीते श्माशानिक । चतुर्दश्यामधीते चातुर्दशिक ॥

1622 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of "who studies there," after a word in the 7th case in construction, denoting an improper place or time

The word अदेशकाल means the time or place of study, which is prohibited by sacred institutes अध्यायिन् means one who studies Thus श्मशानेऽधीते = श्माशानिक 'who reads in a funeral ground' So also चतुर्दश्यामधीते = चातुर्दशिक, 'who reads on the 14th lunar day'

Note —Why do we say 'improper time and place? Observe स्रुघ्नेऽधीते पूर्वाह्णेऽधीते ॥

१६२३ । कठिनान्तप्रस्तारसंस्थानेषु व्यवहरति । ४ । ४ । ७२ ॥

तत्रेत्येव । वंशकठिने व्यवहरति वांशकठिनिक । वंशा वेणवः कठिना यस्मिन्देशे स वंशकठिनस्तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया ता तथैवानुतिष्ठतीत्यर्थ । प्रास्तारिक । सांस्थानिक ॥

1623 The affix ठक् comes, in the sense of "who transacts business there in," after compounds ending in 'kathina, and after 'prastâra' and 'sansthâna,' being in the seventh case in construction

Thus वंशकठिने व्यवहरति = वांशकठिनिक 'whose occupation is in a bamboo thicket.' or 'who does what is proper to be done in such a place' i, e तस्मिन्देशे या क्रिया यथानुष्ठेया ता तथैवानुतिष्ठति ॥ So also प्रास्तारिक, सांस्थानिक ॥

१६२४ । निकटे वसति । ४ । ४ । ७३ ॥

नैकटिको भिक्षु ॥

1624 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'who dwells', after the locative word 'nikaṭa'

Thus निकटे वसति = नैकटिक 'an ascetic, because a sannyâsî lives *near* the city, and enters the city only for the sake of begging, but does not live therein"

Note —This rule applies in forming epithets, denoting such persons, who are allowed under the Sacred Institutes, to dwell near human habitations Thus आरण्यका are those ascetics who are ordained to dwell in forests, at least two miles away from human habitations नैकटिका are those ascetics who are allowed by the rule of their Order to live near human habitations

१६२५ । आवसथात् छल् । ४ । ४ । ७४ ॥

आवसथे वसति आवसथिक । षित्वान्ङीष् आवसथिकी ।
आकषात्पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्य कुसीदसूत्राच्च ।
आवसथात्किसरादे षित षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥
षडिति सूत्रषट्केन विहिता इत्यर्थ । प्रत्ययास्तु सप्त ॥

1625 The affix छल् comes in the sense of 'who dwells there,' after the word 'âvasatha' in the seventh case in construction

The ल् of छल् is for accent (VI 1 193 S 3676), the ष् is for ङीष् (IV 1 41 S 498) Thus आवसथे वसति = आवसथिक who dwells in a house' i e a house holder as opposed to an ascetic The feminine will be आवसथिकी ॥ So far was the scope of ठक् as ordained in IV 4. 1 S 1548 Henceforward other affixes will be ordained

The ष of छल् here is a part of the affix, contrary to what it was in sûtra IV 4 7 S 1555 To remove the doubt where ष is the part of an affix, and where it is not, the following mnemonic verse has been composed "आकषात् पर्पादेर्भस्त्रादिभ्य कुसीदसूत्राच्च, आवसथात् किसरादेः षित षडेते ठगधिकारे ॥ In the six sûtras IV 4 9, 10, 16, 31, 74, and 53, S 1557, 1558, 1566, 1581, 1625, and 1603 the affixes have indicatory 'sh' i e they are part of the affix' Though the sûtras are six, the number of affixes taught therein is seven Here ष being इत्, the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV 1 41)

Here ends the chapter on Thagadhikâra.

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अथ तद्धित प्राग्घितीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXI

PRÂG GHITÎYA AFFIXES.

१६२६ । प्राग्घिताद्यत् । ४ । ४ । ७५ ॥

तस्मैहितमित्यत प्राक् यदधिक्रियते ॥

1626 In each aphorism from this one forward to 'tasmai hitam' (V 1 5 S 1665), the affix यत् bears rule

Note —Thus in the next sûtra तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् we must read the affix यत् ॥ रथ्य, युग्य, प्रासङ्ग्य ॥

१६२७ । तद्वहति रथयुगप्रासङ्गम् । ४ । ४ । ७६ ॥

रथं वहति रथ्य । युग्य । वत्साना दमनकाले स्कन्धे यत् काष्ठमासज्यते स प्रासङ्ग । तं वहति प्रासङ्ग्य ॥

1627 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'ratha', 'yuga', and 'prâsanga', being in the second case in construction

Thus रथं वहति = रथ्य 'what bears a car' a carriage horse Similarly युग्य 'a yoke-bearing ox', प्रासङ्ग्य 'being trained in a break' प्रासङ्गः is a piece of wood placed on the neck of colts, at the time of breaking

Note —This rule applies to compounds ending with ratha, as परमरथ्य ॥ See IV 3 121, 123 S 1501, 1503 also That which carries will be called 'carrier' or वोढृ therefore रथस्य वोढृ will get the affix यत् by IV 2 120 S 1500 read with IV 3 121 S 1501 Its special mention here indicates that the affix will come, even after Dvigu compounds and will not be elided by IV 88 1 S 1080

Thus द्वौ रथौ वहति = द्विरथ्य ॥ The tadanta vidhi appli to this word as we have shown under IV 3 121 S 1501 The word युग्य has been already formed by the krit affix (III 1 121, S 2873), that युग्य differs from the present in accent, when the word takes the negative particle, for that was by क्यप् and this is by यत्, and therefore by VI 2 156 S 3890, अयुग्यम् will be finally acute when formed by यत् ॥ The word युग must mean 'the portion of a car' for the application of this rule, and not a cycle of time &c Therefore not here युग वहति राजा कालि द्वापर वा ॥

१६२८ । धुरो यड्ढकौ । ४ । ४ । ७७ ॥

हलि चेति दीर्घ प्राप्ते ॥

1628 The affixes यत् and ढक् come in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'dhura' in the second case in construction

Thus धुरं वहति = धुर्यः (formed by यत्) the lengthening ordained by VIII 2 77 S 354 is prevented by the next sûtra, because धुर् is a Bha stem, or धौरेय (formed by ढक् VII 1 2 S 475) 'a beast of burden'

Note —This sûtra might have stood as धुरो ढक् च, for यत् would have been read into it from IV 4 75 S 1626

१६२९ । न भ कुर्छुराम् । ८ । २ । ७९ ॥

भस्य कुर्छुरोश्चोपधाया दीर्घो न स्यात् । धुर्यः । धौरेयः ॥

1629 The lengthening of the vowel does not take place under VIII 2 77 S 354, when the Nominal stem ending in र् or व् is called Bha (i e when a य् follows), and also not in कुर् and छुर् ॥

Thus धुर्यः (धुरं वहति IV 4, 77 S 1628 or धुरि साधु) ॥ Or धौरेय with dhak

Note —Why have we qualified the word भ by saying that it must end in र् or व्? Observe प्रतिदीव्ना, प्रतिदीव्ने ॥ For here the stem which ends in व् is not Bha, and the stem which is Bha does not end in व् but in न् ॥

१६३० । ख सर्वधुरात् । ४ । ४ । ७८ ॥

सर्वधुरं वहतीति सर्वधुरीणः ॥

1630 The affix 'kha' comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the word 'sarva-dhurâ', being in accusative construction

Thus सर्वधुरां वहति = सर्वधुरीणः (VII 1 2 S 475)

Note —The affix ख applies to other componnds also ending in धुर् e g उत्तरधुरीणः, दक्षिणधुरीणः ॥ The word सर्वधुर is a compound of सर्वा + धुर् (II 1 49 S 726), the samâsânta अ being added by V 4 74 S 940 The word धू being feminine, the whole compound would be feminine by II 4 26 S 812 The word सर्वधुरात् in the sûtra should not be taken, therefore, as regulating the gender, for though it is in the masculine gender, the affix comes after the feminine word In fact सर्वधुर in the sûtra should be taken as a nominal stem or prâtipadika equal to सर्वधुरा ॥

१६३१ । एकधुराल्लुक्च । ४ । ४ । ७९ ॥

एकधुरं वहति एकधुरीणः । एकधुरः ॥

1631 The affix 'kha' comes in the second case in construction, and the affix is optionally elided also

The elision is optional Thus एकधुरम् वहति = एकधुरीण or एकधुर ॥

Note —The compounding is taddhitârtha (एका धुरा वहति) to which is added the samâsânta अ and then the affix ख ॥

१६३२ । शकटादण् । ४ । ४ । ८० ॥

शकट वहति शाकटो गौ ॥

1632 The affix अण् comes in the sense of 'what bears it,' after the word शकट in the second case in construction

Thus शकट वहति = शाकट 'an ox' i e what bears a car

Note —This could be evolved by तस्येदम् अण् as शाकटस्य वोढृ = शाकट ॥ The specification indicates that tadanta-vidhi applies here, as द्वे शकटे वहति = द्वैशाकट, and the affix is not elided (IV 1 88 S 1080)

१६३३ । हलसीराट्ठक् । ४ । ४ । ८१ ॥

हल वहति हालिक । सैरिक ॥

1633 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'what bears it', after the words 'hala' and 'sîra', in the 2nd case in construction

Thus हल वहति = हालिक 'a ploughman,' सैरिक a plough ox'

Note —The ठक् would have come by IV 3 124 S 1504 the specification shows tadantavidhi and non elision, as द्वैहालिक, बैसीरिकः ॥

१६३४ । संज्ञायां जन्या । ४ । ४ । ८२ ॥

जनी वधू ता वहति प्रापयति जन्या ॥

1634 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what bears it after the word 'janî,' being in the 2nd case in construction, the whole word being a Name

Thus जनीं वहति = जन्य 'a friend of a bridegroom,' fem जन्या 'a bride's-maid' The word जनी means 'bride' जन्या lit means 'what bears the bride' i e who carries the coy bride to the bride-groom at the time of play &c

Kâlidâsa has used it in the sense of the bearers of the vehicle in which the bride goes As यातेति जन्यानवदत् कुमारी ॥

१६३५ । विध्यत्यधनुषा । ४ । ४ । ८३ ॥

द्वितीयान्ताद्विध्यतीत्यर्थे यत्स्यान्न चेत्तत्र धनु करणम् । पादौ विध्यन्ति पद्या शर्करा ॥

1635 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'what pierces it', after a word in the accusative case in construction, provided that, it is not a bow, with which anything is pierced

Thus पादौ विध्यन्ति = पद्या (VI 3 53, S 991) शर्करा 'what pierce the feet' i e pebbles

Note —Why do we say "provided it is not a bow, अधनुषा"? Observe पादौ विध्यति धनुषा, no affix is added here This exclusion of धनुष् indicates that the act of piercing must be such as not to be done by a bow &c Therefore the affix does not apply to cases like these चौर विध्यति, शत्रुविध्यति ॥

१६३६ । धनगण लब्धा । ४ । ४ । ८४ ॥

तृजन्तमेतत् । धन लब्धा धन्य । गण लब्धा गण्य ॥

1636 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the words 'dhana,' and 'gana,' being in the second case in construction

Thus धन लब्धा = धन्य, so also गण्य ॥ लब्धृ is formed from लभ् by तृन्, hence it takes the accusative

१६३७ । अन्नाण्ण । ४ । ४ । ८५ ॥

अन्न लब्धा आन्न ।

1637 The affix ण comes in the sense of 'who obtains it,' after the word अन्न, in the second case in construction

Thus अन्न लब्धा = आन्न 'fed,' 'who has obtained food

१६३८ । वश गत । ४ । ४ । ८६ ॥

वश्य परेच्छानुचारी ॥

1638 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'gone,' after the word vaśa, 'control' being in the second case in construction

Thus वशगत = वश्यः 'come under control' i e subdued i e, a dependant or servant वश = काम इच्छा वा प्राप्त i e परेच्छानुगामी ॥

१६३९ । पदमस्मिन्दृश्यम । ४ । ४ । ८७ ॥

पद्य कर्दमः । नातिशुष्क इत्यर्थः ।

1639 The affix यत् comes after the word pada,' in the sense of 'in it is visible,' being in the first case in construction

Thus पद दृश्यमस्मिन=पद्य कर्दम 'mud' literally, soft mud in which foot-mark can be seen at every step It describes mud which is neither very hard nor very fluid, but having sufficient consistency to take the impression of the foot.

Note —So पद्या पासव 'dust' for in it also the impression of foot can be seen It also means 'the foot path' The word दृश्यम means शक्यते द्रष्टुम् this having the force of the kṛitya affix 'ya' in दृश्य ॥

१६४० । मूलमस्यावर्हि । ४ । ४ । ८८ ॥

आवर्हणमावर्ह उत्पाटन तदस्यास्तीत्यावर्हि । मूलमावर्हि येषा ते मूल्या मुद्गा ॥

1640 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'whose root is eradicated,' after the word 'mûla,' being in the first case in construction

The word आवर्हि from √वृह 'to uproot,' means 'uprooting,'=उत्पाटन ॥ मूलमेषामावर्हि=मूल्या 'a kind of pulse' e g माषा मुद्गा ॥ These cereals cannot be harvested without uprooting the whole plant

Note —According to Padamañjari the word should be आवर्हि and not आवर्हि with a व and not ब ॥

१६४१ । सज्ञायां धेनुष्या । ४ । ४ । ८९ ॥

धेनुशब्दस्य षुगागमो यत् प्रत्ययश्च स्वार्थे निपात्यते सज्ञायाम् । धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता ॥

1641 The word धेनुष्या is irregularly formed, being a Name

This word is formed by adding षुक् and य to धेनु ॥ It has udâtta on the final धेनुष्या means that cow (धेनु) which is given to a creditor in discharge of a debt or as a pledge to satisfy the debt from her milk It is also called पीतदुग्धा ॥ As धेनुष्या भवते ददामि ॥ See Amarakosha II 9 72 "धेनुष्या बन्धके स्थिता" ॥

१६४२ । गृहपतिना सयुक्ते ञ्य । ४ । ४ । ९० ॥

गृहपतिर्यजमानस्तेन सयुक्तो गार्हपत्योऽग्नि ॥

1642 The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of 'joined with', after the word 'gṛihapati' in the third case in construction

The word grihapati means 'sacrificer' Thus गृहपतिना सयुक्त=गार्हपत्य 'the Gârhapatya Fire' i e a Fire particularly consecrated by the House holder

Note --The word सज्ञाया of the last sutra should be read into it, thus गार्हपत्य means a particular Fire, and not every thing relating to a गृहपति ॥ The Fire in

which husband (grihapati), together with or joined with his wife, performs sacrifice is called Gârhapatya That sacrifice cannot be performed in Dakshinâgni Or that fire in which Grihapati hymns are recited is called Gârhapatya

१६४३। नौवयोधर्मविषमूलमूलसीतातुलाभ्यस्तार्यतुल्यप्राप्यवध्यानाम्यसमसमितसम्मितेषु। ४। ४। ९१॥

नावा तार्यं नाव्यम्। वयसा तुल्यो वयस्य। धर्मेण प्राप्य धर्म्यम्। विषेण वध्यो विष्य। मूलेन आनाम्य मूल्यम्। मूलेन समो मूल्य। सीतया समित सीत्य क्षेत्रम्। तुलया सम्मित तुल्यम्॥

1643 The affix यत् comes after the words नौ 'a boat', वयस् 'age', धर्म 'merit', विष 'poison', मूल 'a root', मूल 'capital', सीता 'a furrow', and तुला 'a balance', in the senses respectively, of "to be crossed", "like", "attainable", "to be put to death", "to be bent down", "equivalent to", "united with" and "equally measured"

The words in the above must be all in the Instrumental case in construction, for the sense of the affix shows that they should be so Thus —

1 नावा तार्यम् = नाव्यम् 'water' 'a river', literally, what can be crossed by a boat

2 वयसा तुल्य = वयस्य 'a friend', lit, one alike in age

3 धर्मेण प्राप्यम् = धर्म्यम् 'what is attainable through dharma'

Note —Could not this form have been evolved by the next sutra धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते (IV 4 92 S 1644)? No धर्म्यम् formed by that aphorism means 'what is consistent with dharma' 'what is just' The present धर्म्य refers to the 'fruit', the other to the 'act'

4 विषेण वध्य = विष्य 'who deserves to be put to death by poison

5 मूलेनानाम्यम् = मूल्यम् "price" lit or "to be overpowered or bent by the root"

Note —The word आनाम्य (which is formed from the root नम् 'to bow' by the affix ण्यत् contrary to rule III 1 98 S 2844 which required यत्) means अभिभवनीयम् 'what ought to be overpowered' hence मूल्यम् means the price, worth, cost', because articles like 'cloth' &c are produced by the out lay of stock or capital (मूल), 'price' being a thing which, because it is capital plus profit, is superior to capital, and thus by price or mûlyam, the capital or mûla is overpowered

6 मूलेन सम = मूल्य 'purchasable' lit, 'equivalent to capital' e g cloth पट i e equivalent acquisition resulting from the employment of capital

7 सीतया समितं = सीत्य 'a field', lit 'measured out by furrows' according to Dr Ballantyne

Note —The word समित is equivalent to सगत 'united with' according to Kâśikâ सीत्य therefore, literally means 'a ploughed field' i e 'what is united with furrows' The affix will apply also to words ending with सीता, e g परमसीत्य उत्तमसीत्य, द्विसीत्य ॥

8 तुलया सम्मित = तुल्यम् equal ' lit, 'meted out by the balance' सम्मित means समान, सदृश ॥

१६४४ । धर्मपथ्यर्थन्यायादनपेते । ४ । ४ । ९२ ॥

धर्मादनपेत धर्म्यम् । पथ्यम् । अर्थ्यम् । न्याय्यम् ॥

1644 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'not deviating therefrom', after the word 'dharma,' 'pathin,' 'artha' and 'nyâya' being in the ablative case in construction

The ablative construction is inferred from its employment in the sûtra itself Thus धर्मादनपेत = धर्म्यम् 'just' 'not deviating from merit' Similarly पथ्यम् ॥ शास्त्रियात् पथो यदनपेत तत् पथ्य, न तु तस्मादनपेतश्चोर 'wholesome diet,' अर्थ्यम् 'fit', न्याय्यम् 'just, suitable'

Note —The word सज्ञाया (IV 4 89 S 1641) governs this sûtra also, and hence the derivatives must have the above meanings

१६४५ । छन्दसो निर्मिते । ४ । ४ । ९३ ॥

छन्दसा निर्मित छन्दस्यम् । इच्छया कृतमित्यर्थ ॥

1645 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'made,' after the word 'chhandas,' being in the Instrumental case in construction

Thus छन्दसा निर्मितं = छन्दस्य 'made at will'. The word छन्दस् is here synonymous with इच्छा 'will, wish, desire, fancy' &c, and does not mean 'metre or Veda'

१६४६ । उरसोऽण्च । ४ । ४ । ९४ ॥

चाद्यत् । उरसा निर्मितः पुत्र औरस । उरस्य ॥

1646 The affix अण् as well as यत् comes after 'uras,' in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of 'made'

The यत् is drawn into the sûtra by the particle च ॥ उरसा निर्मित = औरसः 'own son, not an adopted son,' lit "produced through the loins' With यत् the form will be उरस्यं ॥ These words denote son, and not anything produced from the loin, because the word सज्ञाया (IV 4 89) governs this sûtra also

१६४७ । हृदयस्यप्रिय । ४ । ४ । ९५ ॥

हृद्यो देश । हृदयस्य हृल्लेखेति हृदादेश ॥

1647 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'loved,' after the word 'hridaya,' in the genitive case in construction

The construction is shown by the aphorism itself Thus हृदयस्य प्रिय = हृद्य (VI 3 50 S 988) 'pleasant to the heart' e g हृद्यो देश हृद्य वनम् ॥

Note —But we cannot say हृद्य पुत्र, the word सज्ञायाम् (IV 4 99 S 1641) governs this sûtra also, and thus restricts the meaning of the word

१६४८ । बन्धने चर्षौ । ४ । ४ । ९६ ॥

हृदयशब्दात् षष्ठ्यन्ताद्बन्धने यत् स्यादृषिदेऽभिधेये । हृदयस्य बन्धन हृद्यो वशीकरणमन्त्र ॥

1648 The affix यत् comes in the sense of a bond, after the word 'hṛidaya', being in the genitive construction, when the word denotes a 'hymn'

The word हृदयस्य is understood in the sûtra The word बन्धन gives the sense of the affix and is qualified by the word ऋषि ॥ That by which a thing is bound is called बन्धन ॥ The word ऋषि means here the Veda or the Vaidic hymn Thus हृदयस्य बन्धनमृषि = हृद्य the Mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control', i e a वशीकरन मन्त्र ॥

१६४९ । मतजनहलात्करणजल्पकर्षेषु । ४ । ४ । ९७ ॥

मत ज्ञान तस्य करण भाव साधन वा मत्यम् । जनस्य जल्पो जन्य । हलस्य कर्षो हल्य ॥

1649 The affix यत् comes after words 'mata', 'jana', and 'hala', in the sense respectively of 'means', 'gossip', and 'drawing', the words being in the sixth case in construction

Thus मतस्य करण = मत्य 'the means of acquiring knowledge' Mata means knowledge जनस्य जल्प = जन्य 'a rumour' हलस्य कर्ष = हल्य ploughed'

Note —So also द्विहल्य, त्रिहल्य the tadanta vidhi applies रथसीताहलेभ्यो यद्विधौ ॥

१६५० तत्र साधु । ४ । ४ । ९८ ॥

अग्रे साधु अग्र्य । सामसु साधु सामन्य । ये चाभावकर्मणोरिति प्रकृतिभाव । कमण्य । शरण्य ॥

1650 The affix यत् comes after a word in the locative construction, in the sense of 'excellent in regard hereto

Thus सामसु साधु = सामन्यः (The अन् remains unchanged by VI 4 168 S 1154) 'conversant with the Sâma Veda' So also कर्मण्य, शरण्य &c The साधु here means प्रवीण, or योग्य expert' and 'fit', and does not mean उपकारक a benefactor or a good person'

Note —When the sense is that of 'good', the sutra तस्मै हितम् (V 1 5) will apply

१६५१ । प्रतिजनादिभ्यः खञ् । ४ । ४ । ९९ ॥

प्रतिजन साधु प्रातिजनीन । सायुगीन । सार्वजनीन । वैश्वजनीन ॥

1651 The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent in regard thereto,' after the word 'pratijana' &c

This debars यत् ॥ Thus प्रतिजने साधु = प्रातिजनीन (VII 1 2 S 475) 'suitable against an adversary' or 'who is excellent for every person' So also सायुगीन सार्वजनीन, वैश्वजनीन ॥

1 प्रतिजन, 2 इदयुग, 3 संयुग, 4 समयुग 5 परयुग, 6 परकुल, 7 परस्यकुल, 8 अमुष्यकुल 9 सर्वजन 10 विश्वजन, 11 महाजन, 12 पञ्चजन ॥

१६५२ । भक्ताण्णः । ४ । ४ । १०० ॥

भक्ते साधवो भाक्ता शालय ॥

1652 The affix ण comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'bhakta',

This debars यत् । Thus, भक्ते साधव = भाक्ता शालयः 'rice,' lit suitable or excellent for food'

१६५३ । परिषदो ण्यः । ४ । ४ । १०१ ॥

पारिषद्य । परिषद इति योगविभागाण्णोऽपि । पारिषद ॥

1653 The affix ण्य comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the word 'pariShad' (as well as ण)

This debars यत् ॥ Thus परिषदि साधु = पारिषद्य ॥ The affix ण is also employed here by the method of splitting up a single sutra into two Thus (1) परिषद and (2) ण्य ॥ Thus परिषदि साधु = पारिषद 'one versed in the affairs of a council', 'a minister'

१६५४ । कथादिभ्यष्ठक् । ४ । ४ । १०२ ॥

कथायां साधु काथिक ॥

1654 The affix ठक् comes in the sense of 'execellent with regard thereto', after the words 'kathâ' &c.

Thus कथायां साधु - काथिक (कथा+ठक्=कथ्+ठक् VI 4 148 S 311) = काथ्+इक (VII 2 116 S 2282) 'a narrator of stories'

1 कथा, 2 विकथा, 3 विश्वकथा *, 4 सकथा *, 5 वितण्डा, 6 कुष्ठविद् (कुष्ट विद्, कुष्टचित्) 7 जनवाद, 8 जनेवाद, 9 जानोवाद * (!) 10 वृत्ति, 11 समह (सदृग्रह), 12 गुण 13 गण, 14 आयुर्वेद ॥

१६५५ । गुडादिभ्यष्ठञ् । ४ । ४ । १०३ ॥

गुड साधुर्गौडिक इक्षु । साक्तुको यव ॥

1655 The affix ठञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'guda &c'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus गुडे साधु = गौडिक 'sugar cane' lit 'excellent in making sugar' साक्तुक 'barley' lit suitable for making saktu

1 गुड, 2 कुल्माष, 3 सक्तु, 4 अपूप, 5 मांसौदन, 6 इक्षु, 7 वेणु, 8 समाम, 9 सघात, 10 सक्राम *, 11 सवाह, 12 प्रवास, 13 निवास, 14 उपवास ॥

१६५६ । पथ्यतिथिवसतिस्वपतेर्ढञ् । ४ । ४ । १०४ ॥

पथि साधु पाथेयम् । आतिथेयम् । वसन वसतिस्तत्र साधुर्वासतेयी रात्रि । स्वापतेय धनम् ॥

1656 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of 'excellent with regard thereto', after the words 'pathi', 'atithi', 'vasati' and 'svapati'

This debars यत् ॥ Thus पथि साधु = पाथेयम् (VII 1 2 S 475) 'provision for journey' आतिथेयम् 'hospitality', वासतेय 'habitable' as वासतेयी रात्रि, स्वापतेयम् 'wealth, property'

१६५७ । सभाया य । ४ । ४ । १०५ ॥

सभ्य ॥

1657 The affix यत् comes after the word 'sabhâ' when the sense is 'excellent with regard thereto'

This debars यत् the difference being in accent (III 1 3 S, 3708 and VI 1 185) Thus सभाया साधु = सभ्य 'refined' lit fit for society

१६५८ । समानतीर्थे वासी । ४ । ४ । १०७ ॥

साधुरिति निवृत्तम् ॥ वसतीति वासी । समाने तीर्थे गुरौ वसतीति सतीर्थ्य ॥

1658 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'resident therein', after the word 'samâna-tîrtha' in the locative construction

The anuvṛitti of साधु now ceases The word तीर्थ means here गुरु 'Preceptor' Thus समाने तीर्थे वासी = सतीर्थ्य (VI 3 87 S 1015)—'a fellow-student', who both dwell under the same preceptor

१६५९ । समानोदरे शयित ओ चोदात्त । ४ । ४ । १०८ ॥

समाने उदरे शयित स्थित समानोदर्यो भ्राता ॥

1659 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'who sleeps,' after the word 'sâmânodara' in the locative construction, and the udâtta falls on the letter ओ ॥

The word शयित is equal to स्थित 'remain' Thus समानोदरे शयित = समानोदर्य 'uterine brother' i e who has slept in the same womb See VI 3 88 S 1016

१६६० । सोदराद्यः । ४ । ४ । १०६ ॥

सोदर्यः । अर्थ प्राग्वत् ॥

1660 The affix य comes after the word 'sodara,' in the sense of 'who sleeps,' the word being in the 7th case in construction

By sutra VI 3 88 समान is optionally changed to स before the word उदर when यत् follows Thus समानोदरे शयित = सोदर्यः ॥ Here ओ is not udâtta, as it was in the last, the udâtta here falls on य ॥

Here ends the chapter on Pragghitîya

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अथ तद्धितछयद्विधि प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE AFFIXES छ and यत् ।

१६६१ । प्राक् क्रीताच्छः । ५ । १ । १ ॥

तेन क्रीतमित्यतः प्राक् छोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1661 From this sûtia forward up to 'tenâ-krîtam V 1 37 S 1702 the affix 'chha' bears rule

Note —The affix छ has the various senses taught in these thirty seven Sûtras V 1 1 to 37 S 1702 Thus in the Sûtra तस्मैहित 'suitable for that', V 1 5 S 1665 the word छ must be read to complete the sense. Thus वत्सेभ्योहितो = वत्सीयो गोधुक्, करभीय उष्ट्र, अकरभीय, अवत्सीय ॥ The limitation of the jurisdiction of छ has been indicated in the sûtra with regard to the meaning of the affix, and not with regard to the affix As an affix, छ has no force beyond V 1 17, S 1679 the affix ठञ् being the ruling affix thereafter.

१६६२ । उगवादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । २ ॥

प्राक् क्रीतादित्येव । उवर्णान्ताद्गवादिभ्यश्च यत्स्याच्छस्यापवादः । नाभि नभं च * ॥ नभ्योऽक्षः । नभ्यमञ्जनम् । रथनाभावेवेदम् ॥ शुनः संप्रसारणं वा च दीर्घत्वम् * ॥ शून्यम् । शुन्यम् । ऊधसोऽनङ् च * ॥ ऊधन्यः ॥

1662 The affix 'yat' comes after a piâtipadika ending with उ (long or short), and after the words गो and the rest, the senses, of the affix being those taught upto Sûtra V. 1. 37 S 1702

The senses of Prâk krîtîya affixes are three, viz those taught in sûtras V I 5, S 1665 V I 12 S 1674 and V I 16 S 1678. This यत् debars छ ॥

Note —the words सनङ्गुः meaning 'a kind of leather, and चरुः 'a kind of हवि offering', and सक्तुः 'a kind of food', all end in उ and are governed by this sutra, in spite of V 1 15 S 1677 which applies especially to leathers, and V I 4 S 1664 and its vârtika which applies especially to offerings' and 'food modifications' This is an example where a subsequent sûtra does not debar a prior sûtra (I 4 2) Thus सनङ्गु + यत् = सनङ्गव्यं चर्म, ' leather fit for making Sanangu', चरु + यत् = चरव्या तण्डुला 'rice fit for making charu', सक्तु + यत् = सक्तव्या धाना.' 'barley fit for making Saktu',

Gana Sûtra —नाभि is replaced by नभ when the affix यत् is added Thus नाभये हित = नभ्य meaning अक्ष 'axis, axle' lit 'fitted for the *nave* of the wheel', or a wood fit to be made the nave of a wheel or अञ्जनम् the grease

Note — When the word नाभि means 'the navel' of a living being, then it will not take this यत्, but it will take the यत् of V 1 6 S 1666 In that case, नभ will not replace नाभि, e g नाभि + यत् = नाभ्यम् 'suitable for navel' i, e oil

Gana Sûtra —The word श्वन् takes samprasârana, व being changed to उ, and optionally this उ is lengthened, and the udâtta accent falls on the final As श्वन् + यत् = शुन्यम् or श्वन् + यत् = शून्यम् fit for a dog Contrary to VI 4 144, the न् of श्वन् is not elided before the taddhita affix यत् ॥

Gana Sûtra —The final of the word ऊधस् is replaced by अनङ्, e g, ऊधस् + यत् = ऊध् + अन + य = ऊधन्य कूप 'a well'

1 गो, 2 हविस्, 3 अक्षर, 4 विष, 5 बर्हिस्, 6 अष्टका, 7 स्खदा (स्वदा), 8 युग, 9 मेधा 10 स्रुच् (स्रक्), 11 नाभि नभ च, 12 शुन सम्प्रसारण वा च दीर्घत्व तत्सन्नियोगेन चान्तोदात्तत्व 13 ऊधसोऽनङ् च, 14 कूप*, 15 खद*, 16 दर (उदर), 17 खर 18 असुर*, 19 अध्वन (अध्वन, अध्वा) 20 क्षर*, 21 वेद*, 22 बीज*, 23 दीप* (दीस) 24 स्कन्द ॥

१६६३ । कम्बलाच्च संज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । ३ ॥

यत्स्यात् । कम्बल्यमूर्णापलशतम् । संज्ञायां किम् । कम्बलीया ऊर्णा ॥

1663 The affix यत् comes in the Prâk-krîtîya senses, after the word 'kambala', when a name is meant.

This debars 'chha' Thus कम्बल + यत् = कम्बल्य 'A kambalya measure of wool' = 100 Palas of wool This is the name of a measure, such as कम्बल्यमूर्णा पलशतम् ॥

Why do we say संज्ञायां? Observe कम्बलीया ऊर्णा "wool" lit 'fit for making blanket', which is formed by छ ॥

१६६४ । विभाषा हविरपूपादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । ४ ॥

आमिक्ष्यं दधि । आमिक्षीयम् । पुरोडाश्यास्तण्डुला । पुरोडाशीया । अपूप्यम् । अपूपीयम् ॥

1664 The affix यत् comes optionally after the words denoting, 'offering,' and after "apûpa &c," in the sense of Prak krîtîya

Thus आमिक्ष्य दधि, "fit for making आमिक्षा" i e curd —or आमिक्षीय with छ ॥ So also पुरोडाश्या or पुरोडाशीया स्तण्डुला, 'suitable for making Purodâsa' i e a kind of rice

Note — The word हवि occurs in the गवादि class (V 1 2 S 1662) and it necessarily takes यत् there being no option The हवि here, therefore, means things denoting sacrificial offerings, and not the word-form 'havi'

So also after अपूपादि as अपूप्यम् or अपूपीयम् ॥

1 अपूप, 2 तण्डुल, 3 (अभ्यूष), 4 अभ्योष, 5 अवोष, 6 अभ्येष, 7 पृथुक, 8 ओदन, 9 सूप, 10 पूप, 11 किण्व, 12 प्रदीप, 13 मुसल 14 कटक, 15 कर्णवेष्टक, 16 इर्गल,* 17 अर्गल, 18 अन्नविकारेभ्यश्च, 19 यूप,* 20 स्थूणा, 21 दीप (पीप), 22 अश्व, 23 पत्र, 24 कट, 25 अक्ष स्थूण,

Gana Sûtra —The affix यत् comes optionally after words denoting modifications of food such as सक्तु ॥ In the case of 'saktu' however, no option is allowed See V 1 2 S 1662

१६६५ । तस्मै हितम । ५ । १ । ५ ॥

वत्सेभ्यो हितो वत्सीयो गोधुक् । शङ्कवे हित शङ्कव्य दारु । गव्यम । हविष्यम् ॥

1665 An affix comes after a word in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of 'good for that'

Thus वत्सेभ्यो हितो गोधुक्=वत्सीय 'fit for calves' i e a cow milker So also शङ्कवे हित=शङ्कु+यत्=शङ्कव्य (VI 4 146, S 847 VI 1.79 S 63) As शङ्कव्य दारु, 'wood', 'fit for a stake' गव्यम्, हविष्यम् ॥

१६६६ । शरीरावयवाद्यत् । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

दन्त्यम् । कण्ठ्यम् । * नस् नासिकाया ॥ नस्यम् । नाभ्यम् ॥

1666 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after a word denoting a part of the body

The word शरीर means animal organism This debars छ, thus, दन्त्यम् 'good for the teeth' कण्ठ्यम्, औष्ठ्यम्, नाभ्यम्, नस्यम् such as dentrifice, snuff, oil &c See VI 1 213

Vârt —The नस् is substituted for नासिका only when the affixes यत् and तस्, and the word क्षुद्र follow as, नस्यम्, नस्त, नस् क्षुद्र ॥ The यत् is taught in IV 3 55 S 1430 and V 1 6 S 1666, तस् is taught in V 4 45 S 2126

The word शिरस् 'head', is also governed by this rule, but शिरस् is replaced by शीर्षन् before यत् by the next sutra

१६६७ । ये च तद्धिते । ६ । १ । ६१ ॥

यादौ तद्धिते परे शिरश्शब्दस्य शीर्षन्नादेशः स्यात् । शीर्षण्य । तद्धिते किम् । शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति ॥ वा केशेषु * ॥ शीर्षण्या शिरस्या वा केशा । अचि शीर्ष इति वाच्यम् * ॥ अजादौ तद्धिते शिरस शीर्षादेश । स्थूलशिरस इद स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥

1667 There is the substitution of शीर्षन् for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with य follows

The word शीर्षन् is understood here, from the preceding Ashtâdhyâyî sûtra This rule teaches substitution The original for which this substitution comes is not given in the sûtra, we must infer it The appropriate original is शिरस् ॥ Thus शीर्षण्यो हि मुखो भवति शीर्षण्य स्वर ॥ The affix यत् is here added

by V 1 6 S 1666 The word शीर्षण् retains its original form before this affix यत्, the final अन् not being replaced by anything else (VI 4 168 S 1154) Why do we say when 'a Taddhita affix follows'? Observe शिर इच्छति शिरस्यति here य is not a Taddhita affix, and so there is no substitution

Vârt —The substitution is optional when meaning 'hair' As शीर्षण्या केशा or शिरस्या केशा ॥

Vart —There is the substitution of शीर्ष for शिरस् when a Taddhita affix beginning with a vowel follows

Thus हस्तिशिरसोऽपत्यं = हास्तिशीर्षि formed by adding the Patronymic affix इञ् (IV 1, 96 S 1096) So also स्थूलशिरस इदम् = स्थौलशीर्षम् ॥

Note —Had the word been शीर्षन् (instead of शीर्ष as taught herein) then it would have retained its final न् before these affixes and would not have given the proper forms (VI 4 168 S 1154) Again in forming the feminine of हास्तिशीर्षि by adding ष्यङ् (IV 1 78 S 1198), arises this difficulty —ष्यङ् (य) is a Taddhita affix beginning with य, when this is applied to हास्तिशीर्षि, we must apply the last rule and change the शीर्ष into शीर्षन् (for शीर्षन् being the substitute of शिरस is *prima facie* a substitute of शीर्ष also for the purposes of that rule VI 1 61 S 1667) The form which we get will be this, हास्तिशीर्षि + ष्यङ् = हास्तिशीर्षिण् + य (VI 1 61 S 1667) = हास्तिशीर्षिण्या (VI 4 168 S 1154) But this is a wrong form the desired form is हास्तिशीर्ष्या ॥ How do we explain this? Thus हास्तिशीर्षि + ष्यङ = हास्तिशीर्ष् + य (the इ is elided by VI 4 148 and in the room of इ we substitute a *zero* or लोपादेश) ॥ Now this âdeśa becomes sthânivat to इ, thus the affix य not being *directly* applied to शीर्ष, because this zero intervenes, शीर्ष is not replaced by शीर्षन् as required by VI 1 61, S 1667, for it is not *followed* by an affix beginning with य but by a zero sthânivat to इञ् affix

१६६८ । खलयवमाषतिलवृषब्रह्मणश्च । ५ । १ । ७ ॥

खलाय हितं खल्यम् । यव्यम् । माष्यम् । तिल्यम् । वृष्यम् । ब्रह्मण्यम् । चाद्रथ्या ॥

1668 The affix यत् comes in the sense of 'good for that,' after the word 'khala,' 'yava,' 'mâsha,' 'tila,' 'vrisha' and 'brahmana'

This debars छ ॥ Thus खल्यम् "suitable for threshing floor' So also यव्यम्, माष्यम्, तिल्यम्, वृष्यम्, or ब्रह्मण्यम् ॥

Note —No secondary derivatives can, however, be formed of the following वृषभ्यो हितम् । ब्राह्मणेभ्यो हितम्, the full phrases must be used in these cases, for these words take neither छ nor यत् though वृष is = वृषन् and ब्रह्मन् is = ब्राह्मण ॥

The word च in the sûtra indicates that the rule applies to words other than those enumerated Thus रथाय हिता = रथ्या ॥

१६६९ । अजाविभ्यां थ्यन् । ५ । १ । ८ ॥

अजथ्या यूथि । अविथ्या ॥

1669 The affix थ्यन् comes in the senes of ' good for that,' after the words ' aja 'and ' avi '

This debars 'chha' Thus अजथ्या यूथि 'the yellow jasmine called yûthi अविथ्या यूथि ॥

१६७० । आत्मन्विश्वजनभोगोत्तरपदात्खः । ५ । १ । ६ ॥

1670 The affix 'kha ' comes in the sense of ' good for that,' after the words 'âtman,' and ' visvajana ' and after compounds having the word ' bhoga ' as their second term

This debars छ ॥ In the sûtra the न् of आत्मन् has not been elided, indicating that it should not be compounded with the word भोग which would have been the case otherwise It therefore follows from this irregular construction of the sutra, that the word भोगोत्तरपद does not apply to the words आत्मन् and विश्वजन, but these words are themselves prakriti Thus आत्मन् + ख = आत्मनीनम् ' suitable for one's self ' the न् of âtman, which required to be elided by VI 4 149 S 679, is saved by the next sûtra

१६७१ । आत्माध्वानौ खे । ६ । ४ । १६६ ॥

एतौ खे प्रकृत्या स्त । आत्मने हितमात्मनीनम् । विश्वजनीनम् । कर्मधारयादेवेष्यते * ॥ षष्ठीतत्पुरुषाद्बहुव्रीहेश्च छ एव । विश्वजनीयम् ॥ पञ्चजनादुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चजनीनम् ॥ सर्वजनाट्ठञ् खश्च * ॥ सार्वजनिक । सर्वजनीन । महाजनाट्ठञ् * । माहाजनिक । मातृभोगीण । पितृभोगीण । राजभोगीन ॥ आचार्यादणत्वं च * ॥ आचार्यभोगीन ॥

1671 The final of the stems आत्मन् and अध्वन् remain unchanged before the affix ख ॥

Thus आत्मने हित = आत्मनीन (V 1 9 S 1670)

Note —अध्वानमलङ्गामी (V 2 16 S 1817) अध्वनीन ॥ But प्रत्यात्मम् and प्राध्वम् ॥ The first is formed by the samâsânta affix टच् added to the avyayîbhâva (V 4 108 S 678), and the latter by अच् (V 4 85 S 903)

So also विश्वजनीनम् ' suitable for all men ' The word विश्वजन must be a karmadhâraya compound, meaning ' all men,' for the application of this rule, when it is a Tatpurusha or a Bahuvrîhi compound, it will take छ ॥ As, विश्वजनाय हित = विश्वजनीयम् ' beneficial for man kind

Vârt —So also after Karmadhâraya Compound पञ्चजन, e, g, पञ्चजनीनम्, otherwise पञ्चजनीयम् ॥

Vârt —After the Karmadhâraya compound सर्वजन, there are the affixes ठञ् and ख, as सर्वजनीन and सार्वजनिकम्, otherwise सर्वजनीयम् ॥

Vârt — The affix ठञ comes always after the word महाजन whether it be a Karmadhâraya or a Tatpurusha, but not so when it is a Bahuvrihi Com-

pound As महाजनाय हित माहाजनिक ॥ In a Bahuvrihi it will be महाजनीय with छ ॥

Compounds having भोग as their final term also take the affix ख as, मातृभोगीण and पितृभोगीण ॥ The word भोग means 'body But मात्रीय and पित्रीय with छ, when the word भोग does not follow

Vârt —The words राजा and आचार्य followed by 'bhoga' take always the affix ख, as राजभोगीन and आचार्यभोगीन ॥

Gaṇa sûtra —In the case of आचार्यभोगीनः the न is not changed into ण (VIII 4 4) The words do not take the affix ख when used singly As, राज्ञेहितम्, आचार्याय हितम्, no affix being employed

१६७२ । सर्वपुरुषाभ्यां णढञौ । ५ । १ । १० ॥

सर्वाण्णो वेति वक्तव्यम् * सर्वस्मै हित सार्वम् । सर्वीयम् ॥ पुरुषाद्वधविकारसमूहतेनकृतेषु * ॥ भाष्यकारप्रयोगात्तेनेत्यस्य द्वन्द्वमध्ये निवेश । पुरुषस्य वध पौरुषेय । तस्येदमित्यणि प्राप्ते । पुरुषस्य विकार पौरुषेय । प्राणिरजतादिभ्योऽञ् इत्यञि प्राप्ते । समूहेऽप्यणि प्राप्ते । एकाकिनोऽपि परित पौरुषेयवृता इवेति माघ । तेनकृतेग्रन्थेऽणि प्राप्ते अग्रन्थे तु प्रासादादावप्राप्त एवेति विवेक ॥

1672 The affixes ण and ढञ् come respectively in the sense of 'good for that' after the words 'sarva' and 'purusha'

Vârt —The affix ण comes optionally after सर्व as सर्वस्मैहित = सर्वीयम् or सार्वम् ॥

Vârt —The affix ढञ् comes after पुरुष when the word so formed means 'slaughter', 'modification', 'a crowd', or 'made by him'

The word तेन is placed in the middle of the Dvandva, according to the employment of the author of Mahâbhâshya

Thus पुरुषस्यवध = पौरुषेय 'man slaughter' Here अण् (IV 3 120 S 1500) is debarred So also पुरुषस्य विकार = पौरुषेय "human" Here अञ् (IV 3 154 S 1532) is debarred

Similarly in the sense of समूह "crowd," as in the following line of Mâgha,—

एकाकिनोऽपि परित पौरुषेयवृता इव ॥ Here also the अण् of तस्य समूह is debarred

So also in the sense of "the book composed," the affix अण् would have come, but this debars it When the thing made is not a book but "place" &c then no other sûtra applies, and this ordains ढञ् as a vidhi Thus पौरुषेयो ग्रन्थ "a human book", as opposed to अपौरुषेया वेदा "the non-human Vedas" So also पौरुषेय प्रासाद "a man-built palace"

१६७३ । माणवचरकाभ्यां खञ् । ५ । १ । ११ ॥

माणवाय हित माणवीनम् । चारकीणम् ॥

1673 The affix खञ् comes in the sense of 'good for that', after the words 'mânava', and 'charaka'

This debars छ ॥ As मायवाय हितं = मायवीनम् ॥ So also चारकीणम् ॥

१६७४ । तदर्थंविकृते प्रकृतौ । ५ । १ । १२ ॥

विकृतिवाचकाच्चतुर्थ्यन्तात्तदर्थायां प्रकृतौ वाच्यायां छप्रत्यय स्यात् । अङ्गारेभ्य एतानि अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि । प्राकारीया इष्टका । शङ्कव्य दारु ॥

1674 After a word being the name of a product, the above-mentioned affix छ comes, to denote a thing which is the primitive that is serviceable for that

Note —The word प्रकृति means primitive or the material cause of a product The word विकृति means 'the product' or 'modification of such primitive' तदर्थ 'serviceable for that' i e the primitive being serviceable for the product The word तदर्थ shows that the primitive must be serviceable for that particular product and nothing else That is to say, an affix will not come to denote any product in general, but only when the primitive is serviceable for a prticular product and nothing else The word तदर्थ shows also that the word must be in the 4th case when the affix is added Some read the words तस्मै हित also into this sûtra

Thus अङ्गारेभ्यो हितानि एतानि काष्ठानि = अङ्गारीयाणि काष्ठानि 'wood serviceable for making charcoal,' so also प्राकारीया इष्टका 'bricks serviceable for making a wall' Here अङ्गारीय and प्राकारीय are formed by छ V I, I S 1661 Similarly शङ्कव्य दारु 'wood serviceable for a spear'

Note — Why do we say तदर्थम् 'serviceable thereto'? Observe यवानां धाना, धानानां सक्तव ॥ Here there is modification of primitive, but सक्तु is the product also of other things than धाना such as लाजा &c

Why do we say विकृते 'after a product'? Observe उदकार्थं कूप, there is no affix For कूप 'a well' and उदक 'water' do not stand in the relation of प्रकृति and विकृति i e material cause and effect As 'water' is not the modification or product of 'the well' though it is found in the well, and therefore the affix is not employed

Why do we say प्रकृतौ 'to denote a primitive' Observe असयर्थी कोशी 'a sheath serviceable for a sword The sword is a product of iron, but a sheath is not the primitive of the sword

By using the words प्रकृति and विकृति it is further shown that the prakriti is liable to modification or vikâra

१६७५ । छदिरुपधिबलेर्ढञ् । ५ । १ । १३ ॥

छादिषेयाणि तृणानि । बालेयास्तण्डुला ॥ उपधिशब्दात्स्वार्थे इष्यते * ॥ उपधीयेत इत्युपधी रथाङ्ग तदेव औपधेयम् ॥

1675 The affix ढञ् comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'chhadis,' 'upadhi', and 'bali' denoting the product

This debars छ Thus छादिषेयाणि तृणानि, बालेयास्तण्डुला ॥

Ishti —The affix comes after the word उपाधि without changing the sense उपधिरेव इत्युपधि = रथाङ्गम् part of a wheel between the nave and the circumference or the wheel itself The word औपधेयम् also means the same

१६७६ । ऋषभोपानहोर्ञ्यः । ५ । १ । १४ ॥

छस्यापवादः । आर्षभ्यो वत्सः । औपानह्यो मुञ्जः । चर्मण्यप्ययमेव पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेन । औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

1676 The affix ञ्य comes in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after the words 'rishabha' and 'upânah' denoting the products

This debars छ ॥

Thus आर्षभ्यो वत्सः औपानह्यो मुञ्जः ॥ Even when the primitive is 'leather चर्म' the affix 'ñya' will come after उपानह् debarring by anticipation the अञ् of V 1 15 S 1677 Thus औपानह्यं चर्म ॥

१६७७ । चर्मणोऽञ् । ५ । १ । १५ ॥

चर्मणो या विकृतिस्तद्वाचकादञ् स्यात् । वर्ध्र्यै इदं वार्ध्रं चर्म । वारत्रं चर्म ॥

1677 The affix अञ् comes, in the sense of a primitive serviceable for a product, after a word expressing the product of leather

The word चर्मण in the aphorism is in the genitive case This अञ् debars छ ॥ Thus वार्ध्रं चर्म and वारत्रं चर्म a leather serviceable for making a 'vârdhra' and 'vâratra' i e a leather thong

१६७८ । तदस्य तदस्मिन् स्यादिति । ५ । १ । १६ ॥

प्राकार आसामिष्टकानां स्यात्प्राकारीया इष्टकाः । प्रासादीयं दारु । प्राकारोऽस्मिन् स्यात् प्राकारीयो देशः । इतिशब्दो लौकिकीं विवक्षामनुसारयति । तेनेह न । प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यादिति ॥

1678 The above mentioned affixes come after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive or a locative, when the word in the first case is agent of the verb 'syât',—in other words—the above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of 'very well sufficient there to' and 'very well sufficient to be made therein

Note —The word तद् shows that the word in construction must be in the first case, the words अस्य 'of it' and अस्मिन् 'in it' show the senses of the affix, the word स्यात् 'it can be' qualifies the primitive, the word इति, is for the sake of distinctness

Thus प्राकार आसाम् इष्टकानां स्यात् = प्राकारीया इष्टकाः 'the bricks sufficient to raise a wall' So also प्रासादीयं दारु ॥ Similarly प्राकारोऽस्मिन्देशे स्यात् = प्राकारीयो देशः 'place sufficient to make a wall therein' प्रासादीया भूमिः ॥

Note —The word स्यात् being in the Potential Mood (विधिलिङ्) of अस् 'to be', has the force of सम्भवन् 'potentiality, sufficiency as given in Sûtras III 3 154 S 2811 &c Such as when the large number of bricks makes it *possible* to raise a wall, we say प्राकार आसामिष्टकाना स्यात् ॥ Similarly when the quality (गुण) of a land, such as its area, situation &c, makes it *possible* to erect a palace therein, we say, प्रासादाऽस्मिन्देशे स्यात् ॥

In the examples under this sûtra, there is no modification (विकार) of the primitive (प्रकृति) into a product, as was the case under sûtra V 1 12 S 1674 The examples under this sûtra show merely the 'adequacy, fitness or sufficiency' of a thing for a certain purpose Herein lies the difference between this sûtra and the previous ones

The repetition of the word तद् twice in this sûtra shows the existence of the Grammatical maxim अनेकस्मिन् प्रत्ययार्थे प्रत्येक समर्थ विभक्ति सबन्धनीय 'when the sense of an affix is more than one, the case in construction to which the affix must be added must be shown in each case'

Why there is no affixing in this case प्रासादो देवदत्तस्य स्यात्? The use of इति in the Sûtra would prevent this, the force of इति being that the clasical usage must be looked to in forming these derivatives

१६७९ । परिखाया ढञ् । ५ । १ । १७ ॥

पारिखेयी भूमि ॥

1679 The affix ढञ् comes, after the word 'parikhâ' in the above senses of 'this is sufficient for that', and 'this is sufficient therein'

This debars छ ॥ Thus पारिखेयी भूमि 'land sufficient to make a mote thereon'

Up to this Sûtra was the governing force of the affixes छ and यत् Hereafter another affix will be taught

Here ends the chapter on छ and यत् affixes

—o—

But when it is a part of a compound, then the word निष्क will take the affix ठञ् ॥

Thus परमनिष्क + ठञ् ॥ Here applies the following rule

Note —The following seven are nishkâdi words —1 निष्क, 2 पण 3 पाद, 4 माष, 5 वाह, 6 द्रोण, 7 षष्टि ॥ Drona denotes measure, shashti denotes numeral and would have taken ठञ् ॥

१६८३ । परिमाणान्तस्यासञ्ज्ञाशाणयो । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

उत्तरपदवृद्धि स्यात् ञिदादौ ॥ परमनैष्किक । असमासग्रहण ज्ञापक भवति । इत प्राक् तदन्तविधिरिति । तेन सुगव्यम् । यवापूप्यमित्यादि ॥ इत ऊर्ध्व तु सख्यापूर्वपदाना तदन्तग्रहण प्राग्वतेरिष्यते तच्चालुकि ॥ पारायणिक, । द्वैपारायणिक । अलुकीति किम् । द्वाभ्या शूर्पाभ्या क्रीत द्विशूर्पम् । द्विशूर्पेण क्रीते शूर्पादञ् मा भूत् । कि तु ठञ् । द्विशौर्पिकम् ॥ 'असज्ञा' इति किम् । पञ्चकलापा परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकलापिकम् । तदस्य परिमाणमिति ठञ् ॥

1683 After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vriddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name

Thus परमनैष्किक ॥

The words 'asamâse etc when they are not parts of a compound' of the last sûtra are jñâpaka, indicating that in the preceding sûtras the tadanta-vidhi applied Thus we have not only गव्य but सुगव्यम् also (V 1 2 S 1662), not only अपूप्यम् but यवापूप्यम् also (V 1 4 S 1664) But in the sûtras that follow, the tadanta viddhi applies only when the first member of the compound is a numeral, and that too when there is no luk-elision of the affix As पारायणिक and द्वैपारायणिक ॥ (But when not preceded by a numeral, the tadanta vidhi does not apply as परमपारायणम् वर्तयति ।) Why do we say 'when there is no luk' Observe द्वाभ्या शूर्पाभ्या क्रीत = द्विशूर्पम् ॥ द्विशूर्पेण क्रीते = द्विशौर्पिकम् with ठञ् not अञ् ॥ V 1 26 S 1691)

Why do we say 'when it is not a name?' Observe पाञ्चकलापिकम् ॥ It has taken the affix ठञ् by V 1 57 S 1723

Note —The word परिमाण in this sutra has its technical signification, and not its etymological sense Technically परिमाण does not include सख्या, etymologically it does Pânini has used this word परिमाण in some sutras in its technical sense, in others in its etymological sense Thus in sutras IV 1 22 S 480, and V 1 19 S 1681 the technical sense is taken, while in sûtras IV 3 156 S 1534 and V 1 57 S 1723 the etymological sense is meant Technically परिमाण means सर्वतो मान or a measure of capacity, and surface, namely length and breadth and height or depth, such as प्रस्थ &c i e a cubic measure and a square measure In this sense it is to be distinguished from the measures of length or lineal measure technically

called प्रमाण such as a वितस्त्य 'a cubit &c, on the one side, and the measures of weight, technically called उन्मान such as पल, &c on the other side In short उन्मान means a measure of weight or gravity, परिमाण means a measure of volume or capacity, प्रमाण means a lineal measure, and a संख्या is beyond all these

Note —Q Is not the employment of the word असमासे in the Sûtra redundant? For by the maxim ग्रहणवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a prâtipadika does not, contrary to I 1 72, S 26, denote that which ends with it, but it denotes only itself," the prâtipadika निष्क being especially mentioned in the sûtra, the rule will apply to the word निष्क and not to a word ending with निष्क ॥

A The employment of the word असमासे in this Sûtra, indicates by implication (jñâpaka), that in spite of the above maxim, the तदन्तविधि I 1 72 S 26 applies to the previous sûtra, while in the subsequent sûtras it does not As उगवादिभ्यो यत् (V 1 2, S 1662) the यत् applies not only to गो &c but to words ending in गो &c As गव्यम् and सुगव्यम्, अतिसुगव्यम् ॥ Not only अपूप्यम्, अपूपीयम् (V 1 4 S 1664) but also यवापूप्यम् यवापूपीयम् ॥ Not only दन्त्य (V 1 6 S 1666) but also राजदन्त्यम् ॥

While in the sûtras subsequent to this V 1 20, S, 1682 the tadanta vidhi applies only to words preceded by a Sankhyâ and that also in Sûtras upto V 1 115 S 1778 and not there after as, द्वैपारायणिक and त्रैपारायणिक (V 1 72 S 1726 Even in this latter case, when an affix is elided by लुक् the tadanta vidhi does not apply Thus द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीतं = द्वि शूर्प + ठञ् (V 1 18 S 1680) = द्विशूर्पम्, (the affix being elided by V 1 28 S 1693) Now in forming a tertiary derivative from this word द्विशूर्पम्, the tadanta vidhi will not apply Thus द्विशूर्पेण क्रीतं, here what affix are we to subjoin? If tadanta vidhi applied, we get the affix अञ् (V 1 26 S 1691) in the alternative But tadanta-vidhi not applying, we get the general affix ठञ् V 1 8 S 1669, and have द्वैशौर्पिकम् ॥ Here the affix ठञ् is not elided by V 1 28 S 1693 as there is no Dvigu compounding The above rule is summarised in the following *ishti* प्राग्वतेः संख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणमलुकि ॥

१६८४ । अर्धात्परिमाणस्य पूर्वस्य तु वा । ७ । ३ । २६ ॥

अर्धात्परिमाणवाचकस्योत्तरपदस्यादेरचो वृद्धिः पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ञिति णिति किति च । अर्धद्रोणेन क्रीतम् आर्धद्रौणिकम् । अर्धद्रौणिकम् ॥

1684 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the Vriddhi is substituted for the first vowel of the second member, denoting a mass in its widest sense, when the word अर्ध precedes it, but optionally for the first vowel of अर्ध ॥

As अर्धद्रौणिकम् or आर्धद्रौणिकम्, with ठञ् (V 1 18)

Note —Why do we say when denoting a mass? Observe आर्धक्रौशिकम् only (= अर्धक्रोशः प्रयोजनमस्य) ॥

१६८५ । नात परस्य । ७ । ३ । २७ ॥

अर्धात्परस्य परिमाणाकारस्य वृद्धिर्न पूर्वपदस्य तु वा ञिणति । अर्धप्रस्थिकम् । आर्धप्रस्थिकम् ॥ अत किम् अधकौडविकम् । तपर किम् । अर्धखार्या भवा अधखारी । अधखारीभार्य इत्यत्र वृद्धिनिमित्तस्येति पुवद्भावनिषेधो न स्यात् ॥

1685 When the first vowel of the second member preceded by अर्ध and denoting mass is short अ, the Vriddhi is not substituted for this अ, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, णु, or क्, and optionally so for the first vowel of the first member (i e अर्ध) ॥

Thus अर्धप्रस्थिक or आर्धप्रस्थिक (V 1 18 S 1680) ॥ अर्धकसिक or आर्धकासिक ॥ Why do we say 'when it is a short अ'? Observe आर्धकौडविक ॥ Why 'short अ'? Observe अर्ध खार्याम् भव = अर्धखारी ॥ Here Vriddhi is substituted for the आ of खारी, and though the form remains the same, the power of this word is changed For अर्धखारी being formed by a Taddhita affix causing Vriddhi in forming a Bahuvrihi compound, this word will retain its feminine form and will not be changed into masculine under VI 3 39 S 840 as अर्धखारीभार्य (= अर्धखारीभार्यायस्य) (वृद्धिनिमित्तस्य च तद्धितस्य &c)

Note —Wherever Vriddhi is prohibited with regard to a Taddhita affix that affix cannot be called वृद्धिनिमित्त, and a word formed with such an affix will become masculine in a Bahuvrihi compound referring to a male person वैयाकरणी भार्या अस्य = वैयाकरणभार्य ॥ The word वैयाकरण is formed by *prohibition* of Vriddhi See VII 3 3

१६८६ । शताच्च ठन्यतावशते । ५ । १ । २१ ॥

शतेन क्रीत शतिकम् । शत्यम् । अशते किम् । शत परिमाणमस्य शतक सङ्घ । इह प्रत्ययार्थो वस्तुतः प्रकृत्यर्थान्नभिद्यते । तेन ठन्यतौ न किंतु कनव । असमास इत्येव । द्विशतेन क्रीत द्विशतकम् ॥

1686 The affix ठन् and यत come in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the word शत when it is not a part of a compound, and when it does not mean merely a 'hundred

The word आर्हात् V 1 19 S 1681 is understood here also These affixes ठन् and यत् debar the affix कन् V 1 22 S 1687 Thus शतेन क्रीतम् = शत्यम् or शतिकम् 'purchased for a hundred gold coins'

Why do we say अशते 'when not meaning merely 'a hundred'? Observe शतपरिमाणमस्य = शतकनिदानम् 'a band whose measure is hundred' The word अशते qualifies the sense of the affix, and not that of the base, the latter not being possible, for the word शत as a base must always mean 'a hundred' The following examples will illustrate the meaning, शतमध्याया परिमाणमस्य मन्यस्य

शतक a book consisting of hundred Adhyayas' In this case there is essentially no difference between the base (prakṛiti) and the sense of the affix (pratyayârtha), though there is apparent difference, for the sake of applying the affix For शतक is a book essentially consisting of hundred, while शत्य 'a carriage purchased for a hundred coins,' does not contain hundred as its essential part Similarly शतको गोसङ्घ 'a herd of cows hundred in number' Here the सङ्घ essentially consists of शत and so there is the affix कन् and not ठन् or यत् (V, 1 58) But not so in the case of शत्य शाटकशत, शतिक शाटकशत, for here the sense of the affix is formed by the sentence, and not discovered merely from the word Hence the following Vârtika शतप्रतिषेधेऽन्यशतत्वेऽप्रतिषेध ।

The word च in the sutra draws in the word असमासे from the previous sutra Thus द्वौ च शत च = द्विशत द्विशतेन क्रीत = द्विशतकम् 'purchased for a hundred and two coins' Here the affix is कन् V 1 22 S 1687 So त्रिशतकम् ॥ According to the Ishti given in the Sûtra VII 3 17 S 1683 the tadanta vidhi applies here

१६८७ । सङ्ख्याया अतिशदन्तायाः कन् । ५ । १ । २२ ॥

सङ्ख्याया कन् स्यादार्हीयेऽर्थे नतु त्यन्तशदन्ताया । पञ्चभि क्रीत पञ्चक । बहुक । त्यन्तायास्तु साप्ततिक । शदन्ताया चात्वारिंशत्क ॥

1687 The affix kan comes after a Numeral, when it does not end with ति or शत, the sense of the affix being that taught hereafter upto V 1 63 S 1728

The word आर्हात् is to be read into this sûtra also The word सङ्ख्या is defined in I 1 23 S 258 This कन् debars ठञ् ॥ Thus पञ्चभि क्रीत = पञ्चक, बहुक, गणक ॥

Why do we say 'when it does not end in ति or शत्'? Observe साप्ततिक, चात्वारिंशतक formed by ठञ् ॥

१६८८ । वतोरिड्वा । ५ । १ । २३ ॥

वत्वन्तात्कन इड्वा स्यात् । तावतिक । तावत्क ॥

1688 The affix, Kan' coming after a Numeral ending with वत् takes optionally the augment इट्, the sense of the affix being those given upto V 1 62

The words ending in वत् are सङ्ख्या, see I 1 23 and would consequent take कन् by V 1 22 The present sûtra ordains the optional affixing of इट् to this कन् ॥ Thus तावत्क or तावतिक ॥

१६८९ । विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां ड्वुनसञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २४ ॥

योगविभाग कर्तव्य । आभ्या कन् स्यात् । असञ्ज्ञाया ड्वुन् स्यात्कनोऽपवाद । विंशक त्रिंशक । सञ्ज्ञाया तु विंशतिक । त्रिंशत्क ॥

1689 The affix ड्वुन् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the words 'Vinsati' and 'trinsat' when it does not denote a Name ann the ति and अत् of the base are dropped before this affix

The affix कन् will be added by dividing the sutra into two viz (1) विंशतित्रिंशद्भ्यां (2) ड्वुनसंज्ञायाम्, the meanings being (1) the affix 'Kan' is added to vinsati and trinsat, (2) The affix dvun is added to the same words, when not denoting a name

Thus विंशति + ड्वुन् = विंश + अक (VI 4 142 S 844) = विंशक, त्रिंशत + ड्वुन् = त्रिंश + अक (VI 4 143 S 316) = त्रिंशक ॥

When not denoting a Name विंशतिक त्रिंशक formed by affix कन् V 1 22

१६९० । कंसाट्टिठन् । ५ । १ । २५ ॥

टो ङीबर्थ । इकार उच्चारणार्थ । कंसिक । कंसिकी ॥ अर्धाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ अर्धिक । अर्धिकी ॥ कार्षापणाट्टिठन्वक्तव्य प्रतिरादेशश्च वा * ॥ कार्षापणिक । कार्षापणिकी । प्रतिक । प्रतिकी ॥

1690 The affix टिठन् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728 after the word कंस ॥

This debars ठञ्, the anubandha टि of टिठन् shows that the feminine of the word will be formed by ङीप् (IV 1 15 S 470) The इ of टि is for the sake of pronunciation, the न् of टिठन् is for accent (VI 1 197 S 3686) Thus कंसिक fem कंसिकी ॥

Vârt —So also it must be stated after the word अर्ध, e g अर्धिक अर्धिकी ॥

Vârt —So also after the word कार्षापण, e g कार्षापणिक fem कार्षापणिकी ॥ Sometimes the word प्रति is substituted for कार्षापण before this affix, as प्रतिक, fem प्रतिकी ॥

१६९१ । शूर्पादञन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । २६ ॥

शौर्पम्, शौर्पिकम् ॥

1691 The affix अञ् comes optionally in the senses taught upto VI 1 63, S 1728 after the word 'śûrpa'

This debars ठञ् which comes in the alternative As, शूर्पेण क्रीत = शौर्पम् or शौर्पिकम् ॥

१६९२ । शतमानविंशतिकसहस्रवसनादण् । ५ । १ । २७ ॥

एभ्योऽण् स्याट्ठञ्ठकनामपवाद । शतमानेन क्रीत शातमानम् । वैंशतिकम् । साहस्रम् । वासनम् ॥

1692 The affix अण् comes in the senses taught upto V 1 63, S 1728 after the words 'śatamâna', 'vinśatika', 'sahasra', and 'vasana'

This debars ठञ् ठक and कन् ॥ Thus शतमानेन क्रीत = शातमानम्, so also वैंशतिकम्, साहस्रम् and वासनम् ॥

१६९३ । अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोर्लुगसंज्ञायाम् । ५ । १ । २८ ॥

अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोश्च परस्यार्हीयस्य लुक स्यात् । अध्यर्धकंसम् । द्विकंसम् । संज्ञाया तु पाञ्चकलापिकम् ॥

1693 The affix having the senses taught upto V 1 63 S 1728, is elided by लुक्, after a stem beginning with the word adhyardha, and after a Dvigu compound, when it is not a Name

The word आर्हात् is understood here also Thus अध्यर्द्धकंसम् द्विकंसम्, अध्यर्द्धशूर्पम्, द्विशूर्पम् त्रिकंसम् त्रिशूर्पम् ॥ Here the affixes टिठन् and अञ् are elided

Note —Though in the word द्विशूर्पम &c the affix is elided, it is only so when the affixing of the taddhita occasions a Dvigu compounding (II 1 51 S 728) such as in द्वाभ्यां शूर्पाभ्यां क्रीत = द्विशूर्पम ॥ Here the resultant is a Dvigu compound But in forming tertiary derivatives the affix is not elided, as द्विशूर्पेण क्रीत = द्वैशौर्पिकम् ॥ Hence the following rule द्विगोर्लुकि तन्निमित्तग्रहणम् ॥ See IV 1 88 V 1 20

Why do we say असंज्ञायाम् 'when not a Name'? Observe पाञ्चलोहितिकम् or पञ्चलोहितिकम् and पाञ्चकलापिकम् being names of certain measures The feminine word लोहिनी is changed into the masculine by the Vârtika भस्याढे तद्धिते given under VI 3 35 The lohini is the *red* seed with which gold &c is weighed

Note —The word अध्यर्द्ध is a Sankhyâ (See I 1 23 S 258) and a word beginning with it will be a Dvigu compound Its separate mention in this sûtra may appear superfluous It is however so mentioned, in order to indicate (jñapaka) that this word is not always a Sankhya Thus for the purposes of the application of the affix कृत्वसुच् (V 4 17 S 2085) this word is not a sankhyâ,

१६९४ । विभाषा कार्षापणसहस्राभ्याम् । ५ । १ । २९ ॥

लुग्वा स्यात् । अध्यर्धकार्षापणम् । अध्यर्धकार्षापणिकम् । द्विकार्षापणम् । द्विकार्षापणिकम् । प्रतिसंख्यानिकस्य टिठना लुक् । पक्षे अध्यर्धप्रतिकम् । द्विप्रतिकम् । अध्यर्धसहस्रम् । अध्यर्धसाहस्रम् । द्विसहस्रम् । द्विसाहस्रम् ॥

1694 The affix having the senses taught up to V 1 63 S 1728 is optionally luk-elided, after the words kârshâpana, and sahasra, when they are preceded by adhyardha or are members of a Dvigu compound

This sûtra makes the elision optional, when it was compulsory by the last sûtra Thus अध्यर्द्धकार्षापणम् or अध्यर्द्धकार्षापणिक, द्विकार्षापणम् or द्विकार्षापणिकम्, here the affix टिठन् (V 1 25 S 1690) is elided in one case, and not elided in the other When it is not elided, प्रति may be substituted for कार्षापण (V 1 25 S 1690) अध्यर्द्धप्रतिकम्, द्विप्रतिकम् ॥

So also after the word सहस्र, e g अध्यर्द्धसहस्रम् or अध्यर्द्धसाहस्रम्, द्विसहस्रम् or द्विसाहस्रम् ॥ When the affix is not elided, the forms above shown with the irregular Vriddhi of the second stem, are evolved by sûtra VII 3 15 S 1752

१६९५ । द्वित्रिपूर्वान्निष्कात् । ५ । १ । ३० ॥

लुग्वा स्यात् । द्विनिष्कम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । त्रिनिष्कम् । त्रिनैष्किकम् ।

बहुपूर्वाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ बहुनिष्कम् । बहुनैष्किकम् ॥

1695 The Ârhîya-affix (V 1 63 S 1728) is optionally elided after a Dvigu occasioning compound, of the word nishka, preceded by dvi and tri

The word द्विगो 'a taddhita occasioning a Dvigu compound' of V 1 28 S 1693 is to be read into this sûtra Thus द्विनिष्कम् or द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनिष्कम or त्रिनैष्किकम् (VII 3 17 S 1683)

Vârt —So also when nishka is preceded by बहु e g बहुनिष्कम् or बहुनैष्किकम ॥ The irregular Vriddhi of the second term is caused by VII 3 17

१६९६ । बिस्ताच्च । ५ । १ । ३१ ॥

द्वित्रिबहुपूर्वाद्बिस्तान्तादार्हीयस्य लुग्वा स्यात् । द्विबिस्तम् । द्विबैस्तिकमित्यादि ॥

1696 The ârhîya-affix (V 1 37-63) occasioning a Dvigu compound is optionally elided after the word bista, preceded by dvi or tri

The word च in the sûtra draws in the words द्वित्रिपूर्वात् ॥ Thus द्विबिस्तम् or द्विबैस्तिकम ॥

Note —The separation of this sûtra is for the sake of the subsequent sûtra

१६९७ । विंशतिकात्खः । ५ । १ । ३२ ॥

अध्यर्धपूर्वाद्द्विगोरित्येव । अध्यर्धविंशतिकीनम् । द्विविंशतिकीनम ॥

1667 The affix kha (ईन्) comes in the ârhîya senses (V 1 37-63) after the word vinsatika when preceded by the word adhyarddha or a Numeral, occasioning a Dvigu.

Thus अध्यर्द्धविंशतिकीनम द्विविंशतिकीनम् ॥

Note.—Being especially ordained, this affix ख is not elided by V 1 28

१६९८ । खार्या ईकन् । ५ । १ । ३३ ॥

अध्यर्धखारीकम् । द्विखारिकम् ॥ केवलायाश्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ खारीकम् ॥

1698 The affix îkan comes in the Ârhîya senses (V 1 37-63), after the word khârî, when preceded by the word adhyardha or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

Thus अध्यर्द्धखारीकम्, द्विखारिकम् ॥

Vârt —So also after the word खारी alone, as खारीकम् ॥

१६९९ । पणपादमाषशताद्यत् । ५ । १ । ३४ ॥

अध्यर्धपण्यम् । द्विपण्यम् । अध्यर्धपाद्यम् । द्विपाद्यम् । इह पाद पदिति न । यस्येति लोपस्य स्थानिवद्भावात् । पद्यत्यतदर्थे इत्यपि न । प्राण्यङ्गार्थस्यैव तत्र ग्रहणात् ॥

1699 The affix yat comes in the ârhîya senses (V 1 37-63) after the words pana, pâda, mâsha and sata when preceded by the word adhyardha, or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

Thus अध्यर्द्धपण्यम्, द्विपण्यम्; so also अध्यर्द्धपाद्यम् द्विपाद्यम् ॥ Here पाद is not changed to पद् by VI-4 130 S 414, because the elided अ of पाद is sthânivat

Thus द्विपाद+यत्=द्विपाद्+० (अ loped by यस्येति च VI 4 148 S 311)+यत् ॥ This lopa elided अ becomes sthânivat and द्विपाद is not considered as ending in पाद् but पाद and so VI 4. 130 S 414 does not apply

Nor is पाद not changed into पद्, by VI 3 53 S 991 The substitution enjoined by VI 3 53 takes place when पाद means the *foot* of a living being, while here it means a measure of capacity

१७०० । शाणाद्वा । ५ । १ । ३५ ॥

यस्यात्पक्षे ठञ् । तस्य लुक् । अध्यर्धशाण्यम् । अध्यर्धशाणम् ॥

1700 The affix यत् comes optionally after the word śâna in the ârhîya-senses (V 1 63), when it is preceded by the word adhyardha or a Numeral occasioning a Dvigu

This debars ठञ् which also comes in the alternative, and is then elided by V, 1 28 S 1693 Thus अध्यर्द्धशाण्यम् or अध्यर्द्धशाणम् ।

१७०१ । द्वित्रिपूर्वादण् च । ५ । १ । ३६ ॥

शाणादित्येव । चाद्यत् । तेन त्रैरूप्यम् । परिमाणान्तस्या सञ्ज्ञाशाणयोरिति पर्युदासादादिवृद्धिरेव । द्वैशाणम् । द्विशाण्यम् । द्विशाणम् । इह ठञादयस्त्रयोदशप्रत्यया प्रकृतास्तेषा समर्थविभक्तयोऽर्थाश्चाकाङ्क्षितास्त इदानीमुच्यन्ते ॥

1701 The affix अण् as well as 'yat' optionally also comes after the word śâna, in the ârhîya-senses (V 1 37-63) when preceded by the words द्वि and त्रि

The यत् comes optionally by the last sûtra and is also drawn into this by the word च Thus we have three forms, द्विशाण्यम् द्वैशाणम् and द्विशाणम् ॥

Note :—The irregular Vriddhi of the second term in cases of compounds of numerals, taught in VII 3 15-17 S 1752, 1754, 1683, does not however take place in the case of शाण this word being especially excluded from the operation of those rules, see VII 3 17 The Vriddhi here is regular as taught by the general rule VII 2 117

Thus in the preceding sutras V I 18 to V I 36 thirteen affixes have been taught, but the meaning of those affixes have not been given, nor the construction of the words to which they are to be added In the following sûtras are given the meanings and the construction

१७०२ । तेन क्रीतम् ।५ । १ । ३७ ॥

ठञ् । गोपुच्छेनक्रीत गौपुच्छिकम् । साप्ततिकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । ठक् । नैष्किकम् ॥

1702 The thirteen affixes taught in V 1 18-36, have the sense of "purchased with this price", and are added to a word in the third case in construction

The thirteen affixes ठञ्, ठक्, ठन्, यत्, कन्, ड्वुन्, टिठन्, अञ् अण्, ख, ईकन्, यत्, and अण have already been taught Now is taught their sense, and the case construction of the word to which they should be added The तेन shows that the words must be in the 3rd case in construction and क्रीतम् shows that the sense is that of 'purchased' The illustrations have already been given in the previous sûtras Some more may be mentioned here Thus गोपुच्छेन क्रीतम् = गौपुच्छिकम् (the accent falling on गौ), so also with words denoting Numbers and Measures, as सप्तत्याक्रीतम् = साप्ततिकम्, प्रास्थिकम्, नैष्किकम् ॥

१७०३ । इद्गोण्याः । १ । २ । ५० ।

गोण्या इत्स्यात्तद्धितलुकि । लुकोऽपवाद । पञ्चभिर्गोणीभि क्रीत पट पञ्चगोणि ।

1703 The short इ is substituted in the place of goṇî, when the Taddhita affix is elided by luk

By the sûtra I 2 49 S 1408 when a Taddhita is elided, the long ई of the feminine also required elision But this rule makes an exception in favor of the word गोणी in which under similar circumstances the short इ re places the long ई, as in the compound पञ्चगोणि purchased for five gonis Here the Taddhita suffix which conveys the meaning of "purchased," has been

rejected after गोणो by V 1-28 S 1693 therefore by the previous sûtra, the feminine suffix ई also required rejection But this sûtra intervenes and changes the long ई into short इ ॥

Note —This sûtra is divided into two separate rules by the process called yoga-vibhâga Thus इत् is made one sûtra by itself, and then it means, when there is a suppression of a Taddhita affix by लुक्, then the long ई is replaced by short इ ॥ Thus purchased with five needles = पञ्चभिः सूचीभिः क्रीत = पञ्चसूचि दशसूचि ॥ This is restricted to such examples of purchase only

१७०४ । तस्य निमित्त संयोगोत्पातौ । ५ । १ । ३८ ॥

सयोग सबन्ध । उत्पात शुभाशुभसूचक । शतिक शत्यो वा धनपतिसयोग । शतिक शत्य वा दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् । शतस्य निमित्तमित्यर्थ ॥ वातपित्तश्लेष्मभ्य शमनकोपनयोरुपसख्यानम् * ॥ वातस्य शमन कोपन वा वातिकम । पैत्तिकम् । श्लैष्मिकम् ॥ सन्निपाताच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ सान्निपातिकम् ॥

1704 The above affixes have further the sense of "for its sake", when the meaning is a relation or an unwonted appearance

The word तस्य shows that the word in construction must be in the 6th case, the word निमित्त 'cause or occasion' gives the sense of the affix, सयोग means 'a connection, or relation' उत्पात means 'a portent indicative of good or bad luck' Thus शतस्य निमित्त धनपतिना सयोग = शत्य 'a connection with a rich man for the sake of getting a hundred' So also शतिक, साहस्र ॥ So also शतस्य निमित्तमुत्पातो दक्षिणाक्षिस्पन्दनम् = शत्यम्, शतिकम्, साहस्रम् "the twiching of the right eye for the sake of a hundred" i e indicative of acquiring or losing a hundred, a thousand &c

Vârt —The above affixes come after the words वात, पित्त, and श्लेष्म in the senses of allaying or vitiating As वातिकम् 'allaying or vitiation of windy humour' So also पैत्तिकम्, श्लैष्मिकम् ॥

Vârt —Also after the word सन्निपात, as, सान्निपातिकम् ॥

१७०५ । गोद्व्यचोऽसख्यापरिमाणाश्वादेर्यत् । ५ । १ । ३९ ॥

गोर्निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा गव्य । द्व्यच, धन्य । यशस्य । स्वर्ग्य । गोद्व्यच किम् । विजयस्य वैजयिक । असख्येत्यादि किम् । पञ्चाना पञ्चकम् । सप्तकम् । प्रास्थिकम् । खारीकम् । अश्वादि, आश्विकम् । आश्मिकम ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चसादुपसख्यानम * ॥ ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् ॥

1705 After the word गो and after a word having two syllables, with the exception of a Numeral, or a Measure of capacity, or asva &c, the affix yat (य) is added, in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that

This debars ठञ् ॥ As गो निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = गैव्य 'a connection or a portent for the sake of a cow' So also after a word of two syllables, as, धैन्य , स्वर्ग्य , यशस्य ॥

Why do we say "when not a word denoting a Numeral or a Measure of capacity or अश्व &c"? Observe पञ्चाना निमित्त = पञ्चकम् , सप्तकम् , अष्टकम् , प्रास्थिकम् , खारीकम्, आश्विक formed by V I 22, 18, 19

Vârt —The word ब्रह्मवर्चस should be enumerated e g ब्रह्मवर्चसस्य निमित्त गुरुणा सयोग = ब्रह्मवर्चस्यम् "relationship with a teacher in order to acquire Brahmavarchasa"

1 अभ्र, 2 अभ्रम, 3 गण, 4 ऊर्णा, 5 उमा, 6 गङ्गा (भङ्ग भङ्गा), 7 वर्षा (वर्ष), 8 वसु ॥

१७०६ । पुत्राच्छ च । ५ । १ । ४० ॥

चाद्यत् । पुत्रीय । पुत्र्य ॥

1706 After the word putra, the affix chha (ईय) also comes, as well as yat (य), in the above sense of 'a relation or a portent for the purpose of that'

The word पुत्र being a dissyllabic word would always have taken यत् by the last aphorism This ordains छ also Thus पुत्रस्य निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = पुत्रीय or पुत्र्य ॥

१७०७ । सर्वभूमिपृथिवीभ्यामणञौ । ५ । १ । ४१ ॥

सर्वभूमेर्निमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा सार्वभौम । पार्थिव । सर्वभूमिशब्दोऽनुशतिकादिषु पठ्यते ॥

1707 The affixes अण् and अञ् are respectively added to the words sarvabhûmi and prithivî, in the above mentioned sense of "a connection or a portent for its purpose"

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus सर्वभूमिनिमित्त सयोग उत्पातो वा = सार्वभौम , so also पार्थिव ॥ In सार्वभौम there is Vriddhi of both members of the compound by VII 3 20 S 1438

१७०८ । तस्येश्वर । ५ । १ । ४२ ॥

1708 To the same bases sarvabhûmi and prithivî, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, in the sense of "lord thereof"

Note —Thus सर्वभूमेरीश्वर = सार्वभौम 'the lord of the whole earth', पार्थिव 'the lord of the earth'

Note —The word तस्य, showing the genitive construction of the base, has been repeated in this sûtra, though its anuvritti was running into it from V 1 38 S 1704 in order to show that the senses given in V 1 38 do not extend furth

Had तस्य not been repeated here, the word ईश्वर would have been an attribute, like the words संयोग and उत्पात, of the word निमित्त ॥

१७०९ । तत्र विदित इति च । ५ । १ । ४३ ॥

सर्वभूमेरीश्वर सर्वभूमौ विदितो वा सार्वभौम । पार्थिव ॥

1709 To the same bases sarvabhûmi and pṛithivî, being in the 7th case in construction, are added the same affixes an and añ respectively, when the sense is that of "known therein"

The word विदित means known, published &c सर्वभूमौ विदित = सार्वभौम "known in the whole world" So also पार्थिव ॥

१७१० । लोकसर्वलोकाट्ठञ् । ५ । १ । ४४ ॥

तत्र विदित इत्यर्थे । लौकिक । अनुशतिकादित्वादुभयपदवृद्धि । सार्वलौकिक ॥

1710 The affix thañ comes in the sense of 'known therein', after the words loka and sarvaloka, in the 7th case in construction

Thus लोके विदित = लौकिक, सार्वलौकिक ॥ The irregular Vriddhi of both members takes place by VII 3 20 S 1438

१७११ । तस्य वाप । ५ । १ । ४५ ॥

उप्यते अस्मिन्निति वाप क्षेत्रम । प्रस्थस्य वाप प्रास्थिकम् । द्रौणिकम् । खारीकम् ॥

1711 The above mentioned affixes (V 1 18 &c) come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of 'sown with so much'

The word वाप means 'sown therein' i.e a field Thus प्रस्थस्य वाप क्षेत्र = प्रास्थिकम् 'sown with a Prastha', द्रौणिकम्, खारीकम्, i e a field sown with a quantity of grain measuring a Prastha or a Drona or a Khâri

१७१२ । पात्रात् ष्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४६ ॥

पात्रस्य वाप क्षेत्र पात्रिकम् । पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्ति ॥

1712 The affix shthan comes in the sense of 'sown with so much', after the word pâtra

This debars ठञ् ॥ The न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI 1 197, S 3686) the ष् is for ङीष् (IV 1 41) The word पात्र denotes a measure of capacity Thus पात्रस्यवाप = पात्रिक क्षेत्रम्, fem पात्रिकी क्षेत्रभक्ति ॥

१७१३ । तदस्मिन्वृद्ध्यायलाभशुल्कोपदा दीयते । ५ । १ । ४७ ॥

वृद्धिर्दीयत इत्यादि क्रमेण प्रत्येक सबन्धात्रैकवचनम् । पञ्चास्मिन् वृद्धि आय लाभ शुल्कम् उपदा वा दीयते पञ्चक । शतिक । शत्य । साहस्र । उत्तमर्णेन मूलातिरिक्त ग्राह्य वृद्धि । ग्रामादिषु स्वामिग्राह्यो भाग आय । विक्रेत्रा मूल्यादधिक ग्राह्य लाभ । रक्षानिर्वेशो राजभाग शुल्क । उत्कोच उपदा ॥ चतुर्थ्यर्थ उपसख्यानम् * ॥ पञ्चास्मै वृद्ध्यादिर्दीयते पञ्चका देवदत्त । समम्ब्राह्मणे दानमितिवदधिकरण स्वविवक्षा वा ॥

1713 The above mentioned affixes have also the sense of "an interest, or a rent, or a profit, or a tax, or a bribe given thereby or in that"

The affix is added to a word in the first case (तद्) in construction The sense of the affix is that of a locative (अस्मिन्) The word दीयते 'is given' in the singular number joins with each one of the word वृद्धि, आय &c The sum paid by a debtor to his creditor over and above the principal, is called वृद्धि or interest The share of profit taken by the landlord in villages &c is called आय or rent The increase over the capital by sale of cloth &c is called लाभ or profit The share of the king for protection &c is called शुल्क or tax The present or bribe is called उपदा ॥ Thus पञ्चास्मिन वृद्धि र्वा आयो वा लाभो वा शुल्को दीयते = पञ्चक 'that transaction &c in which five percent is given as interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe' Similarly शत्य, शतिक, साहस्र &c

Vârt :—So also in the sense of a Dative As पञ्चास्मै वृद्धिर्वा आयो वा लाभा वा उपदा दीयते = पञ्चको देवदत्त "Devadatta to whom five per cent is given as interest &c" This Vârtika may be redundant, if we take the locative as sometime having the force of dative also As in the sentence समम्ब्राह्मणे दान ॥

१७१४ । पूरणार्धाट्ठन् । ५ । १ । ४८ ।

यथाक्रम ठक्ठिठनोरपवाद । द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते द्वितीयिक । तृतीयिक । अर्धिक । अर्धशब्दो रूपकस्यार्धे रूढ ॥

1714 The affix than comes in the same sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein" after a word denoting an ordinal, and after the word ardha

This debars ठक् and ठिठन् ॥ Thus द्वितीयो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = द्वितीयिक, तृतीयिक, पञ्चमिक, सप्तमिक, अर्धिक ॥ The word अर्द्ध is technically the name of रूपकार्ध ॥

१७१५ । भागाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ४९ ॥

चाट्ठन् । भागशब्दोऽपि रूपकस्यार्धे रूढ । भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते भाग्य भागिक शतम् । भाग्या भागिका विंशति ॥

1715 The affix yat (य) comes after the word bhâga in the sense of "an interest, rent, profit, tax or bribe given thereby or therein.

By the word च in the sûtra ठञ् also comes This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus भागो वृद्ध्यादिरस्मिन् दीयते = भाग्य or भागिक शतम्, भाग्या or भागिका विंशति ॥ The word भाग also denotes रूपकार्ध ॥

१७१६ । तद्धरति वहत्यावहति भाराद्वंशादिभ्य । ५ । १ । ५० ॥

वंशादिभ्य परा यो भारशब्दस्तदन्त यत्प्रातिपदिक तस्माद्धरतिकाद्द्वितीयान्तादित्यर्थ । वंशभार हरति वहत्यावहति वा वांशभारिक । ऐक्षुभारिक । भाराद्वंशादिभ्य इत्यस्य व्याख्यान्तर भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य इति । भारभूतान्वंशान् हरति वांशिक । ऐक्षुक ॥

1716 The above mentioned affixes, after the word भार preceded by the word वंश &c, have the sense of 'who carries away, or conveys or brings that'

The case in construction here is accusative (तद्) ॥ Thus वंशभार हरति, वहति आहवति वा वांशभारिक, ऐक्षुभारिक ॥

According to another explanation, the phrase भाराद् वंशादिभ्य is explained as भारभूतेभ्यो वंशादिभ्य ॥ Then the sûtra will mean "the above named affixes come after वंश &c when they denote a load" Thus भारभूतान् वंशान् हरति = वांशिक, ऐक्षुक ॥

Note —The word हरति means 'to carry to another place or to steal', वहति means 'to carry on ones back or head,' आवहति means' 'to produce or bring

1 वंश, 2 कुटज, 3 बल्वज, 4 मूल, 5 स्थुणा, (स्थुण) 6 अक्ष, 7 अश्मन्, 8 अश्व, 9 श्लक्ष्ण, 10 इक्षु, 11 खट्वा ॥

१७१७ । वस्नद्रव्याभ्यां ठन्कनौ । ५ । १ । ५१ ॥

यथासंख्य स्त । वस्न हरति वहत्यावहति वा वस्निक । द्रव्यक ॥

1717 The affixes than and kan come respectively after the words vasna and dravya, in the second case in construction, in the same sense of 'who carries &c'

Thus वस्न हरति वहति वा = वस्निक, द्रव्यक ॥

१७१८ । संभवत्यवहरति पचति । ५ । १ । ५२ ॥

प्रस्थ संभवति प्रास्थिक कटाह । प्रस्थ स्वस्मिन्समावेशयतीत्यर्थ । प्रास्थिकी ब्राह्मणी । प्रस्थमवहरति पचति वेत्यर्थ ॥ तत्पचतीति द्रोणादण् च * ॥ चाट्ठञ् । द्रोण पचतीति द्रौणी । द्रौणिकी ॥

1718 The above-mentioned affixes have also the sense of "what is capable of holding that, or takes away that, or cooks that"

The word तद् is understood here, showing that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the accusative The word संभव means the *capacity* to hold the exact quantity, अवहार means 'taking

away, or containing' Thus प्रस्थं सम्भवति = प्रास्थिकं 'a vessel capable of holding a prastha measure' So प्रस्थमवहरति or पचति = प्रास्थिक 'a vessel or a person that takes away, holds or cooks a Prastha measure' Similarly कौडविक and खारीक ॥ The word सम्भव does not govern the word पचति, thus प्रस्थ पचति ब्राह्मणी = प्रास्थिकी Bràhmanî who cooks a Prastha'

Vârt —The affix अण् also comes after the word द्रोण in the sense of 'who cooks that' e g द्रोण पचति ब्राह्मणी = द्रौणी or द्रौणिकी ॥

१७१९ । आढकाचितपात्रात्खोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । १ । ५३ ॥

पक्षे ठञ् । आढक सम्भवति अवहरति पचति वा आढकीना । आढकिकी । आचितीना । आचितिकी । पात्रीणा । पात्रिकी ॥

1719 The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added in the above sense of 'being capable of holding &c,' after the word âdhaka, âchita, and pâtra

This ख debars ठञ् which comes in the alternative Thus आढक सम्भवति, अवहरति पचति वा = आढकीना or आढकिकी, आचितीना or आचितिकी, पात्रीणा or पात्रिकी ॥

१७२० । द्विगोः ष्ठंश्च । ५ । १ । ५४ ॥

आढकाचितपात्रादित्येव । आढकाद्यन्ताद्द्विगोः संभवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु ष्ठन्खौ वा स्तः । पक्षे ठञ् । तस्याध्यर्धेति लुक् । षित्वान्ङीष् । द्व्याढकिकी । द्व्याढकीना । द्विगोरिति ङीप् । द्व्याढकी । द्व्याचितिकी । द्व्याचितीना । अपरिमाणेति ङीप्प्रतिषेधात् द्व्याचिता । द्विपात्रिकी । द्विपात्रीणा द्विपात्री ॥

1720 The affix shthan as well as the affix ख (ईन) may optionally come, after the same words âdhaka, âchita, and pâtra, being final of a Dvigu compound, the sense being that of 'what can hold,' &c

The ख is read into the sûtra by the word च of the aphorism These two affixes ख and ष्ठन् being especially ordained, are not to be elided by V 1 28 S 1693 But when, in the alternative, we add the general affix ठञ्, then it is elided by V 1 28 S 1693 The न् of ष्ठन् is for accent (VI 1 19 S 2645). and the ष् for ङीष् ॥ Thus we have 3 forms,—द्व्याढकिकी, द्व्याढकीना, or द्व्याढकी, द्व्याचितिकी, द्व्याचितीना, द्व्याचिता ॥ In this case of द्व्याचिता the feminine is not formed by ङीप् (IV 1, 21 S 479) because of the specific prohibition contained in IV 1 22 S 480 So also द्विपात्रिकी, द्विपात्रीणा and द्विपात्री ॥

१७२१ । कुलिजाल्लुक्खौ च । ५ । १ । ५५ ॥

कुलिजान्ताद्द्विगोः सम्भवत्यादिष्वर्थेषु लुक्खौ वा स्तः । चात् ष्ठन् । लुगभावे ठञ् अपवाद । द्विकुलिजी । द्वैकुलिजिकी । द्विकुलिजीना । द्विकुलिजिकी ॥

1721 After the word kulija, being the final of a Dvigu, there is optionally the elision of the above affixes, or

the adding of the affix ख (इन), in the sense of 'what can hold that &c'

By च the affix ठञ् is also added The elision being optional, the affix ठञ V 1 18 S 1680 may *optionally* be elided by V 1 28 S 1693 Thus we get *four* forms द्विकुलिजिकी (ठन्), द्विकुलिजीना (ख), द्विकुलिजो (ठञ् लुक्), द्वैकुलिजिकी (ठञ्) ॥ In the last example, there is not vṛiddhi of the second term, though it was so required by VII 3 17 S 1683 The anomaly is explained by holding that the word कुलिज should be included in the exception along with कुञ्ज and खारी of VII 3 17

१७२२ सोऽस्यांशवस्नभृतय । ५ । १ । ५६ ॥

अंशो भाग । वस्न मूल्यम् । भृतिर्वेतनम् । पञ्च अंशो वस्नो भृतिर्वास्य पञ्चक ॥

1722 The affixes taught in V 1 18 S 1680 &c have also the sense of 'this is his portion, price or pay'

The स shows that the case in construction is nominative The word अंश means 'share,' वस्न means 'price' भृति means 'wages' Thus पंच अंशो वस्नो वा भृतिर्वास्य = पञ्चक ' 'whose portion, price or pay is five'

१७२३ । तदस्य परिमाणम् । ५ । १ । ५७ ॥

प्रस्थ परिमाणमस्य प्रास्थिको राशि ॥

1723 The affixes V 1 18 S 1680 &c have the sense of "this is its measure"

The word तद् shows that the word in construction should be in the nominative case Thus प्रस्थ परिमाणमस्य = प्रास्थिको राशि 'a heap whose mass is a Prastha' So also खारीक, शत्य, शतिक, साहस्र, द्रौणिक, कौडविक, वार्षशतिक, वार्षसहस्रिक ॥ So also षष्टिर्जीवित परिमाणमस्य = षाष्टिक, द्विसाप्ततिक ॥

Note —Why the words तदस्य have been repeated in this sûtra, when their anuvritti could have been drawn from the last aphorism, the word सो ऽस्य and तदस्य being the same? The repetition shows that the affixes are again ordained, so that the elision taught in V 1 28 S 1693 does not apply Thus द्वेषष्टीजीवितपरिमाणमस्य = द्विषाष्टिक, द्विसाप्ततिक, ॥ Here the affix is not elided by V 1 24

१७२४ । सङ्ख्याया संज्ञासङ्घसूत्राध्ययनेषु । ५ । १ । ५८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रमनुवर्तते । तत्र सज्ञाया स्वार्थे प्रत्ययो वाच्य । यद्वा प्रैकयोरितिवत्सङ्ख्यामात्रवृत्तीनि परिमाणिनि प्रत्यय । पञ्चवे पञ्चका शकुनय । पञ्च परिमाणमषामिति वा । सङ्घ पञ्चक । सूत्रे अष्टक पाणिनीयम् । सङ्घशब्दस्य प्राणिसमूहे रूढत्वात्सूत्र पृथगुपात्तम् । पञ्चकमध्ययनम् ॥ स्तोमे डविधि * ॥ पञ्चदश मन्त्रा परिमाणमस्य पञ्चदश । सप्तदश । एकविंश । सोमयागेषु छन्दोगै क्रियमाणा पृष्ठ्यादिसज्ञिका स्तुति स्तोम ॥

1724 The affixes V 1 18 S 1893 &c come after a word denoting a numeral, in the sense of "this is its measure,"

when the word so formed means a Name, a Multitude, a Book, or a fixed way and mode of study

The phrase तदस्य परिमाणम् is understood here The word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case When it is a Name, the affix does not change the sense of the radical Thus पञ्चकाः = पञ्च 'the Five' as पञ्चकाः शकुनयः, त्रिकाः 'the Three' 'शालङ्कायनाः ॥ The sense of the primitive is changed when it means a संघ 'a multitude or flock' as पञ्चकः संघः, अष्टकः ॥ So also when it means a सूत्र 'a Book', as अष्टावध्याया परिमाणमस्य सूत्रस्य = अष्टकं पाणिनीयम् 'The Ashtaka of Pânini viz a Book comprising Eight Adhyâyas' So also दशकं वैयाघ्रपदीयम्, त्रिकं काशकृत्स्नम् ॥ Is not a collection of Adhyâyas the same as संघ? No, the word संघ is confined to a collection of living beings only

The word अध्ययन means 'study' Its numerical measure (संख्या परिमाण) means the particular number of times, or ways in which it should be read Thus पञ्चकोऽधीतः 'what is studied five-times, or in five modes सप्तकोऽधीतः so also अष्टकः or नवकः ॥

Vârt —The affix ड comes after the words पञ्चदश &c, when the word means a Stoma. As, पञ्चदश मन्त्राः परिमाणमस्य = पञ्चदशः स्तोमः, सप्तदशः स्तोमः &c. The indicatory ड् causes the elision of final (टि) by VI 4 143, S 316 in the cases of words like एकविंशः &c In the case of पञ्चदश the न् is elided by VI 4 144 S 679 Stoma is the praise hymn sung by the Chhandoga priests at the soma sacrifice A triad of verses by repetition becomes 15, 17 &c. Thus in sapta daśa stoma the last verse of the triad is repeated seven-times, the other two five times each, thus we have seventeen verses Similarly when every verse of the triad is recited five times, we have pancha-daśa stoma When every verse of the triad is recited seven times, it becomes eka vimśa stoma &c

१७२५। पङ्क्तिविंशतित्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशत्पञ्चाशत्षष्टिसप्तत्यशीतिनवतिशतम् । ५ । १ । ५९ ॥

एते रूढिशब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

1725 The following words are anomalous - pankti 'a verse', vinśati 'twenty', trinśat 'thirty', chatvârinśat 'forty', panchâśat 'fifty', shashṭhi 'sixty', saptati 'seventy', aśîtî 'eighty', navati 'ninety', and śata 'a hundred'

Note —The words तदस्य परिमाणम् are understood here also पङ्क्ति is formed by adding ति to पञ्च, the final being elided, meaning 'a verse the measure of which is five', i e a half quarter consisting of 5 syllables The word विंशति is formed by adding शतिच् to the word विन् which replaces the two word द्वयो-

दशत as द्वौ दशतौ परिमाणमस्य सङ्घस्य = विंशति ॥ So the affix शत् comes after त्रिन् representing त्रयोदशत , so for चतुर्णां दशानां we have चत्वारिन् and then add शत्, similarly with पञ्चाशत् ॥ Similarly with the rest

Note —All the rest appears to be the conjectural etymology of Patanjali and Kâśikâ Kara, and hence it is omitted

Note —The word पङ्क्ति also means 'a line' As ब्राह्मणपङ्क्ति , पिपीलिका पङ्क्ति ॥ Here the sense has no relation to its etymology

१७२६ । पञ्चद्दशतौ वर्गे वा । ५ । १ । ६० ॥

पञ्च परिमाणमस्य पञ्चद्वर्गः । दशत् । पक्षे पञ्चक । दशक ॥

1726 The word pañchat and daśat in combination with varga, may be anomalously so formed, in the sense of 'this is its measure'

This ordains डति instead of कन् V I 22, which also comes in the alternative As पञ्चद्वर्ग , दशद्वर्ग or पञ्चकोवर्ग दशकोवर्ग ॥

१७२७ । त्रिंशच्चत्वारिंशतोर्ब्राह्मणे संज्ञायां डण् । ५ । १ । ६२ ॥

त्रिंशदध्यायाः परिमाणमेषां ब्राह्मणानां त्रैंशानि । चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥

1727 The affix daṇ comes after the words trinśat and chatvâriṃśat, in the sense of 'this is its measure', when it is the Name denoting a Brâhmana-book

The word वर्ग does not govern this sûtra The indicatory ड् causes the elision of the last vowel with the consonant that follows it (VI 4 143 S 316) The force of the locative case in ब्राह्मणे is that of अभिधेय and not विषय, i e when the word means a Brâhmana itself Had the force been that of विषय, it would have meant, 'in the Brâhmana literature' As त्रिंशदध्याया परिमाणमेषां ब्राह्मणानां = त्रैंशानि ब्राह्मणानि The Brâhmana containing thirty Adhyâyas' So चात्वारिंशानि ब्राह्मणानि ॥ These are the names of certain Brâhmanas

१७२८ । तदर्हति । ५ । १ । ६३ ॥

लब्धु योग्यो भवतीत्यर्थे द्वितीयान्ताट्ठगादय स्यु । श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति श्वैतच्छत्रिक ॥

1728 The affixes V 1 18 S 1680 &c, have also the sense of 'who deserves that'

The case in construction here is accusative Thus श्वेतच्छत्रमर्हति = श्वैतच्छत्रिक "who deserves the White Umbrella"

१७२९ । छेदादिभ्यो नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ६४ ॥

नित्यमाभीक्ष्ण्यम् । छेदं नित्यमर्हति छैदिको वेतस । छिन्नप्ररूढत्वात् ॥ विराग विरङ्ग च * ॥ विरङ्ग नित्यमर्हति वैरङ्गिका ॥

1729 After the words छेद &c in the second case in construction, the above-mentioned affixes have the sense of "who deserves that under all circumstances"

Thus छेद नित्यमर्हति = छैदिक, so also वैराङ्गिक ॥

1 छेद, 2 भेद, 3 द्रोह, 4 दोह, 5 नर्त (वत), 6 कर्ष 7 तीर्थ* 8 सम्प्रयोग, 9 विप्रयोग 10 प्रयोग*, 11 विप्रकर्ष, 12 प्रेषण, 13 सम्प्रश्न, 54 विप्रश्न* 15 विकर्ष*, 16 प्रकर्ष*, 17 विराग विरङ्ग च (from विराग is formed वैराङ्गिक) ॥

१७३० । शीर्षच्छेदाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । ६५ ॥

शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति शीर्षच्छेद्य । शैर्षच्छेदिक । यङ्कौ सन्नियोगेन शिरस शीर्षभावो निपात्यते ॥

1730 The affix yat as well as the above affixes come after the word Śirshachchheda in the accusative, in the sense of 'who deserves that under all circumstances'

Thus शिरश्छेद नित्यमर्हति = शीर्षच्छेद्य, or शैर्षच्छेदिक ॥ The word शिरस् is changed irregularly into शीर्ष before the affix

१७३१ । दण्डादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

एभ्यो यत् स्यात् । दण्डमर्हति दण्ड्य । अर्घ्य । वध्य ॥

1731 After the words danda &c in the accusative, the affix ya comes in the sense of 'who deserves that'

The word नित्य does not govern this sûtra This य debars ठक् V I 19 S 1681 Thus दण्डमर्हति = दण्ड्य 'deserving to be killed' अर्घ्य, वध्य ॥

1 दण्ड, 2 मुसल, 3 मधुपर्क, 4 कशा 5 अर्घ, 6 मेघ, 7 मेधा, 8 सुवर्ण*, 9 उदक, 10 वध, 11 युग, 12 गुहा, 13 भाग, 14 इभ, 15 भङ्ग* ॥

Note —The Kâsikâ gives the sûtra as दण्डादिभ्यो य, another version gives the sûtra as दण्डादिभ्य only drawing the affix यत् from the last sûtra

१७३२ । पात्राद् घंश्च । ५ । १ । ६८ ॥

चाद्यत् तदर्हतीत्यर्थे । पात्रिय । पात्र्य ॥

1732 The affix ghan together with yat comes in the sense of "deserving that", after the word pâtra

This debars ठक् and ठञ् ॥ The word पात्र denotes measure also Thus पात्रमर्हति = पात्र्य or पात्रिय ॥

१७३३ । कडङ्करदक्षिणाच्छ च । ५ । १ । ६९ ॥

चाद्यत् । कडं करोतीति विग्रहे अत एव निपातनात् खच् । कडङ्कर माषमुद्गादिकाष्ठमर्हतीति कडङ्करीयो गौ । कडङ्कर्य । दक्षिणामर्हतीति दक्षिणीय । दक्षिण्य ॥

1733 The affix chhan (ईय) as well as yat (य) comes in the sense of 'deserving that', after the words kadankara and dakshinâ

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus कडङ्करमर्हति = कडङ्करीय or कडङ्कर्य 'one deserving straw' such as a cow So also दक्षिणीय or दक्षिण्यो ब्राह्मण 'a Brahmana deserving alms'

१७३४ । स्थालीबिलात् । ५ । १ । ७० ॥

स्थालीबिलमर्हति स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुला । स्थालीबिल्या । पाकयोग्या इत्यर्थ ॥

1734 The affixes chha (ईय) and yat (य) come in the sense of 'deserving that', after the word sthâlîbila

This debars ठक् ॥ Thus स्थालीबिलीयास्तण्डुला or स्थालीबिल्या 'rice deserving the pot' i e cookable rice

१७३५ । यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्यां घखञौ । ५ । १ । ७१ ॥

यथासङ्ख्य स्त । यज्ञमृत्विज वाऽर्हति यज्ञिय । आर्त्विजीनो यजमान ॥ यज्ञर्त्विग्भ्या तत्कर्मार्हतीत्युपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ यज्ञियो देश । आर्त्विजीन ऋत्विक् ॥

1735 The affixes gha and खञ् come respectively after the words yajña and ṛitvija, in the sense 'of deserving that'

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus यज्ञियो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brahmana worthy of honor at a sacrifice' आर्त्विजीनो ब्राह्मण ॥

Vârt —After the words yajña and ritvija, these affixes have also the sense of "deserving the performance thereof' Thus यज्ञकर्मार्हति = यज्ञियो देश 'a place fit for the performance of sacrifice' ऋत्विक् कर्मार्हति = आर्त्विजीन ब्राह्मणकुलम् ॥

Here ends the governing power of ठक् V, I 19 S 1681 hence forward is the government of ठञ् V I 18

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अथ तद्धित ठञधिकार प्रकरणम् ।

CHAPTER XXXIV

THE AFFIX ठञ्।

१७३६ । पारायणतुरायणचान्द्रायण वर्तयति । ५ । १ । ७२ ॥

पारायण वर्तयति पारायणिकश्छात्र । तुरायण यज्ञविशेष । त वर्तयति तैरायणिको यजमान ।

1736 The affix thañ comes in the sense of 'who performs this', after the words pârâyana, turâyana and chândrâyana being in the 2nd case in construction

The force of अर्हति ceases Thus पारायणिक छात्र, a pupil, who reads under a teacher' तारायणिको यजमान, चान्द्रायणिकस्तपस्वी ॥ the word पारायण means a teacher, (परस्य करोति) ॥

१७३७ । सशयमापन्न । ५ । १ । ७३ ॥

सशयविषयीभूतोऽर्थ साशयिक ॥

1737 The affix thañ comes after the word sanśaya in the accusative construction, the sense being "fallen into this, or thrown into it"

Thus सशयमापन्न प्राप्त = साशयिक स्थाणु 'a doubtful pillar", i e in a precarious state

१७३८ । योजन गच्छति । ५ । १ । ७४ ॥

यौजनिक । क्रोशशतयोजनशतयोरुपसख्यानम् * ॥ क्रोशशत गच्छति क्रौशशतिक । यौजनशतिक ॥ ततोऽभिगमनमर्हतीति च वक्तव्यम् ॥ * ॥ क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हतीति क्रौशशतिको भिक्षु । यौजनशतिक आचार्य ॥

1738 The affix than comes in the sense of 'who goes', after the word yojana in the accusative construction

Thus योजनगच्छति = यौजनिक ॥

Vârt —So also after the words क्रोशशत and योजनशत ॥ As क्रौशशतिक यौजनशतिक ॥

Vârt —The affix after these two words means also " who is worthy to be approached from so far" As क्रोशशतादभिगमनमर्हति = क्रौशशतिको भिक्षु यौजनशतिक आचार्य ॥

१७३९ । पथ ष्कन् । ५ । १ । ७५ ॥

षो ङीषर्थ । पन्थान गच्छति पथिक । पथिकी ॥

1739 The affix shkan comes in the same sense of 'who goes there', after the word patha, being in the 2nd case in construction

Of the affix ष्कन्, ष् is for ङीष् (IV. 1 41 S 498) and न् for accent (VI 1 197 S 3686) As पन्थानं गच्छति=पथिकः fem पथिकी ॥

१७४० । पन्थो ण नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ७६ ॥

पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति पान्थः । पान्था ॥

1740 The affix na comes after the word pantha which becomes the substitute of pathin, the sense of the affix being " who always goes"

The word नित्य qualifies the sense, of the affix Thus पन्थानं नित्यं गच्छति =पान्थः as पान्थो भिक्षां याचते ॥ Why नित्य ? See पथिक ॥

१७४१ । उत्तरपथेनाहृतं च । ५ । १ । ७७ ॥

उत्तरपथेनाहृतं औत्तरपथिकम् । उत्तरपथेन गच्छति औत्तरपथिकः ॥ आहृतप्रकरणे वारिजङ्गलस्थलकान्तारपूर्वादुपसंख्यानम् ॥ * वारिपथिकम् ॥

1741 The affix ठञ् comes, after the word uttara-patha in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'who passes by that way' 'what is conveyed by that way'

The construction of the sûtra shows that the base must be in the 3rd case The word च shows that the word गच्छति 'who passes by that way' should also be read into the aphorism Thus उत्तरपथेनाहृतं=औत्तरपथिकम् or उत्तरपथेन गच्छति=औत्तरपथिकः ॥

Vârt —So also after the word पथ preceded by the words वारि, जङ्गल, स्थल कान्तार the affix has the sense of 'conveyed by that way' or passing by that way As वारिपथेनाहृतं =वारिपथिकम्, वारिपथेन गच्छति=वारिपथिकः masculine or neuter according as the affix means conveyed or passing

१७४२ । कालात् । ५ । १ । ७८ ॥

ठ्युष्टादिभ्योऽणित्यत प्रागधिकारोऽयम् ॥

1742 In the following sûtras, the phrase "after a word denoting time" should be supplied to complete the sense

The word कालात् bears rule in the following aphorisms upto V 1 97 S 1761 exclusive Thus the next sutra तेन निर्वृत्तम् means 'accomplished by means thereof' We must read the word काल into it As मासेन निर्वृत्तम्= मासिकम् &c

१७४३। तेन निर्वृत्तम्। ५। १। ७९॥

अह्ना निर्वृत्तमाह्निकम्॥

1743. The affix ṭhañ comes after a word denoting time, being in the third case in construction, in the sense of "to be accomplished by that time"

Thus अह्ना निर्वृत्त = आह्निकम् "to be accomplished in a day" i e. a certain portion of reading &c, आर्धमासिकम्, सांवत्सरिकम्॥

१७४४। तमधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी। ५। १। ८०॥

अधीष्ट सत्कृत्य व्यापारित। भृतो वेतनेन क्रीत। भूत स्वसत्तया व्याप्तकाल। भावी तादृश एवानागत काल। मासमधीष्टो मासिकोऽध्यापक। मास भृतो मासिक कर्मकर। मास भूतो मासिको व्याधि। मास भावी मासिक उत्सव॥

1744 The above-named affixes come after a word expressing time, in the accusative case in construction, in the sense of "solicited to instruct for such a period," "hired for such a period," "which had lasted for such a period," or "which will last so long"

The word अधीष्ट means "honorary office", therefore 'one solicited to teach, but who accepts no pay' III 3 161, भृत means "engaged on wages", भूत means 'the time pervaded or occupied by its existence', and भावी the same as last in the future The word denoting time will be in the second case by II 3 5 S 558 Thus मासमधीष्ट = मासिकोऽध्यापक, so also मासभृत = मासिक कर्मकर, मासभूत = मासिको व्याधि, मासभावी = मासिक उत्सव॥

१७४५। मासाद्वयसि यत्खञौ। ५। १। ८१॥

मास भूतो मास्य। मासीनः॥

1745 The affixes yat and khañ come after the word mâsa, in denoting 'age'

This debars ठञ्॥ The word भूत of the previous sûtra should be read into this Thus मासभूत = मास्य or मासीन 'a month old'

Note:—Why do we say when denoting 'age'? Observe मासिक॥

१७४६। द्विगोर्यप्। ५। १। ८२॥

मासाद्वयसीत्यनुवर्तते। द्वौ मासौ भूतो द्विमास्य॥

1746. The affix yap comes after the word mâsa when forming a Dvigu compound, and meaning 'age'.

Thus द्वौ मासौ भूत = द्विमास्य, त्रिमास्य॥

१७४७। षण्मासाण्ण्यच्च। ५। १। ८३॥

वयसीत्येव। यबप्यनुवर्तते। चाट्ठञ्। षाण्मास्य। षण्मास्य। षाण्मासिक॥

1747 After the word shanmâsa, come the affixes nyat as well as यप् and ठञ्, in the sense of 'age'

The word vayasi is understood here So also the affix यप्॥ By force of च we draw in ठञ् also

Thus षाण्मास्य, षण्मास्य, and षाण्मासिक॥

१७४८। अवयसि ठंश्च। ५। १। ८४॥

षाण्ण्यत्। षण्मासिको व्याधि। षाण्मास्य॥

1748 The affix than comes also after the word shanmâsa, when 'age' is not meant

The च draws in the affix ण्यत् also Thus षण्मासिको व्याधिः or षण्मास्य 'a disease lasting six months'

१७४९। समाया ख। ५। १। ८५॥

समामधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा समीन॥

1749 The affix kha (ईन) comes in the fourfold senses of "solicited," "hired", "lasted", and "will last," after the word samâ.

This debars ठञ्॥ Thus समामधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा = समीन॥ Some say, the sense of the affix is तेन निर्वृत्त V I 79, S 174, as समया निर्वृत्त = समीन॥

१७५०। द्विगोर्वा। ५। १। ८६॥

समाया ख इत्येव। तेन परिजय्येत्यत प्राक्निर्वृत्तादिषु पञ्चस्वर्थेषु प्रत्यया। द्विसमीन। द्वैसमिक॥

1750 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses taught in V 1 79 80 S 1743 and 1744 after the word Samâ, forming a Dvigu

In the alternative ठञ् will also apply Upto sûtra V I 93 S 1757, the affixes have the fivefold senses of, to be accomplished by that time (S 1743) 'solicited', 'hired', 'lasted' and 'will last' (S 1744) Thus द्विसमीन or द्वैसमिक॥ Then Vârtika taught in V I 20 (प्राग्वते सङ्ख्यापूर्वपदानां तदन्तग्रहणमलुकि) applies here also Thus द्वैमासीन or द्वैमासिक, त्रिमासीन, or त्रैमासिक॥

१७५१। रात्र्यह. संवत्सराच्च। ५। १। ८७॥

द्विगोरित्येव। द्विरात्रीण। द्वैरात्रिक। द्व्यहीन। द्वैयह्निक। समासान्तविधेरनित्यत्वान्न टच्। द्विसंवत्सरीण॥

1751 The affix kha comes optionally in the fivefold senses (V 1 79, 80 S. 1743 and 1744) after the words râtri, ahan, and samvatsara, occasioning a Dvigu

The word dvigu is understood in this sûtra

In the alternative ठञ् will also come Thus द्विरात्रीण, द्वैरात्रिक, द्व्यहीन VI 4 145 S 789 or द्वैयह्निक ॥ The samâsânta affix not being universally applicable, we have no टच् ॥ द्विसंवत्सरीण, द्विसांवत्सरिक VII 3 15 S 1752 This form gets the irregular vriddhi by the following

१७५२ । संख्यायाः संवत्सरसंख्यस्य च । ७ । ३ । १५ ॥

संख्याया उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् ञिति णिति किति च। द्विसांवत्सरिक । द्वे षष्टी भूतो द्विषाष्टिक । संख्यायाः परिमाणान्तस्येत्येव सिद्धे संवत्सरग्रहणं परिमाणग्रहणे कालपरिमाणस्याग्रहणार्थम् । तेन द्वैसमिक इत्युत्तरपदवृद्धिर्न ॥

1752 After a Numeral, the first vowel of संवत्सर and of a Numeral, gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क् ॥

Thus द्विसांवत्सरिकः = द्वौ संवत्सरावधीष्टो भृतो भूतो or भावी (V 1, 80 S 1744) द्विषाष्टिक = द्वे षष्टी अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो भावी वा ॥ The words द्वि, षष्टी &c when applied to वर्ष (VII 3 16 S 1754) and Numerals give rise to the affixes taught under kâlâdhikâra (V 1 78 97) The special mention of संवत्सर here, (though) this is a परिमाण word and would have been included in the sûtra VII 3 17 S 1683 implies that the word परिमाण in that sûtra does not mean the measure of *time*, but a measure of any other thing than time Therefore, with other time words than samvatsara, the Vṛiddhi takes place in the regular way as द्वैसमिक ॥

Note —Similarly in sûtra IV 1 22 S 480 the word परिमाण does not mean the measure of time or numerals, as त्रिवर्षा, द्विवर्षा माणविका ॥ In short, the word परिमाण in these sûtras (and elsewhere III 2 23, II 3 46 &c) means "mass or bulk", and not a measure in general

१७५३ । वर्षाल्लुक् च । ५ । १ । ८८ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोर्वा खः । पक्षे ठञ् वा च लुक् । त्रीणि रूपाणि । द्विवर्षीणो व्याधि । द्विवार्षिक । द्विवर्ष ॥

1753 The above affixes kha and thañ may also be elided after a Dvigu ending in varshâ

The affix ख as well as ठञ् come in the five fold senses V 1 79, 80, after the word वर्षा forming a Dvigu, and these two affixes may also be elided optionally -Thus we have three forms, द्विवर्षीणो, द्विवार्षिको or द्विवर्षो व्याधि 'a disease that lasted two years' (Compare VII 3 16, S 1754 but when the

sense is that of भावी, the form will be द्वैवार्षिक ॥) To get this irregular vriddhi, the following sûtra applies

१७५४ । वर्षस्याभविष्यति । ७ । ३ । १६ ॥

उत्तरपदस्य वृद्धि स्यात् । द्विवार्षिक । भविष्यति तु द्वैवर्षिक । अधीष्टभृतयोरभविष्यतीति प्रतिषेधो न । गम्यते हि तत्र भविष्यत्ता न तु तद्धितार्थ । द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो वा कर्म करिष्यतीति द्विवार्षिको मनुष्य ॥

1754 After a numeral, the first vowel of वर्ष gets the Vṛiddhi, before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण् or क्, when the affix does not refer to a Future time

As द्विवर्षं अधीष्टो भृतो भूतो वा = द्विवार्षिक ॥ But when denoting future time, we have द्वैवर्षिक, त्रैवर्षिक "calculated to last two or three years" as in the sentence यस्य त्रैवर्षिक धान्य निहित भृत्यवृत्तये अधिक वापि विद्येत स सोम पातुमर्हति ॥ (= त्रीणि वर्षाणि भावी) ॥ The word अभविष्यत् does not qualify the words अधीष्ट and भृत (V 1 80 S 1744), the sense of futurity is there denoted by the taddhita-affix as द्वे वर्षे अधीष्टो भृतो वा कर्म करिष्यति = द्विवार्षिको मनुष्य ॥ Here VII 3 17 S 1683 applies and it causes the vṛiddhi of the second member This sûtra is again given below for the sake of context.

१७५४ क । परिमाणान्तस्यासञ्ज्ञाशाणयो । ७ । ३ । १७ ॥

द्वौ कुडवौ प्रयोजनमस्य द्विकौडविक । द्वाभ्या सुवर्णाभ्या क्रीत द्विसौवर्णिकम् । द्विनैष्किकम् । असञ्ज्ञेति किम् । पञ्च कपाल परिमाणमस्य पाञ्चकपालिकम् । तद्धितान्त सञ्ज्ञा । द्वैशाणम् । कुलिज शब्दमपि केचित्पठन्ति । द्वैकुलिजिक ॥

1754 A After a numeral, the first vowel of a word denoting mass in its widest sense (with the exception of शाण) gets the Vṛiddhi before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, when the word so formed does not mean a Name

As द्वौ कुडवा प्रयोजनमस्य = द्विकौडविक (V. 1 109 S 1772) द्वाभ्या सुवर्णाभ्या क्रीत = द्विसौवर्णिकम् (V 1 37 S 1702), त्रिसौवर्णिकम् ॥ The taddhita affix is optionally elided, see vârtika to V 1 29 S 1694 When the affix is elided there can be no Vriddhi, as द्विसुवर्णम् ॥ Similarly द्विनैष्किकम्, त्रिनैष्किकम् (V 1. 30 S 1695). Why 'when it is not a name'? Observe पाञ्चकपालिकम् (= पञ्चकपालानि परिमाणमस्य V 1 30 S 1695) The whole word is a Name here. Why with the exception of शाण? Observe द्वैशाणम् ॥ त्रैशाणम् formed with अण् (V 1 35 S 1700 and 36 S 1701) Some read the sûtra as असञ्ज्ञाशाणकुलिजानाम् so that कुलिज is also excepted, as द्वैकुलिजिक (V. 1 55 S. 1721 द्वैकुलिजे धेयमाजनमस्(॥

१७५५ । चित्तवति नित्यम् । ५ । १ । ८९ ॥

वर्षशब्दान्ताद्द्विगोः प्रत्ययस्य नित्यं लुक् स्यात् चेतने प्रत्ययार्थे । द्विवर्षो दारक ॥

1755 The affixes meaning "accomplished &c V. 1. 79, 80" are necessarily elided after the word varshâ forming a Dvigu, when it refers to a being endowed with reason

Here the elision is compulsory and not optional Thus द्विवर्षो दारक 'a boy two years old'

Note —Why do we say चित्तवति "when meaning endowed with reason"? Observe द्विवर्षीणो व्याधि ॥

१७५६ । षष्टिका' षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते । ५ । १ । ९० ॥

बहुवचनमतन्त्रम् । षष्टिको धान्यविशेष । तृतीयान्तात्कन् रात्रशब्दलोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

1756 The anomalously formed word shashtikâh has the meaning of "what are matured in six nights"

The word is not necessarily always plural, though so exhibited in the sûtra

The word षष्टिका' may be said to be formed by adding कन् to षष्टिरात्रि in the 3rd case in construction, then eliding the word रात्रि, the force of the affix being 'matured' Thus षष्टिरात्रेण पच्यन्ते=षष्टिका 'a kind of barley' It is a name of barley and therefore does not apply to pulse, beans &c, though they may also ripen in six days

१७५७ । तेन परिजय्यलभ्यकार्यसुकरम् । ५ । १ । ९३ ॥

मासेन परिजय्यो जेतु शक्यो मासिको व्याधि । मासेन लभ्य कार्यं सुकर वा मासिकम् ॥

1757 The affix thañ comes after a word denoting time, in the 3rd case in construction, in the sense of "to be subdued", "to be gained or attained", "to be completed" and "to be easily completed in that time"

Thus मासेन परिजय्य (शक्यते जेतु)=मासिको व्याधि, मासेन लभ्यम् कार्यं or सुकरम् मासिकम् ॥

१७५८ । तदस्य ब्रह्मचर्यम् । ५ । १ । ९४ ॥

द्वितीयान्तात्कालवाचिनोऽस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्यय स्यात् । अत्यन्तसयोगे द्वितीया । मास ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य स मासिको ब्रह्मचारी । आर्धमासिक । यद्वा प्रथमान्तादस्येत्यर्थे प्रत्यय । मासोऽस्येति मासिक ब्रह्मचर्यम् ॥ महानाम्न्यादिभ्य षष्ठ्यन्तेभ्य उपसख्यानम् * ॥ महानाम्न्यो नाम विदामघवन्नित्याद्या ऋच । तासां ब्रह्मचर्यमस्य माहानाम्निक । हरदत्तस्तु भव्याद्र इति पुवद्भावान्माहानामिक इत्याह ॥ चतुर्मासाण्ण्यो यज्ञे तत्र भव इत्यर्थे * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवन्ति चातुर्मास्यानि यज्ञकर्माणि ॥ सज्ञायामण् * ॥ चतुर्षु मासेषु भवति चातुर्मासी आषाढी । अण्णन्तत्वाड्डीप् ॥

1758 The affix than comes after a word of time in the sense of "an abstinence that lasts so long" or "who practises abstinence so long"

The word तद् shows that the word must be in the accusative case अस्य shows the force of the affix ब्रह्मचर्य्यं joins both Thus मास ब्रह्मचर्य्यमस्य = मासिको ब्रह्मचारी "who practises abstinence for a month" So also आर्धमासिक, सांवत्सरिक ॥ The second case is by II 3 5 S 558

Another explanation is, the affix thañ comes after a word in the *first* case in construction, in the sense of an abstinence which lasts for such a period As मासोऽस्य ब्रह्मचर्यस्य = मासिक ब्रह्मचर्यम् "an abstinence lasting for a month" आर्धमासिक, सांवत्सरिक ॥

In the first case the affix relates to a person, in the second, to the vow itself Both these explanations are valid, as the structure of the aphorism is open to both constructions

Vârt —So also after the words महानाम्नी &c in the genitive construction As महानाम्निक । Mahânâmni are certain Rik verses But Haradatta gives the form महानामिक by applying the rule of masculisation of the Vârtika भस्याऽढे (VI 3, 35 S 836) In this case VI 4 144 S 679 causes the elision of टि ॥

After these words, the affix means also 'who practises that' As महानाम्नीश्चरति = माहानामिक, आदित्यव्रतिक, गौदानिक ॥ महानाम्नी + ठञ् = महानामन् + ठञ् (VI 3 35 S 836 Vârt) = महानामिक (VI 4 144 S 679)

Note —The affix डिनि comes after the words अवान्तरदीक्षा &c, in the sense of 'who practises' As अवान्तरदीक्षाचरति = अवान्तरदीक्षी, तिलव्रतिन् ॥

Note —The affixes ड्वुन् and डिनि come after the word अष्टचत्वारिंशत्, as अष्टचत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि व्रतचरति = अष्टचत्वारिंशक or अष्टचत्वारिंशिन् ॥

Note —The same affixes comes after the words चतुर्मास्य &c, the final अ being elided As चतुर्मास्यानि चरति = चातुर्मासक or चातुर्मासिन् ॥

Vârt —The affix ण्य comes after चतुर्मास, in the sense of 'produced there' As चतुर्षु मासेषु भवानि = चातुर्मास्यानि ॥ It refers to a sacrifice

Vârt —The affix अण् comes, when it is a Name, as चतुर्षु मासेषु भवा = चातुर्मासी पौर्णमासी ॥ So also आषाढी, कार्त्तिकी, फाल्गुनी ॥ The feminine ङीप् is added because it is an अण् formed word

१७५९ । तस्य च दक्षिणा यज्ञाख्येभ्यः । ५ । १ । ९५ ॥

द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा द्वादशाहिकी । आख्याग्रहणात्कालादपि । आग्निष्टोमिकी । वाजपेयिकी ॥

1759 The affix thañ, comes after a word being the name of a sacrifice, in the sense of "the fee thereof"

As द्वादशाहस्य दक्षिणा = द्वादशाहिकी । So also अग्निष्टोमस्य दक्षिणा = आग्निष्टोमिकी, वाजपेयिकी ॥

The word आख्या in the sûtra implies that the affix comes even after those sacrifice denoting words which do not express time (V 1 78 S 1742) Had it not been used, the sûtra would have applied only to such sacrifice-denoting words as एकाह, द्वादशाह which are time denoting words as well The Vârtika in V 1 20 S 1682 would apply to द्वादशाह, &c Some texts do not read च in the sûtra

१७६० । तत्र च दीयते कार्यं भववत् । ५ । १ । ९६ ॥

प्रावृषि दीयते कार्यं वा प्रावृषेण्यम् शारदम् ॥

1760 The affixes having the sense of भव (IV 3 53, S 1428, IV 3 11 S 1381) come after a time-denoting word, in the sense of "what is given in that, and what is done in that"

As प्रावृषि दीयते or कार्यं=प्रावृषेण्य (IV 3 17 S 1388) शारदम् (IV 3 16 S 1387) All these words mean also what is given or done in those seasons The words वत् in भववत् means that all the rules of तत्रभव (IV 3 53 S 1428) apply here

This sûtra should be divided into two parts, one joining with the previous sûtra, as तत्र च दीयते, यज्ञाख्येभ्य, as आग्निष्टोमिक भक्त, राजसूयिकम्, वाजपेयिकम् ॥

Here ends the section on Time-affixes

१७६१ । व्युष्टादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । ९७ ॥

व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा वैयुष्टम् । व्युष्ट, तीर्थ, सग्राम, प्रवास इत्यादि ॥

1761 The affix aṇ comes after the words व्युष्ट &c in the 7th case in construction, in the sense of "being given therein or done therein"

Thus व्युष्टे दीयते कार्यं वा=वैयुष्टम्, नैत्यम् ॥

1 व्युष्ट, 2 नित्य, 3 निष्क्रमण, 4 प्रवेशन, 5 उपसक्रमण, 6 तीर्थ, 7 अस्तरण (आस्तरण), 8 सग्राम, 9 सघात, 10 अग्निपद, 11 पीलुमूल (पीलु, मूल) 12 प्रवास, 13 उपवास, 13 सभ्रम, 15 दीर्घ, ॥

१७६२ । तेन यथाकथाच हस्ताभ्यां णयतौ । ५ । १ । ९८ ॥

यथाकथाचेत्यव्ययसघातात्तृतीयान्ताद्धस्तशब्दाच्च यथासख्य णयतौ स्त ॥अर्थाभ्या तु यथासख्य नेष्यते * ॥ यथाकथा च दीयते कार्यं वा याथाकथाचम् । अनादरेण देय कार्यं वेत्यर्थ । हस्तेन दीयते कार्यं वा हस्त्यम् ॥

1762. The affixes ण and यत् come respectively after the words yathâ-kathâ-cha, and hasta, being in the third case in construction, having the sense of what is "given or is done in this way or with this"

The words हीयते and कार्यं apply to both, the rule of यथासंख्य (I 3 10 S 128) not applying to it The word यथा कथाच is an Indeclinable, meaning contempt Of course this word cannot take any case affix, it therefore only gives the sense of third case As यथाकथाच हीयते कार्यं वा = याथाकथाचम्, given with contempt or done with contempt, हस्तेन हीयते कार्यं वा = हस्त्यम् ॥

१७६३ । सपादिनि । ५ । १ । ६६ ॥

ठञ् । तेनेत्येव । कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां सपादि कार्णवेष्टकिकं मुखम् । कर्णालकाराभ्यामवश्यं शोभत इत्यर्थ ॥

1763 The affix thañ comes after a word in the Instrumental case in construction, in the sense of "fitted for that"

The word सपादिन् means 'suitable, proper, fit' The word सपादिन् is formed by adding णिनि to सपद्, the force of the affix being that of necessity (III 3 170 S 3311) as कर्णवेष्टकाभ्यां सपादि मुखं = कर्णवेष्टकिकं मुखं 'a face fit for ear-rings' which becomes beautified by ear ornaments &c. वास्त्रयुगिकम् शरीरम् i e वस्त्रयुगेन विशेषत शोभते ॥

१७६४ । कर्मवेषाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०० ॥

कर्मणा सपादि कर्मण्य शौर्यम् । वेषेण सपादि वेष्यो नटः । वेष कृत्रिम आकार ॥

1764. The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "being fitted with that", after the words karma and vesha, in the third-case in construction

This debars thañ कर्मणा सपद्यते = कर्मण्य शौर्यम्, वेषेण सपद्यते = वेष्यो नटः ॥ 'Vesha' means artificial appearance, i e disguise.

१७६५ । तस्मै प्रभवति सन्तापादिभ्यः । ५ । १ । १०१ ॥

सन्तापाय प्रभवति सान्तापिक । सामामिक ॥

1765 The affix thañ comes after the words santâpa &c in the dative construction, in the sense of "what is able to effect that"

The word प्रभवति means 'able, capable' The dative here has the force of अलम् (II 3 16 S 583) As, सतापाय प्रभवति = सतापिक, सामामिक

1 सताप, 2 सनाह 3 समाम, 4 सयोग, 5 सपराय, 6 सवेशन, 7 सपेष, 8 निष्पेष, 9 सर्ग, 10 निसर्ग, 11 विसर्ग, 12 उपसर्ग, 13 प्रवास, 14 उपवास, 15 सघात, 16 सवेष*, 17 सवास, 18 समोदन 19 सक्तु, 20 मासौदनाद्विगृहीतादपि, 21 असर्ग, ॥

१७६६ । योगाद्यच्च । ५ । १ । १०२ ॥

चाट्ठञ् । आगाय प्रभवति योग्य । यागिक ॥

1766 The affix yat (य) is also added in this sense of 'able to effect that', to the word yoga

By force of the word च 'and' the affix ठञ् also applies Thus योगाय प्रभवति = योग्य or यौगिक ॥

१७६७ । कर्मण उकञ् । ५ । १ । १०३ ॥

कर्मणे प्रभवति कार्मुकम् ॥

1767 The affix ukañ comes after the word karman, in the same sense of 'able to effect that'

This debars ठञ् As कर्मणेप्रभवति = कार्मुक धनु ॥ This word कार्मुकम् means always a 'bow', and is never employed to designate anything else

१७६८ । समयस्तदस्य प्राप्तम् । ५ । १ । १०४ ॥

समय प्राप्तोऽस्य सामयिकम् ॥

1768 The affix thañ comes after the word samaya, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "that has arrived for it"

Thus सामयिक कर्म = 'a work for which the time has come'

१७६९ । ऋतोरण् । ५ । १ । १०५ ॥

ऋतु प्राप्तोस्य आर्तवम् ॥

1769 The affix an comes after the word ritu, meaning "that has come for it"

As ऋतु प्राप्तोऽस्य = आर्त्तव पुष्पम् (Guna by VI 4 146 S 847) "the flower for which the season has arrived"

१७७० । कालाद्यत् । ५ । १ । १०७ ॥

काल प्राप्तोऽस्य काल्य शीतम् ॥

1770 The affix yat (य) comes after the word kâla, in the same sense of 'time for it'

As काल्य शीत ॥ See VI 1 213 S 3701.

१७७१ । प्रकृष्टे ठञ् । ५ । १ । १०८ ॥

कालादित्येव । तदस्येति च । प्रकृष्टो दीर्घ कालोऽस्येति कालिक वैरम् ॥

1771 The affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the first case in construction, in the sense of "longstanding"

As प्रकृष्टो कालोऽस्य = कालिकमृणम् "long standing debt" कालिकम् वैरम् "long-standing enmity"

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In this sûtra काल and तदस्य are understood, but not so the word प्राप्तम् ॥

१७७२ । प्रयोजनम् । ५ । १ । १०९ ॥

तदस्येत्येव । इन्द्रमहः प्रयोजनमस्य ऐन्द्रमहिकम् । प्रयोजनं फलं कारणं च ॥

1772 The affix ṭhañ comes after a word in the first case in construction in the sense of "that whose occasion or purpose is this"

As इन्द्रमह प्रयोजनमस्य=ऐन्द्रमहिकम्, the word प्रयोजन means fruit or cause

१७७३ । विशाखाषाढादण्मन्थदण्डयोः । ५ । १ । ११० ॥

आभ्यामण् स्यात्प्रयोजनमित्यर्थे क्रमान्मन्थदण्डयोरर्थयोः । विशाखा प्रयोजनमस्य वैशाखो मन्थः । आषाढो दण्डः ॥ चूडादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चूडा, चौडम् । श्रद्धा, श्राद्धम् ॥

1773 The affix aṇ comes in the sense of 'that whose purpose is this', after the words viśâkhâ, and ashâdhâ, when the derivative of the first is combined with मन्थ and that of the second with दण्ड ॥

As वैशाखो मन्थ, आषाढो दण्ड ॥

Vârt —So also after the words चूडा &c As चूडा प्रयोजनमस्य=चौडम्, श्रद्धा प्रयोजनमस्य=श्राद्धम् ॥

१७७४ । अनुप्रवचनादिभ्यश्छः । ५ । १ । १११ ॥

अनुप्रवचनं प्रयोजनमस्य अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1774 The affix Chha (ईय) comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the words अनुप्रवचन &c

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus अनुप्रवचन प्रयोजनमस्य=अनुप्रवचनीयम् ॥

1 अनुप्रवचन, 2 उत्थापन 3 उपस्थापन, 4 संवेशन, 5 प्रवेशन, 6 अनुप्रवेशन, 7 अनुवासन 8 अनुवचन, 9 अनुवाचन, 10 अन्वारोहण, 11 प्रारम्भण, 12 आरम्भण, 13 आरोहण, 14 अनुवेशन, 15 अनुवादन, 16 प्ररोहण ॥

१७७५ । समापनात्सपूर्वपदात् । ५ । १ । ११२ ॥

व्याकरणसमापनं प्रयोजनमस्य व्याकरणसमापनीयम् ॥

1775 The affix Chha comes in the same sense of "that whose purpose is this", after the word samâpana, when it has a word in composition preceding it

This debars ठञ् ॥ Thus व्याकरण समापन प्रयोजनमस्य=व्याकरण समापनीयम् ॥

Note—The specific mention of the word पद in the aphorism indicates that the rule will not apply when a word other than a 'pada,' such as the affix 'bahuch,' V 3 68 S 2023 precedes the word Samâpana

१७७६ । ऐकागारिकट् चौरे । ५ । १ । ११३ ॥

एकमसहायमगारं प्रयोजनमस्य मुमुषिषो स ऐकागारिकश्चौरः ॥

1776 The word ऐकागारिकट् is irregularly formed, in the sense of a 'thief'

The feminine will be in ङीप् ॥ Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य = ऐकागारिक fem° की ॥

Note —This word can be **regularly formed** by ठञ्, but it will always be restricted to mean a thief When any **other** thing is designated, it will not take this affix Thus एकागारं प्रयोजनमस्य भिक्षा, here there will be no affixing The feminine moreover will be in ङीप् ॥ Some say the word is formed by adding the affix इकट् with the irregular Vriddhi of the first syllable

१७७७ । आकालिकडाद्यन्तवचने । ५ । १ । ११४ ॥

समानकालावाद्यन्तौ यस्येत्याकालिक । समानकालस्याकाल आदेश । आशु विनाशीत्यर्थ । पूर्वदिने यस्मिन्कालादाङुत्पद्य दिनान्तरे तस्मिन्नेव नश्वर इति वा ॥ आकालाट्ठञ्च * ॥ आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

1777 The word âkâlikat is irregularly formed in the sense of "what coincides with the beginning and the end i e what lasts only an instant"

The word आकाल is substituted for समानकाल ॥ Thus आकालिकः स्तनयित्नुः 'a thunder lasting for an instant' आकालिकी विद्युत्—"a lightening lasting a twinkle" i e whose death is equal to its time of birth or dying as born

Vârt —The affixes ठञ् and ठञ् also come after आकाल, as आकालिका विद्युत् ॥

So far is the governing power of the affix ठञ् V. I. 18.

———o———

अथ तद्धित तस्त्रअधिकार प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXV

AFFIXES DENOTING CONDITION AND ACTION

१७७८ । तेन तुल्य क्रिया चेद्वति । ५ । १ । ११५ ॥

ब्राह्मणेन तुल्य ब्राह्मणवदधीते । क्रिया चेदिति किम् । गुणतुल्ये मा भूत् । पुत्रेण तुल्य स्थूल ॥

1778 The affix vati (वत्) comes after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of "like that", when the meaning is 'similarity of action'

As ब्राह्मणेन तुल्य वर्तते = ब्राह्मणवत्, as in the sentence ब्राह्मणवदधीते ॥

Why do we say "action"? The affix will not be joined when the similarity is in 'quality' As पुत्रेण तुल्य स्थूल 'as big as the son"

१७७९ । तत्र तस्येव । ५ । १ । ११६ ॥

मथुरायामिव मथुरावत् स्रुघ्ने प्राकार । चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गाव ॥

1779 The affix vati comes also in the sense of "like what is there in or thereof"

As मथुरायामिव = मथुरावत् 'like that in Mathura' as मथुरावत् स्रुघ्ने प्राकार, चैत्रस्येव चैत्रवन्मैत्रस्य गाव &c

१७८० । तदर्हम् । ५ । १ । ११७ ॥

विधिमर्हति विधिवत्पूज्यते । क्रियामहणं मण्डूकप्लुत्यानुवर्तते । तेनेह न । राजानमर्हति छत्रम् ॥

1780 The affix "vati" comes after a word in the second case in construction, in the sense of "befitting that or suited to that"

Thus विधिमर्हति = विधिवत् पूज्यते "respected as god" The word kriyâ should be read into this sutra from V i 115, S 1778, by 'frog-leap' anuvṛitti, for it is not to be read in S 1779

Therefore, not here राजानमर्हति छत्रम् 'the umbrella as befits a king".

१७८१ । तस्य भावस्त्वतलौ । ५ । १ । ११९ ॥

प्रकृतिजन्यबोधे प्रकारो भाव । गोर्भावो गोत्वम् । गोता । त्वान्त क्लीब, तलन्त स्त्रियाम् ।

1781 The affixes tva and tal come after a word in the sixth case in construction, in the sense of "the nature thereof"

As गोर्भाव = गोत्वम् or गोता ॥ The word formed by tva is of Neuter gender, that formed by tal is feminine

१७८२ । आ च त्वात् । ५ । १ । १२० ॥

ब्रह्मणस्त्व इत्यत प्राक् त्वतलावधिक्रियेते । अपवादैः सह समावेशार्थं । गुणवचनादिभ्य कर्मणि विधानार्थं चेदम् । चकारो नञ्स्नञ्भ्यामपि समावेशार्थं । स्त्रिया भाव स्त्रैणम् । स्त्रीत्वम् । स्त्रीता । पौंस्नम् । पुंस्त्वम् । पुंस्ता ॥

1782 From this forward as far as the aphorism V 1 136, S 1801 the affixes त्व and तल् bear rule

Thus in V 1 122, S 1784 त्व and तल् are read, giving the forms पृथुत्वम् and पृथुता &c This rule is intended to secure admission for these two affixes notwithstanding the bars in the shape of subsequent aphorisms directing the employment of other affixes These affixes signify, in addition to भाव (nature), कर्म (action) also, in V 1 124 S 1788 The word च in the aphorism is intended to secure their admission notwithstanding the affixes नञ् and स्नञ् (VI 1 87 S 69) Thus स्त्रिया भाव = स्त्रैणम्, स्त्रीत्वम्, स्त्रीता 'the nature of a female' पुंस्त्वम्, पुंस्ता, पौंस्नम् ॥

१७८३ । न नञ्पूर्वात्तत्पुरुषादचतुरसंगतलवणवटयुधकतरसलसेभ्य. । ५ । १ । १२१ ॥

इत पर ये भावप्रत्ययास्ते नञ्तत्पुरुषान्न स्युश्चतुरादीन्वर्जयित्वा । अपतित्वम् । अपटुत्वम् । नञ्पूर्वात्किम् । बार्हस्पत्यम् । तत्पुरुषात्किम् । नास्य पटव सन्तीत्यपटुस्तस्य भाव आपटवम् । अचतुरेति किम् । आचतुर्यम् । आसङ्गत्यम् । आलवण्यम् । आवट्यम् । आयुध्यम् । आकत्यम् । आरस्यम् । आलस्यम् ॥

1783 The affixes denoting 'nature', taught hereafter, do not come after a Tatpurusha compound formed by the negative particle नञ्, with the exception of the following —chatura, sangata, lavaṇa, vata, budha, kata, rasa, and lasa

Thus the words अपति and अपटु will have two forms only i. e अपतित्वम् or अपतिता, अपटुत्वम् or अपटुता ॥

Note —While by V 1 128, S 1793 other compounds will have यक् also, as मैनापत्यम् ॥ An exception to this is आविदुर्यं (VII- 2 25 S 3065) as used by the author himself

Why do we say नञ् पूर्वात् "a Tatpurusha whose first member is नञ्" Observe बार्हस्पत्यम्, प्राजापत्यम् ॥

Why do we say 'after a Tatpurusha ?' Observe, when the word अपटु is a Bahuvrihi compound meaning नास्य पटव सन्ति its derivative will be आपटवम्, ॥

So also the compounds of चतुर &c, with नञ् e g आचतुर्यम्, आसमत्यम्, आलवण्यम्, आवदयम्, आबुध्यम्, आकत्यम्, आरस्यम्, आलस्यम् ॥ In some texts, there is युध instead of बुध ॥

१७८४ । पृथ्वादिभ्य इमनिज्वा । ५ । १ । १२२ ॥

वावचनमणादिसमावेशार्थम् ॥

1784 The affix imanich (इमँच्) comes optionally in the sense of 'nature', after the words prithu &c.

The word वा 'optionally' is employed with the intention of securing admission for the affixes अण् &c Thus पृथु + इमन् । Now applies the following

१७८५ । र ऋतो हलादेर्लघो । ६ । ४ । १६१ ॥

हलादेर्लघोर्ऋकारस्य र स्यात् इष्ठेमेयस्सु ॥

1785 Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and इयस्, र is substituted for the ऋ in a stem, when this ऋ is preceded by a consonant, and is not prosodially long (on account of being followed by a double consonant)

Thus पृथु इमन् = प्र्थु + इमन् । Now applies the following

१७८६ । टे । ६ । ४ । १५५ ॥

भस्य टेर्लोप स्यादिष्ठेमेयस्सु । पृथोर्भाव प्रथिमा । पार्थवम् । म्रदिमा । मार्दवम् ॥

1786 The last vowel, with consonant, if any, that follows it, is elided when the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् follow

Thus पृथोर्भाव = प्रथिमन् nom प्रथिमा (पृथु + इमन् = प्रथु + इमन् VI 4 161 = प्रथ् + इमन् VI 4 155 = प्रथिमा), or पार्थवम् by V I 131 S 1796 So also म्रदिमा or मार्दवम् ॥ The उ of पृथु and मृदु is elided by the present Sûtra and र is substituted for ऋ by VI 4, 161 S 1785 Of course, the affixes त्व and तल् come here also as, पृथुत्वम्, मृदुत्वम् पृथुता मृदुता ॥

1 पृथु, 2 मृदु 3 महत् 4 पटु, 5 तनु 6 लघु, 7 बहु 8 साधु, 9 आशु, (आसु), 10 उरु (ऊरु), 11 गुरु 12 बहुल, 13 खण्ड, 14 दण्ड 15 चण्ड, 16 अकिंचन, 17 बाल*, 18 होड, 19 पाक, 20 वत्स 21 मन्द 22 स्वादु 23 ह्रस्व, 24 दीर्घ, 25 प्रिय, 26 वृष, 27 ऋजु 28 क्षिप्र, 29 क्षुद्र, 30 अणु*, 31 वेणु (')

१७८७ । वर्णदृढादिभ्य ष्यञ्च । ५ । १ । १२३ ॥

चादिमानिच्च । शौक्ल्यम् । शुक्लिमा । दार्ढ्यम् । *

पृथुमृदुभृशकृशदृढपरिवृढानामेव रत्वम् । * द्रढिमा । चो क्वचित्। ओचिती । यथाकामी ॥

1787 The affix shyañ also comes, as well as imanich after a word denoting colour, and after the words dridha &c, in the sense of 'nature thereof'.

Thus शुक्लस्य भाव = शौक्ल्यम्, शुक्लिमन्, शुक्लस्य शुक्लता ॥ कार्ष्ण्यम्, कृष्णिमन्, कृष्णत्वम्, कृष्णता, दार्ढ्यम् द्रढिमन् (nom मा) दृढत्वम्, दृढता ॥

The ष् of ष्यञ् shows that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (IV 1 41) As औचित्य fem औचित्ती (VI 4 148 and 150 S 311 and 472) So also यथाकामी ॥

Vârt —The following are the six words which substitute र for ऋ under VI 4 161 S 1785 पृथु मृदु भृश, कृश दृढ, परिवृढ ॥ Thus द्रढिमा ॥

Note —It therefore, does not apply to words like कृत मातृ भ्रातृ, &c as कृतमाचष्टे = कृतयति, मातरमाचष्टे = मातयति भ्रातरमाचष्टे = भ्रातयति ॥ See III 1 21 S 2677

१७८८ । गुणवचनब्राह्मणादिभ्यः कर्मणि च । ५ । १ ।१२४ ॥

चाद्भावे । जडस्य कर्म भावो वा जाड्यम् । मूढस्य भाव कर्म वा मौढ्यम् । ब्राह्मण्यम् ॥ *

अर्हतो नुम च ॥ अर्हतो भाव कर्म वा आर्हन्त्यम् । आर्हन्ती । ब्राह्मणादिराकृतिगणः ॥

1788 The same affix shyan has after a word expressive of quality, and after Brâhmana &c, the sense of 'the activity or occupation of something or some one'

The च in the aphorism is employed with the intention of including भाव or "nature" The word कर्म denotes activity जडस्य भाव कर्म वा = जाड्यम् ॥ So also मौढ्यम्, ब्राह्मण्यम्, माणव्यम् ॥

This class of ब्राह्मण &c is âkritigana i e the fact of a word belonging to which is known only from the forms met with in writers of authority

Vârt —The augment नुम् is added to अर्हत् when it takes the affix ष्यञ् ॥ Thus the activity or nature of अर्हत् will be आर्हन्त्यम् fem आर्हन्ती the य is elided by VI 4 150 S 472

The words यथा तथ and यथापुर preceded by the negative particle अ, i e the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर belong to the Brâhmanâdi class They also take ष्यञ्, the vriddhi in their case is governed by the following sûtra

१७८९ । यथातथयथापुरयोः पर्यायेण । ७ । ३ । ३१ ॥

नञ परयोरेतयो पूर्वोत्तरपदयो पर्यायेणाचो वृद्धिर्ञिदादौ । अयथातथाभाव आयथातथ्यम्, अयाथातथ्यम् । आयथापुर्यम् । अयाथापुर्यम् । आपादसमाप्तेर्भावकर्माधिकार ॥ चतुर्वर्णादीनां स्वार्थ उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चत्वारो वर्णाश्चातुर्वर्ण्यम् । चातुराश्रम्यम् । त्रैस्वर्यम् । षाड्गुण्यम् । सैन्यम् । सान्निध्यम् । सामीप्यम् । औपम्यम् । त्रैलोक्यमित्यादि । सर्वे वेदा सर्ववेदास्तानधीते सर्ववेद । सर्वादेरिति लुक् । स एव सार्ववैद्य । चतुर्वेदस्योभयपदवृद्धिश्च * ॥ चतुरो वेदानधीते चतुर्वेद स एव चातुर्वैद्य । चतुर्विद्यस्येति पाठान्तरम् । चतुर्विद्य एव चातुर्वैद्य ॥

1789 Before a Taddhita affix having an indicatory ञ्, ण्, or क्, the words अयथातथ and अयथापुर may have vriddhi of the first vowel of their first member, or that of the second member, in alternation

That is, when the Negative particle gets the vṛiddhi, the words remain unchanged, and when these words are vriddhied, the negative particle remains unaltered As आयथातथ्यम् or अयाथातथ्यम्, आयथापुर्यम् or अयाथापुर्यम् ॥ In the sutra the compounds are exhibited as यथातथ and यथापुर and are Avyayībhâvas (II 1 7 S 661), and being neuters, the आ of तथा and पुरा are shortened

The words भाव and कर्म bear rule upto the end of the seventh Book chapter three

Vârt —The affix does not change the sense in चातुर्वर्ण्य &c, as चत्वार एव वर्णा = चातुर्वर्ण्यम् ॥ चतुराश्रम्यम्, त्रैस्वर्यम्, षाड्गुण्यम्, सैन्यम्, सान्निध्यम्, सामीप्यम्, औपम्यम् त्रैलोक्यम् ॥ &c

So also सर्ववेदा = सर्ववेदा All Vedas One who studies All-Vedas is सर्ववेदः the affix is here luk elided by the vârtika under IV 2 60 S 1270 This word सर्ववेद takes the affix ष्यञ् without any change of sense As सार्ववेद्यः

Vârt —There is vriddhi of both members of the compound चतुर्वेद 'who studies four Vedas' before ṣhyañ As चतुर्वेद + ष्यञ् = चातुर्वैद्य ॥ Instead of चतुर्वेदस्य, another reading of this Vârtika is चतुर्विद्यस्य thus चतुर्विद्य + ष्यञ् = चातुर्वैद्य । चतुर्वेद is formed from विद्या by अण् luk elision (IV 1 88 S 1080), चतुर्विद्य by ठक् elision (IV 2 60 S 1270 vârt)

१७९० । स्तेनाद्यन्नलोपश्च । ५ । १ । १२५ ॥

नेति सघातग्रहणम् । स्तेन चौर्ये पचाद्यच् । स्तेनस्य भाव कर्म वा स्तेयम् । स्तेनादिति योग विभज्य स्तैन्यमिति ष्यञन्तमपि केचिदिच्छन्ति ॥

1790 The affix yat (य) comes in the sense of "nature thereof or action thereof", after the word stena, in the genitive, and न is elided before this affix

The न in the sûtra is taken in its composite form, i e न् + अ ॥ The elision herein taught is of न NA and not of न् N only The word स्तेन is formed by अच् of पचादि class

Note —Had न of the sutra meant the single letter न्, there would arise the following anomaly स्तेन + ष्यञ् = स्तेन् + य (the अ is elided by VI 4 148 S 311) Here the elided अ becomes sthanivat by I 1 57 S 50 and so when न् is elided by the present sûtra, we have स्ते + ० + ० + य ॥ The elided अ would cause the ए to be changed to अय &c the form would be स्तय्य ॥ Hence the whole syllable न is elided by this sûtra and not separately by the application of S 311 and this sutra

As स्तेनस्य भाव कर्म वा = स्तेयम् ॥ Some divide the sûtra into two स्तेनात् ष्यञ् भवति (2) ततो यन्न लोपश्च, as स्तैन्यम् and स्तेयम् ॥

१७९१ । सख्युर्यः । ५ । १ । १२६ ॥

सख्युर्भाव कर्म वा सख्यम् ॥ दूतवणिग्भ्यां च * ॥ दूतस्य भाव कर्म वा दूत्यम् । वणिज्यमिति काशिका ॥ माधवस्तु वाणिज्याशब्द स्वभावात् स्त्रीलिङ्ग । भाव एव चाव प्रत्यया न तु कर्मणीत्याह । भाष्ये तु दूतवणिग्भ्यां चेति नास्त्येव । ब्राह्मणादित्वाद्वाणिज्यमपि ॥

1791 The affix य comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word सखि ॥

As सख्यम् 'friendship'

Vârt —So also after the words, दूत and वणिक्, as दूत्यम् ॥ According to Kâśikâ we have वणिज्यम् ॥ Mâdhava says "वाणिज्या is inherently feminine The affix shyañ is added to it in the sense of 'nature' and never in the sense of action" In the Bhâshya this vârtika is not at all found The word वाणिज्यम् is formed by V I 124, S 1788 वणिक belonging to ब्राह्मणादि class

१७९२ । कपिज्ञात्योर्ढक् । ५ । १ । १२७ ॥

कापेयम । ज्ञातेयम ॥

1792 The affix dhak comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the words kapi and jñâti

Thus कपेर्भाव कर्म वा = कापेयम् ज्ञातेयम् ॥ The rule of यथासंख्य (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply any where under this head

१७९३ । पत्यन्तपुरोहितादिभ्यो यक् । ५ । १ । १२८ ॥

सैनापत्यम् । पौरोहित्यम् ॥ राजाऽसे * ॥ राजशब्दोऽसमासे यक लभते इत्यर्थ । राज्ञो भाव कर्म वा राज्यम । समासे तु ब्राह्मणादित्वात् ष्यञ् । आधिराज्यम ॥

1793 The affix yak comes in the senseof 'nature or action thereof', after a compound ending with pati, and after purohita &c

Thus सेनापतेर्भाव कर्म वा = सैनापत्यम्, पौरोहित्यम्, राज्यम् ॥

1 पुरोहित, 2 राजासे (असमासे, राजन् असे), 3 ग्रामिक (समामिक) 4 पिण्डिक, 5 सुहित *, 6 बाल, 7 मन्द, 8 खण्डिक, 9 दण्डिक, 10 वर्मिक (वर्मित,) 11 कर्मिक, 12 धर्मिक *, 13 शिलिक (शीलिक), 14 सूतिक 15 मूलिक 16 तिलक (तिलिका), 17 अञ्जलिक, 18 अज्ञानिक, (अज्ञतिका), 19 कृषिक, 20 पुत्रिक (पुत्रक), 21 अविक*, 22 छात्रिक, 23 पर्षिक*, 24 पथिक (पथिका), 25 चर्मिक, 26 प्रतिक, 27 सारथि (सारथिक), 28 आस्तिक*, 29 सूचिक, 30 संरक्ष*, 31 सूचक (संरक्षसूचक), 32 नास्तिक', 33 अजानिक), 34 शाक्वर (शक्वर), 35 नागर*, 36 चूडिक, 37 एषिक, 38 मिलिक, 39 स्तानिक, 40 चूडितिक, 41 कृषिक, 42 पूतिक, 43 पत्रिक 44 सलनिक, 45 पक्षिक, 46 अलिक, 47 शार्मिक, 48 सिरिवक, 49 प्राश्चिक, 50 प्रविक, 51 परिक्षक, 52 पूजनिक, 53 मूश्चिक, 54 स्वरिक ॥

G *Vârt* —The word râjan gets yak augment when not in a compound As राज्यम् "the nature or action of the king royalty In the compound it will take shyañ of the Brahmanâdi class" As आधिराज्यम् ॥

१७९४ । प्राणभृज्जातिवयोवचनोद्गात्रादिभ्योऽञ् । ५ । १ । १२९ ॥

प्राणभृज्जाति । आश्वम् । औष्ट्रम् । वयोवचनम् । कौमारम् । कैशोरम् । औद्गात्रम् । औन्नेत्रम् । सौष्टवम् । दौष्टवम् ॥

1794 The affix añ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after class names of animals, and words expressing age, as well as after udgâtṛi &c

Thus अश्वस्य भाव कर्म वा = आश्वम्, औष्ट्रम्, कौमारम्, कैशोरम्, औद्गात्रम्, औन्नेत्रम् ॥ सौष्टवम्, दौष्टवम् ॥

1 उद्गातृ, 2 उन्नेतृ, 3 प्रतिहर्तृ 4 प्रशास्तृ, 5 होतृ, 6 पोतृ, 7 हर्तृ, (कर्तृ), 8 रथगणक 9 पत्तिगणक (पक्तिगणक पत्तिगणक), 10 सुष्टु, 11 दुष्टु, 12 अध्वर्यु, 13 वधू, 14 सुभग मन्त्रे ॥ In the Mantra literature subhaga takes अञ्, as महते सौभगाय, sometimes there is no अञ् as सौभाग्य मस्ये दत्वाय ॥

१७९५ । हायनान्तयुवादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । १ । १३० ॥

द्वैहायनम् । त्रैहायनम् । यौवनम् । स्थाविरम् । श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपश्च * ॥ श्रौत्रम् । कुशलचपलनिपुणपिशुनकुतूहलक्षेत्रज्ञा युवादिषु ब्राह्मणादिषु च पठ्यन्ते । कौशल्यम् । कौशलमित्यादि ॥

1795 The affix an comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after compounds ending in hâyana, and after yuvana &c

Thus द्विहायनस्य भाव कर्म वा = द्वैहायनम्, त्रैहायनम्, यौवनम्, स्थाविरम् ॥

Gana Vârt —The य of श्रोत्रिय is elided, as श्रोत्रियस्य भाव कर्म वा = श्रौत्रम् ॥

1 युवन्, 2 स्थविर, 3 होतृ, 4 यजमान, 5 पुरुषासे (पुरुष असमासे), 6 भ्रातृ (भातृ), 7 कुतुक (कतक), 8 श्रमण (श्रणम), 9 कटुक*, 10 कमण्डलु 11 कुस्त्री, 12 सुस्त्री, 13 दुस्त्री, 14 सुहृदय, 15 दुर्हृदय, 16 सुहृद् 17 दुर्हृद् 18 सुभ्रातृ, 19 दुर्भ्रातृ, 20 वृषल, 21 परिव्राजक, 22 सब्रह्मचारिन्, 23 अनृशंस, 24 हृदयासे (हृदय असमासे), 25 कुशल, 26 चपल, 27 निपुण, 28 पिशुन, 29 कुतूहल, 30 क्षेत्रज्ञ, 31 श्रोत्रियस्य यलोपश्च, 32 ब्रातृ, 33 कतक, 34 कुतुक, 35 कन्दुक, 36 मिथुन, 37 कुलटी, 38 महस, 39 कितव, 40 पोत ॥

The word कुशल, चपल, निपुण, पिशुन, कुतूहल and क्षेत्रज्ञ belong both to the Yuvâdi and Brâhmanadi class As कौशल्यम् or कौशलम् &c

१७९६ । इगन्ताच्च लघुपूर्वात् । ५ । १ । १३१ ॥

शुचेर्भाव कर्म वा शौचम् । मौनम् । कय काव्यम् । कविशब्दस्य ब्राह्मणादित्वात्ष्यञ् ॥

1796 The affix an comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof,' after a stem ending in इक् (इ, ई, उ, ऊ, or ऋ or ऌ), when the preceding syllable is prosodially light

Thus शुचे भाव कर्म वा = शौचम मौनम (मुनि), (Why do we say लघुपूर्वात् 'the preceding syllable being light'? Observe काण्डुत्वम्, पाण्डुत्वम्) ॥ Why काव्यम from कवि ? The word कवि takes ष्यञ् as belonging to the Brâhmanâdi class V I 124

१७९७ । योपधाद्गुरूपोत्तमाद्वुञ् । ५ । १ । १३२ ॥

रामणीयकम् । आभिधानीयकम् ॥ सहायाद्वा * साहाय्यम् । साहायकम् ॥

1797 The affix vuñ comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof' after a polysyllabic stem whose penultimate letter is य् , and whose penultimate syllable is prosodially heavy

Note —The word उपोत्तम means the last syllable but one in a word of three syllables or more That word whose penultimate syllable is गुरु 'heavy' is called गुरूपोत्तमम् , the योपधा means 'having penultimate य ॥

Thus रामणीयकम् from रमणीय, आभिधानीयकम् ।

Note —Why do we say "the penultmate letter being य् " ? Observe वैमानस्य from विमान ॥

Note —Why do say गुरूपोत्तम "the penultimate syllable being heavy " ? Witness क्षत्रियत्वम् ॥

Vârt —Optionally so after the word सहाय, as साहायकम् and साहाय्यम् ॥

Note —The words उपोत्तम and उपधा should be distinguished the first means penultimate *syllable* (implying thereby the word is of more than two syllables).. and the second means penultimate *letter*

१७९८ । द्वन्द्वमनोज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । १ । १३३ ॥

शैष्योपाध्यायिका । मानोज्ञकम् ॥

1798 The affix vuñ comes in the sense of nature or action thereof', after a dvandva compound and after the words manojña &c

Thus गोपालपशुपालाना भाव कर्म वा = गोपालपशुपालिका । शैष्योपाध्यायिका, मानोज्ञकम् ।

1 मनोज्ञ, 2 प्रियरूप, 3 अभिरूप, 4 कल्याण, 5 मेधाविन्, 6 आढ्य, 7 कुलपुत्र 8 छान्दस, 9 छात्र, 10 श्रोत्रिय, 11 चोर, 12 धूर्त * 13 विश्वदेव (वैश्वदेव), 14 युवन्, 15 कुपुत्र *, 16 ग्रामपुत्र 17 ग्रामकुलाल*, 18 ग्रामषण्ड (ग्रामखण्ड), 19 ग्रामकुमार, 20 सुकुमार 21 बहुल, 22 अवश्यपुत्र, (अवश्य) 23 अमुष्यपुत्र, 24 अमुष्यकुल, 25 सारपुत्र, *, 26 शतपुत्र, 27 कुशल, 28 महोपुरुष ॥

१७९९ । गोत्रचरणाच्छ्लाघात्याकारतदवेतेषु । ५ । १ । १३४ ॥

अत्याकारोऽधिक्षेप । तदवेतस्तेगोत्रचरणयोर्भावकर्मणीप्राप्त । अवगतवान्वा । गार्गिकया श्लाघते । गार्ग्यत्वेन विकत्थत इत्यर्थ । गार्गिकयाऽत्याकुरुते । गार्गिकामवेत । काठकेन श्लाघते ॥

1799 The affix vuñ comes in the sense of 'nature or ction thereof' after a family-name (Gotra), and after the Name of a Vaidic School, when one boasts thereby, or manifests his contempt thereby, or when it means one who has attained that (or has come for an inspection or inquiring thereof)

Note —The word श्लाघा means boasting, अत्याकार means 'contempt', तद् अवेत means तद्प्राप्त 'who has gained that, or तज्ज्ञ who inquires that' The word तत् refers to गोत्र and चरण ॥ The word तदवेत means "who has obtained that or who has known that"

To take first श्लाघा, as गार्गिकयाश्लाघते or काठिकया श्लाघते "boasts of belonging to the family of Garga, or the school of Katha" To take अत्याकार, as गार्गिकयात्याकुरुते, काठिकयात्याकुरुते "he manifests contempt upon another, because of his belonging to the clan of Garga or School of Kaṭha" To take तदवेता as गार्गिकामवेत or काठिकामवेत = प्राप्त or अवगतवान् ॥

Note —Why do we say "when it means boasting &c" Observe गार्ग्यत्वम्, काठत्वम् ॥ The य of गार्ग्य is elided in the above examples by VI 4 148 & VI 4 151.

१८०० । होत्राभ्यश्छ । ५ । १ । १३५ ॥

होत्राशब्द ऋत्विग्वाची स्त्रीलिङ्ग । बहुवचनाद्विशेषग्रहणम् । अच्छावाकस्य भावः कर्म वा अच्छावाकीयम् । मैत्रावरुणीयम् ॥

1800 The affix chha (ईय) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after words expressing Hotrâ priests

The word hotrâ is feminine and denotes a kind of priest होत्राभ्य is plural, to prevent the application of I 1 68 S 25, therefore the rule does not apply to the word-form 'hotrâ derived from हु + त्रन् meaning a ritvij

Thus आच्छावाकीयम्, मैत्रावरुणीयम्, ब्राह्मणाच्छंसीयम्, आग्नीध्रीयम्, प्रतिप्रस्थात्रीयम्, नेष्ट्रीयम्, पोत्रीयम् ॥

१८०१ । ब्रह्मणस्त्व । ५ । १ । १३६ ॥

होत्रावाचिनो ब्रह्मशब्दात्त्व स्यात् । छस्यापवाद । ब्रह्मत्वम् । नेति वाच्ये त्ववचनं तलो बाधनार्थम् । ब्राह्मणपर्यायाद्ब्रह्मन्शब्दात्तु त्वतलौ । ब्रह्मत्वम् । ब्रह्मता ॥

1801 The affix tva (त्व) comes in the sense of 'nature or action thereof', after the word Brahman, denoting a kind of Hotrâ priest

This debars छ ॥ Thus ब्रह्मणो भाव कर्म वा = ब्रह्मत्वम् ॥ This debars तल् ॥ When ब्रह्मण means a Brâhmana, by caste, we have ब्रह्मत्वम् or ब्रह्मता ॥ So much for the province of the affixes नञ् and स्नञ् (IV 1 87)

—o—

अथ तद्धितमत्वर्थीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE AFEIX मतुप् ।

१८०२ । धान्यानां भवने क्षेत्रे खञ् । ५ । २ । १ ॥

भवन्त्यस्मिन्निति भवनम् । मुद्गानां भवनं क्षेत्रं मौद्गीनम् ॥

1802 The affix khañ comes after the name of any particular corn, being in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of "a place of growing," when that place is a field

Note —The word धान्यानां 'of grains', shows that the word in construction should be in the genitive case The plural number shows that the affix is not to be added to the word form धान्य, but to words which denote various kinds of dhânya (I 1 68 S 203) भवन means 'the place where a thing is produced or grows (भवन्ति जायन्ते)' ॥

Thus मुद्गानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = मौद्गीनम्, कौद्रवीणम्, कौलत्थीनम् ॥

Note —Why do we say "of grains"? There will be no affixing in a case like तृणानां भवनं क्षेत्रं ॥

Note —Why do we say "when it is a field"? Observe मुद्गानां भवनं कुशूलं 'a granary where kidney-beans grow'

१८०३ । व्रीहिशाल्योर्ढक् । ५ । २ । २ ॥

व्रैहेयम् । शालेयम् ॥

1803 The affix dhak comes in the above sense of 'a place of growing, when it is a field', after the words व्रीहि and शालि ॥

Thus व्रीहीणां भवनं क्षेत्रं = व्रैहेयम्, शालेयम्, शालेय 'a field fit for growing rice

१८०४ । यवयवकषष्टिकाद्यत् । ५ । २ । ३ ॥

यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं यव्यम् । यवक्यम् । षष्टिक्यम् ॥

1804 The affix yat comes in the same sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', after the words yava, yavaka and shashtika

This debars खञ् ॥ Thus यवानां भवनं क्षेत्रं = यव्यम् यवक्यम् षाष्टिक्यम् See VI 1 213 S 3701 for accent

१८०५ । विभाषा तिलमाषोमाभङ्गाणुभ्यः । ५ । २ । ४ ॥

यत् वा स्यात् । पक्षे खञ् । तिल्यम् । तैलीनम् । माष्यम् । माषीणम् । उम्यम् । औमीनम् । भङ्ग्यम् । भाङ्गीनम् । अणव्यम् । आणवीनम् ॥

1805 The affix yat comes, in the sense of 'a place for growing, it being a field', optionally after the words tila, mâsa, umâ, bhangâ and anu

The affix khañ will come in the alternative Thus तिल्यम् or तैलीनम् 'a field for growing sesamum', माष्यम् or माषीणम् 'a field for growing beans', उम्यम् or औमीनम् 'a field of linseed', भङ्ग्यम् or भाङ्गीनम् 'a field of hemp', अणव्यम् or आणवीनम् 'a field for small grain'

१८०६ । सर्वचर्मणः कृतः खखञौ । ५ । २ । ५ ॥

असामर्थ्येऽपि निपातनात्समासः । सर्वश्चर्मणा कृतः सर्वचर्मीणः । सार्वचर्मीणः ॥

1806 The affix kha (ईन) and khañ (ईन) come in the sense of "wholly made thereof", after the word sarva-charman

The word सर्व is here a part of the sense of the affix, and joins with the word कृत, and with चर्मन् ॥ The compounding is, in fact, made by the affix, for between सर्व and चर्मन there is no sâmarthya or construction, and so it can not be compounded with it, by any rule of samâsa Sâmarthya is necessary for that purpose Here सर्व is in construction with कृतः ॥ So the compounding of sarva with charman is anomalous Thus सर्वश्चर्मणकृत = सर्वचर्मीण or सार्वचर्मीण "made wholly of leather"

१८०७ । यथामुखसंमुखस्य दर्शनः खः । ५ । २ । ६ ॥

मुखस्य सदृशं यथामुखं प्रतिबिम्बम् । निपातनात्सादृश्येऽव्ययीभावः । समं सर्वं मुखं संमुखम् । समशब्दस्यान्तलोपो निपात्यते । यथामुखं दर्शनो यथामुखीनः । सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शनः संमुखीनः ॥

1807 The affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of 'a mirror', after the words yathâmukha, and sanmukha being in the 6th case in construction

The word दर्शन means that in which something is seen, such as, a looking glass, mirror &c, which reflects things The word यथामुख "a reflection" is an Avyayîbhâva compound, the meaning of यथा being that of likeness (II 1 6 S 652) Thus यथामुख दर्शन = यथामुखीन 'showing or reflecting the likeness of the face'—a mirror सर्वस्य मुखस्य दर्शन = सम्मुखीन 'showing or reflecting the whole face'—a looking glass सम means 'all', and in forming the compound the final अ of सम is elided.

१८०८। तत्सर्वादे पथ्यङ्गकर्मपत्रपात्रं व्याप्नोति । ५ । २ । ७ ॥

सर्वादे पथ्याद्यन्ताद् द्वितीयान्तात्खः स्यात् । सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोतिसर्वपथीनः । सर्वाङ्गीणः । सर्वकर्मीणः । सर्वपत्रीणः । सर्वपात्रीणः ॥

1808 After the words pathi, anga, karman, patra or pâtra, preceded by sarva, being in the second case in construction, the affix kha (ईन) comes in the sense of "what pervades or fills the whole of that"

Thus सर्वपथान् व्याप्नोति = सर्वपथीनोरथः, सर्वाङ्गीणस्तापः, सर्वकर्मीणः पुरुषः, सर्वपत्रीणः सारथिः, सर्वपात्रीणः ओदनः ॥

१८०९। आप्रपदं प्राप्नोति । ५ । २ । ८ ॥

पादस्याग्रं प्रपदं तन्मर्यादीकृत्य आप्रपदम् । आप्रपदीनः पटः ॥

1809 The affix kha (ईन) comes after the word âprapada, in the sense of "reaching thereto"

The word प्रपद means the 'top of the foot' आ means "upto" आप्रपद is an Avyayîbhâva compound meaning 'to the top of the foot' Thus आप्रपद प्राप्नोति = आप्रपदीनः पटः 'cloth reaching to the end of the feet', i. e. showing the width of the cloth by comparison with the body

१८१०। अनुपदसर्वान्नायानयं बद्धाभक्षयतिनेयेषु । ५ । २ । ९ ॥

अनुरायामे सादृश्ये च । अनुपदं बद्धा अनुपदीना उपानत् । सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति सर्वान्नीनो भिक्षुः । अयानयं स्थलविशेषः । तं नेयो ऽयानयीनः शारः ॥

1810 The affix kha comes after the words anupada, sarvânna, and ayânaya, being in the second case in construction, in the senses of 'so bound', 'eating that', and 'to carry thereto' respectively

Thus अनुपदं बद्धा = अनुपदीना 'a kind of shoe', this word is always feminine The force of अनु here is that of 'length' or 'likeness' That is 'a shoe of the measure of a foot' So सर्वान्नानि भक्षयति = सर्वान्नीनो भिक्षुः 'a mendicant who eats the whole food' So also अयानयीनः शारः 'a chessman or piece that is taken to the position on the chess called ayânaya' The word अयानय is compounded of two words अय, meaning 'going from right to left', and अनय 'from left to right', and it means a particular position in which the pieces moving from right to left and left to right cannot move further and attack the other pieces

Note —According to some अयानयीन is the name of the front pieces in one's own row of chess-men A piece which moves only on one side, does not admit

of this affix The piece which is carried from one side to another, admits of this affix Others move only in one direction अग्र or अनग्र but not both Kaiyyata यस्तु शार एक पार्श्व एव सञ्चरति तत्र न भवति प्रत्ययो यो हि शार पार्श्वात् पार्श्वान्तरमानीयते, स एव अयानय नीयते, अन्यास्तु अयमेव नीयते, अनयमेव नीयते वा ॥

१८११ । परोवरपरम्परपुत्रपौत्रमनुभवति । ५ । २ । १० ॥

पराश्चावराश्चानुभवतीति परोवरीण । अवरस्योत्व निपात्यते। पराश्च परतराश्चानुभवति परम्परीण । प्रकृते परम्परभावो निपात्यते । पुत्रपौत्राननुभवति पुत्रपौत्रीण । परम्पराशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्न शब्दान्तर स्त्रीलिङ्ग तस्मादेव स्वार्थे ष्यञि पारम्पर्यम् । कथ पारोवर्यवदिति । असाधुरेवायम् । खप्रत्ययसन्नियोगेनैव परोवरेति निपातनात्

1811 The affix kha comes in the sense of "who witnesses or experiences that", after the words parovara, parampara and putrapautra in the second case in construction

The word परोवर is compounded of पर and अवर the ओ in रो being irregular, the compounding being caused by the affix पराश्चावराश्च अनुभवति = परोवरीण 'who lives to see high and low" The word परम्पर is compounded of पर and परतर, the compounding being caused by the affix As पराश्च परतराश्चानुभवति = परम्परीण ॥ Similarly पुत्रपौत्रीण ॥

The word परम्परा is a separate word as well, not formed by or admitting this affix As मन्त्रिपरम्परा मन्त्र भिनत्ति ॥ This is a feminine word from this we get by ṣhyañ without change of meaning पारम्पर्यम् । How do you explain the form पारोवर्यवत् ? It is certainly incorrect because the form परोवर is valid only before the affix ख and nowhere else

१८१२ । अवारपारात्यन्तानुकाम गामी । ५ । २ । ११ ॥

अवारपारगामी अवारपारीण । अवारीण । पारीण । पारावारीण । अत्यन्त गामी अत्यन्तीन । भृश गन्तेत्यर्थ । अनुकाम गामी अनुकामीन । यथेष्ट गन्तेत्यर्थ ॥

1812 The affix kha comes in the sense of 'who purposes to go", after the words avârapâra, atyanta, and anukâma, being in the accusative case in construction

The word गामी means 'गमिष्यति', see III 3 3 S 3171 The genitive case is prohibited by II 3 70 the word गामी governing the accusative Thus अवारपारगामी = अवारपारीण ॥

So also when the words are reversed As पारावारीण ॥ So also when the words are taken separately, as अवारीण and पारीण ॥ So also अत्यन्त गामी = अत्यन्तीन = भृश गन्ता ॥ So also अनुकामीन = यथेष्ट गन्ता ॥

१८१३ । समांसमां विजायते । ५ । २ । १२ ॥

समायाँऽसमिष्टाविभक्तेरलुक च पूर्वपदनिपात्यते । समासमीना गौ । समासमीना सा चैव प्रतिवर्ष प्रसूयते ॥ खप्रत्ययानुत्पत्तौ यलोपो वा वक्तव्य * ॥ समासमा विजायते । समाया समाया वा ॥

1813 The affix kha comes after the word samâmsamâm in the sense of 'who bears in the womb'

The word विजायते means गर्भं धारयति 'who bears in the womb' This verb governs the accusative of time समासमा by II 1 29 S 691 Thus समासमा विजायते = समासमीना गौ, समासमीना वडवा ॥

According to others the aphorism means "the affix comes in the sense of to give birth to or to get a young" i e विजायते = गर्भमोचन ॥ According to them, the verb governs the locative समायां समायां विजायते = समासमीना, the यू of the first समायां being elided, the rest of the vibhakti (आम्) remains The word will mean "an animal that gives birth to a young one every year" See Amarakosha II 9 72

Vârt —Sometime there is no affixing, but the whole sentence is to be used to express this meaning, or the only of both members is to be elided and a sentence formed As समा समा विजायते or समायां समायां विजायते ॥

१८१४ । अद्यश्वीनावष्टब्धे । ५ । २ । १३ ॥

अद्य श्वो वा विजायते अद्यश्वीना वडवा । आसन्नप्रसवेत्यर्थः । केचित्तु विजायते इति नानुवर्तयन्ति । अद्यश्वीनं मरणम् । आसन्नमित्यर्थः ॥

1814 The word adyaśvînâ is anomalous, meaning "a female near delivery"

The word विजायते is understood here The word अवष्टब्ध means 'imminent, near' It is formed by अव + स्तम्भ + क्त, the being changed to ष by VIII, 3 68 S 2273 Thus अद्य वा श्वो वा विजायते = अद्यश्वीना वडवा "a mare likely give birth to day or to morrow"

Some do not read विजायते in to the sûtra, which then means "The word adyaśvîna is irregularly formed meaning *imminent*" As अद्यश्वीनं मरणं imminent death

१८१५ । आगवीनः । ५ । २ । १४ ॥

आङ्पूर्वाद्गोः कर्मकरे खप्रत्ययो निपात्यते । गौः प्रत्यर्पणपर्यन्तं यः कर्म करोति स आगवीनः ॥

1815 The word âgavîna "a day-servant" is irregularly formed

This word is formed by adding ख to the word गो preceded by the preposition आ, as आगो + ख = आगवीन ॥ The force of the affix is that of 'a servant' A person who is engaged in business till the return of the cows from pasture i e a day-labourer

१८१६ । अनुग्वलंगामी । ५ । २ । १५ ॥

अनुगु । गोः पश्चात्पर्याप्तं गच्छति । अनुगवीनो गोपालः ॥

1816 The affix kha comes after the word anugu, in the sense of who is 'fit to follow'

Thus the word अनुगु means गो पश्चाद् ॥ Thus अनुगु पर्याप्त गच्छति = अनुगवीन 'who is suited or able to follow after the cows' i e a cowherd

१८१७। अध्वनो यत्खौ। ५।२।१६॥

अध्वानमलं गच्छति अध्वन्य। अध्वनीन। ये चाभावकर्मणो। आत्माध्वानौ खे इति सूत्राभ्यां प्रकृतिभाव॥

1817 The affixes yat (य) and kha (ईन) come after the word adhvan, in the above sense of 'who is fit or able to follow'

Thus अध्वानमलगामी = अध्वनीन or अध्वन्य 'able to undertake a journey' By aphorisms VI 4 168, 169 S 1154, and 1671 the word अध्वन् retains its original form before the affixes य and ख, not losing its final अन्, which it does before other affixes, by VI 4 144 S 679

१८१८। अभ्यमित्राच्छ च। ५।२।१७॥

चाद्यत्खौ। अभ्यमित्रीय। अभ्यमित्र्य। अभ्यमित्रीण। अमित्राभिमुखं सुष्ठु गच्छतीत्यर्थ॥

1818 The affix Chha (ईय) also as well as yat and kha comes after the word abhyamitra, in the sense of 'who is able to go'

The च draws in यत् and ख ॥ Thus अभ्यमित्र अलगामी = अभ्यमित्रीय, अभ्यमित्र्य अभ्यमित्रीण 'a warrior who valiantly encounters his enemy' = अमित्राभिमुख सुष्ठु गच्छति ॥

१८१९। गोष्ठात्खञ् भूतपूर्वे। ५।२।१८॥

गोष्ठो भूतपूर्व गौष्ठीनो देश॥

1819 The affix khañ comes after the word goshtha in the sense of 'it formerly had been' •

The word गोष्ठ is a compound of गो + स्था i e a cow pen, it means the place all around a cow pen The word भूतपूर्व qualifies it Thus गोष्ठो भूतपूर्व = गौष्ठीनो देश 'a place which was formerly a Goshṭha' Otherwise when not meaning formerly, we have गोष्ठो वर्तते ॥

१८२०। अश्वस्यैकाहगमः। ५।२।१९॥

एकाहेन गम्यते इत्येकाहगम। आश्वीनोऽध्वा॥

1820 The affix khañ comes after the word aśva, in the genitive case in construction, the sense being 'what is travelled over or traversed in one day'

The word अश्वस्य being in the sixth case shows the construction it should have before the affix The एकाहगम means एकाहेन गम्यते i e, what is or can be gone over in one day Thus अश्वस्यैकाहगमोऽध्वा = आश्वीन is आश्वीनानि शत पतित्वा = यावन्ति योजनान्यैकाहेनाश्वेन गम्यते तावता शत गत्वा ॥ सहस्राश्वीन वा इत स्वर्गो लोक ॥

१८२१ । शालीनकौपीने अधृष्टाकार्ययो । ५ । २ । २० ॥

शालाप्रवेशमर्हति शालीन अधृष्ट । कूपपतनमर्हति कौपीन पापम । तत्साधनत्वात्तद्गोप्यत्वाद्वा पुरुषलिङ्गमपि । तत्सम्बन्धात्तदाच्छादनमपि ॥

1821 The word śâlîna and kaupîna are anomalous, when meaning 'modest' and 'a shameful action' respectively

The word अधृष्ट means 'not proud', अकार्यम means 'unfit to be done' i e an infamous act The words come from शाला "a hall" and कूप 'a well' It is not easy to trace any connection between 'modesty' and 'a hall', or between 'shameful' and 'a well' However some say शालाप्रवेशमर्हति 'who deserves to enter a hall', = शालीन, कूपावतारमर्हति 'who deserves to be thrown into a well' कौपीन, hence a thing to be concealed as the male organ, and the dress that conceals it As शालीनो जड, कौपीनं पाप ॥

१८२२ । व्रातेन जीवति । ५ । २ । २१ ॥

व्रातेन शरीरायासेन जीवति नतु बुद्धिवैभवेन स व्रातीन ॥

1822 The affix khañ comes after the word vrâta in the third case in construction, the sense being "who leads this life, or who lives by this"

The word व्रात means a multitude or mass composed of various castes, who have no fixed employment, and live by violence, or by bodily labor व्रातेन जीवति = व्रातीनः 'a person who lives by the labour of his body, and not by the power of his brain'

१८२३ । साप्तपदीनं सख्यम् । ५ । २ । २२ ॥

सप्तभि पदैरवाप्यते साप्तपदीनम ॥

1823 The word sâptapadîna is anomalous, when meaning 'friendship'.

The word साप्तपदीन comes from सप्तपद but the connection of senses is not very clear. It is said सप्तभि पदैरवाप्यते = साप्तपदीनम "formed by walking together seven steps or by talking together seven words"

Note :—The circumambulation of the Fire by the bride and bridegroom in seven steps makes the marriage irrevocable साप्तपदीन seems to have some connection

with that The word साप्तपदीन or न means 'a friend' also, the abstract sense being made applicable by analogy to the person as well

१८२४ । हैयङ्गवीनं सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । २३ ॥

ह्योगोदोहस्य हियङ्गुरादेश विकारार्थे खञ् च निपात्यते । दुह्यत इति दोह क्षीरम् । ह्योगोदोहस्य विकारो हैयङ्गवीन नवनीतम् ॥

1824 The word "haiyangavîna" is anomalous when it is a Name

The word हैयङ्गवीनम् means 'fresh butter' The word comes from ह्यः 'yesterday' and गोदोह 'cow's milk' ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार 'prepared from yesterday's milk' i e "fresh butter' The affix does not come in the sense of any विकार in general There is no affixing in ह्यो गोदोहस्य विकार when it means उदश्वित् or 'whey'

१८२५ । तस्य पाकमूले पील्वादिकर्णादिभ्यः कुणब्जाहचौ । ५ । २ । २४ ॥

पीलूना पाक पीलुकुणः । कर्णस्य मूल कर्णजाहम् ॥

1825 The affixes kunâp (कुण) and jâhach (जाह) come after the words pilu &c and karṇa &c respectively, when the senses are respectively 'the fruiting-season of this' and 'the root of this'

The word तस्य shows that the construction must be genitive The affix कुणप् comes after पील्वादि words, signifying 'ripening', and the affix जाहच् comes after कर्णादि words signifying the 'root'

Thus पीलूना पाक = पीलुकुणः, कर्कन्धुकुणः, so also कर्णस्य मूल = कर्णजाहम् ॥

1 कर्ण, 2 अक्षि, 3 नख, 4 मुख, 5 केश, 6 पाद, 7 गुल्फ, 8 भ्रू, 9 शृङ्ग (भ्रूभङ्ग, भ्रूशृङ्ग), 10 दन्त, 11 ओष्ठ, 12 पृष्ठ, 13 नख, 14 अङ्गुष्ठ ॥

1 पीलु, 2 कर्कन्धु (°न्धू), 3 शमी, 4 करीर, 5 कुवल, 6 बदर, 7 अश्वत्थ, 8 खदिर ॥

१८२६ । पक्षात्तिः । ५ । २ । २५ ॥

मूलग्रहणमात्रमनुवर्तते । पक्षस्य मूल पक्षतिः ॥

1826 The affix ti (ति) comes after the word paksha in the genitive case in construction, in the sense of 'the root of it'

Note —The word मूल of the last sûtra is drawn into this aphorism, and not the word पाक as well This is an exceptional case of अनुवृत्ति, generally the whole is drawn and not a portion Hence arises the following maxim क्वचिदेकदेशोऽप्यनुवर्तते "Sometimes it also happens that only a part of the words of a rule which are mutually connected is valid in a subsequent rule, while the rest ceases to be valid"

Thus पक्षस्य मूल = पक्षति i e प्रतिपत् 'the root or the first day of a Paksha or a fortnight'

१८२७ । तेन वित्तश्चुञ्चुप्चणपौ । ५ । २ । २६ ॥

चकार प्रत्यययोरादी लुप्तनिर्दिष्टस्तेन चस्य नेत्संज्ञा । विद्यया वित्तो विद्याचुञ्चु । विद्याचण ॥

1827 The affixes chuñchup (चुञ्चु) and chanap (चण) come after a word in the third case in construction, in the sense of 'celebrated through this'

The word वित्त means known, illustrious Thus विद्यया वित्त = विद्याचुञ्चु, विद्याचण, केशचण ॥ The initial च् in these affixes is not इत् (I 3 7 S 189) because the affixes really are चचुञ्चुप् and चचणप् ॥ Thus च् is elided after words So च् is not the initial of an affix, and does not get इत् designation

१८२८ । विनञ्भ्यां नानाञौ न सह । ५ । २ । २७ ॥

असहार्थे पृथग्भावे वर्तमानाभ्यां स्वार्थे प्रत्ययौ । विना । नाना ॥

1828 The affixes ना and नाञ् come respectively after the words वि and नञ्, in the sense of 'not being together'

Thus वि + ना = विना 'without', नञ् + नाञ् = नाना 'several'

१८२९ । वेः शालच्छङ्कटचौ । ५ । २ । २८ ॥

क्रियाविशिष्टसाधनवाचकात्स्वार्थे । विस्तृतम् विशालम् । विशङ्कटम् ॥

1829 The affixes śâlach (शालँ) and śankatach (शंकटँ) come after the preposition वि, without changing the sense

Thus विगत शृङ्गम् = विशालम् विशङ्कटम ॥ Thus these words may apply to a cow, as विशाल, विशङ्कट ॥ According to some these words are adjectives meaning 'great, large' &c There is no connection here of the sense of the base and the affix

१८३० । संप्रोदश्च कटच् । ५ । २ । २९ ॥

सङ्कटम् । प्रकटम् । उत्कटम् । चाद्विकटम् ॥ अलाबूतिलोमाभङ्गाभ्यो रजस्युपसंख्यानम् * ॥ अलाबूना रज अलाबूकटम् ॥ गोष्ठजादय स्थानादिषु पशुनामभ्य * ॥ गवां स्थानं गोगोष्ठम् ॥ सघाते कटच् * ॥ अवीनां सङ्घातोऽविकटः ॥ विस्तारे पटच् * ॥ अविपट ॥ द्वित्वे गोयुगच् * ॥ द्वावुष्ट्रौ उष्ट्रगोयुगम् ॥ षट्त्वे षड्गवच् ॥ * ॥ अश्वषड्गवम् ॥ स्नेहे तैलच् * ॥ तिलतैलम् । सर्षपतैलम् ॥ भवने क्षेत्रे शाकटशाकिनौ * ॥ इक्षुशाकटम् । इक्षुशाकिनम् ॥

1830 The affix katach (कट) comes after the words sam, pra, ud, (and vi)

The वि is read into the sûtra by virtue of the word च ॥ Thus सङ्कटम्, प्रकटम्, उत्कटम्, विकटम ॥

Vârt —The affix कटच् comes after अलाबु, तिल, उमा, and भङ्गा in denoting dust thereof As अलाबूना रज =अलाबूकटम्, तिलकटम्, उमाकटम्, भङ्गाकटम् ॥&c

Vârt —The affix गोष्ठच् comes after the names of animals, in denoting the places As गवां स्थान=गोगोष्ठ, &c

Vârt —When a flock is denoted, the affix कटच् is added, as अविकटः ॥

Vârt —When spreading is denoted, the affix is पटच्, and अविपट ॥

Vârt —When a couple is denoted, the affix is गोयुगच्, as उष्ट्रगोयुगम् ॥

Vart —When six is denoted, the affix is षड्गवच्, as अश्वषड्गवम् ॥

Vârt — The affix तैलच् comes when it means the oil of it As तिलतैलम्, सर्षपतैलम् ॥

Vârt —The affixes शाकट and शाकिन denote 'a field where it grows', after the words इक्षु &c As इक्षुशाकटम्, इक्षुशाकिन ॥

१८३१ । अवात्कुटारच्च । ५ । २ । ३० ॥

चात्कटच । अवाचीनोऽवकुटार । अवकट ॥

1831 The affix कुटारच् as well as कटच् comes after the word अव ॥

As अवकुटार, अवकट 'downwards,' 'very deep'

१८३२ । नते नासिकाया सज्ञायां टीटञ्नाटज्भ्रटच । ५ । २ । ३१ ॥

अवादित्येव । नत नमनम् । नासिकाया नत अवटीटम् । अवनाटम् । अवभ्रटम् । तद्योगान्नासिका अवटीटा । पुरुषोऽप्यवटीट ॥

1832 The affixes टीटच्, नाटच् and भ्रटच् come after the word अव, in the sense of a hooked nose, when the word so formed is a Name

Thus नासिकाया नतम्=अवटीटम्, or अवनाटम्, अवभ्रटम् ॥ The word signifies the nose, as well as the person also, as अवटीटा नासिका, अवटीट पुरुष ॥

१८३३ । नेर्बिडज्बिरीसचौ । ५ । २ । ३२ ॥

निबिडम् । निबिरीसम् ॥

1833 The affixes बिडच् and बिरीसच् come after the word नि, in the above sense of hooked nose, the whole word, being a Name

Thus निबिडम् and निबिरीसम् ॥

Note —How do you say निबिडा केशा or निबिड वस्त्रम् ? It is by analogy

१८३४ । इनच् पिटच्चिक चि च । ५ । २ । ३३ ॥

नेरित्येव । नासिकाया नतेऽभिधेये इनच्पिटचौ प्रत्ययौ प्रकृतेश्चिक चि इत्यादेशौ च । कप्रत्यय-चिकादेशौ च वक्तव्यौ * । चिकिनम् । चिपिटम् । चिक्कम् ॥ क्लिन्नस्य चिल् पिल् लश्चास्य चक्षुषी * । क्लिन्ने चक्षुषी अस्य चिल्ल । पिल्ल ॥ चुल् च * ॥ चुल्ल

1834 The affixes इनच् and पिटच् come after the word नि in the above sense of a hooked nose, and चिक् and चि are the substitutes of नि before those affixes respectively.

Thus नि + इनच् = चिक् + इनच् = चिकिन, नि + पिटच् = चि + पिटच् = चिपिट ॥

Vârt —So also comes क, and चिक् replacing नि, as नि + क = चिक् + क = चिक्क ॥

Vârt —The affix ल comes after the word क्लिन्न in the sense of 'its eyes', and चिल् and पिल् are substitutes of क्लिन्न as क्लिन्ने अस्य चक्षुषी = चिल्ल, पिल्ल 'blear-eyed'

Vârt :—चुल is also the substitute As चुल्ल ॥

Note —These words apply to the 'eye' also, as चिल्ले, पिल्ले चुल्ले "sore-eyes" They apply to 'person' also

१८३५ । उपाधिभ्यां त्यकन्नासन्नारूढयोः । ५ । २ । ३४ ॥

संज्ञायामित्यनुवर्तते । पर्वतस्यासन्नं स्थलमुपत्यका । आरूढं स्थलमधित्यका ॥

1835 The affix tyakan (त्यक) comes after the words upa and adhi, in the sense of 'nearness' and 'elevation' respectively, the words so formed being Names

Thus उपत्यका = पर्वतस्यासन्नम lowland, a land at the foot of the mountain, अधित्यका = पर्वतस्यारूढम् a table land, high land

Note —The rule VII 3 44 S 463 does not apply here, so we do not get the forms उपत्यिका or अधित्यिका ॥

१८३६ । कर्मणि घटोऽठच् । ५ । २ । ३५ ॥

घटत इति घटः । पचाद्यच् । कर्मणि घटते कर्मठ पुरुष ॥

1836 The affix athach (अठ) comes after the word karma, in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'employing oneself zealously in it'

The word घट means zealous work It is formed from √घट with the अच् of the Pachâdi Thus कर्मणि घटते = कर्मठ पुरुष 'a clever, proficient person'

१८३७ । तदस्य संजातं तारकादिभ्य इतच् । ५ । २ । ३६ ॥

तारका संजाता अस्य तारकित नभ । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1837 The affix itach (इत) comes after the words târakâ &c in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'that whereof this is observed'

Thus तारका संजाता अस्य नभस = तारकित नभ 'a starry sky' i e a night in which stars are visible पुष्पितो वृक्ष 'a tree in which flowers have grown'

The तारकादि class is आकृतिगण ॥

1 तारका, 2 पुष्प, 3 कणक, 4 मञ्जरी*, 5 ऋजीष, 6 क्षण*, 7 सूच (सूचक), 8 मूत्र, 9 निष्क्रमण, 10 पुरीष, 11 उच्चार, 12 प्रचार, 13 विचार, 14 कुड्मल, 15 कण्टक, 16 मुसल*, 17 मुकुल, 18 कुसुम, 19 कुतूहल, 20 स्तबक, 21 किसलय, 22 पल्लव, 23 खण्ड, 24 वेग, 25 निद्रा, 26 मुद्रा, 27 बुभुक्षा, 28 धेनुष्या, 29 पिपासा, 30 श्रद्धा, 31 अभ्र, 32 पुलक, 33 अङ्गारक, 34 वर्णक, 35 द्रोह, 36 दोह, 37 सुख, 38 दुःख, 39 उत्कण्ठा (उत्कण्ठ), 40 भर, 41 व्याधि, 42 वर्मन्*, 43 व्रण*, 44 गौरव*, 45 शास्त्र, 46 तरंग, 47 तिलक, 48 चन्द्रक (चन्द्र) 49 अन्धकार, 50 गर्व, 51 मुकुर, 52 हर्ष, 53 उत्कर्ष, 54 रण*, 55 कुवलय, 56 गर्ध, 57 क्षुध् (क्षुधा), 58 सीमन्त 59 ज्वर, 60 गर*, 61 रोग, 62 रोमाञ्च, 63 पण्डा, 64 कज्जल, 65 तृष्*, 66 कोरक, 67 कल्लोल, 68 स्थपुट,* 69 फल, 70 कञ्चुक*, 71 शृङ्गार* 72 अङ्कुर, 73 शैवल*, 74 बकुल*, 75 श्वभ्र* 76 आराल*, 77 कलङ्क, 78 कर्दम, 79 कन्दल, 80 मूर्छा*, 81 अङ्गार, 82 हस्तक (हस्त), 83 प्रतिबिम्ब*, 84 विघ्नतन्त्र (वितघ्न, तन्त्र)*, 85 प्रत्यय*, 86 दीक्षा*, 87 गर्ज, 88 गर्भादप्राणिनि (गर्भिता शालय but गर्भिणी गौ), 89 तन्द्रा, 90 स्तवक 91 कर, 92 आन्दोल, 93 गौर, 94 राग ॥

१८३८ । प्रमाणे द्वयसज्दघ्नञ्मात्रचः । ५ । २ । ३७ ॥

तदस्येत्यनुवर्तते । ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य ऊरुद्वयसम् । ऊरुदघ्नम् । ऊरुमात्रम् ॥ प्रमाणे लः * ॥ शमः । दिष्टिः । वितस्तिः ॥ द्विगोर्नित्यम् * ॥ द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य द्विशमम् ॥ प्रमाणपरिमाणाभ्यां संख्यायाश्चापि संशये मात्रज्वक्तव्यः * ॥ शममात्रम् । प्रस्थमात्रम् । पञ्चमात्रम् । वत्वन्तात्स्वार्थे द्वयसज्मात्रचौ बहुलम् * ॥ तावदेव तावद्द्वयसम् । तावन्मात्रम् ॥

1838 The affixes dvayasach (द्वयस) daghnach (दघ्न) and mâtrach (मात्र), come in denoting "that whereof this is the lineal measure" after a word in first case in construction

The word तदस्य is understood here Thus ऊरु प्रमाणमस्य=ऊरुद्वयसम्, ऊरुदघ्नम्, ऊरुमात्रम् 'as high as the thigh'

Note —As ऊरुद्वयसमुदकम् 'water reaching upto the thigh' According to some the first and the second affixes (dvayasa and daghna) come in denoting the measure of altitudes and depths and not horizontal measures The affix मात्रच् comes in a general sense also As प्रस्थमात्रम् 'a cubit long'

Vârt —The affixes denoting lineal measure are elided after words which are themselves recognised as standards of measure Thus शम प्रमाणमस्य =शमः 'that which is śama (a hand) in length' Similarly दिष्टि, वितस्ति ॥

Note —The affix mâtra only is elided, the other two affixes are never applicable to these words

Vârt —The elision is invariable after a Dvigu As द्वौ शमौ प्रमाणमस्य =द्विशमम् ॥

Note —Why do we say "invariable"? The elision will take place even where there is doubt द्वे दिष्टि स्याता वा न वा=द्विदिष्टि ॥

Vârt —The affix मात्रच् comes after words denoting lineal measure, and mass measure, and after a numeral, even when there is doubt As

ग्रामामात्रम्=ग्रामः प्रमाणमस्य स्यात् वा, प्रस्थमात्रम्, पञ्चमात्रम् ॥ An exception to this is contained in the 2nd Vârtika, where mâtra is elided in Dvigu compounds, owing to the word नित्य being used there

Vârt —The affixes द्वयसच् and मात्रच् come without changing the sense, diversely after a word ending in वतु, as तावद्द्वयसम्,=तत् परिमाणमस्य धान्यादिस्तावत् तावन्मात्रम् &c

१८३९ । पुरुषहस्तिभ्यामण् च । ५ । २ । ३८ ॥

पुरुषः प्रमाणमस्य पौरुषम् । पुरुषद्वयसम् । हास्तिनम् । हस्तिद्वयसम् ॥

1839 The affix aṇ also, as well dvayasach &c, comes after the words purusha and hasti, in the first case in construction in the sense of 'that whereof this is the lineal measure'

The phrase तदस्य प्रमाणं is understood here By च the affixes द्वयसच् &c are drawn in Thus पुरुष प्रमाणमस्य=पौरुषम्, पुरुषद्वयसम्, पुरुषदघ्नम्, पुरुषमात्रम्, हस्तिद्वयसम्, हस्तिदघ्नम्, हस्तिमात्रम्, हास्तिनम् ॥

Note —The affix is always elided after a Dvigu As द्विपुरुषद्वयकम्, त्रिपुरुषम्, द्विहस्ति, त्रिहस्ति, द्विपुरुषी, त्रिपुरुषी, द्विहस्तिनी, त्रिहस्तिनी ॥

१८४० । यत्तदेतेभ्यः परिमाणे वतुप् । ५ । २ । ३९ ॥

यत्परिमाणमस्य यावान् । तावान् । एतावान् ॥

1840 The affix vatup (वत्) comes after the words yad, tad, and etad, being in the first case in construction, in signifying "that whereof this is the measure of volume".

The phrase तदस्य is understood here As यत् परिमाणमस्य=यावान् । This form is thus evolved, यत्+वतुप्=यावत् (the ti अत् being replaced by आ by VI 3 91)=यावन्त् (the नुम् being added by VII 1 70)=यावान्त् (the अ being lengthened by VI. 4. 41.), the vibhakti being elided by VI 1 68 S 252 and त् being elided by VIII 2 23 we get finally यावान्, तावान्, एतावान् ॥

१८४१ । किमिदम्भ्यां वो घः । ५ । २ । ४० ॥

आभ्यां वतुप्स्यात् वस्य च घः । कियान् । इयान् ॥

1841. After the words kim and idam, घ (इय्) is substituted for the व् of vatup.

Thus किम्+वतुप्=की+वतुप् (VI. 3 90)=क्+घतुप् (VI 4 148)=कियत् nom. कियान् Similarly इयत् nom, इयान् ॥

१८४२ । किमः संख्यापरिमाणे डति च । ५ । २ । ४१ ॥

स्याद्वतुप् । तस्य च वस्य घ स्यात् । का संख्या येषां ते कति । कियन्तः ॥

1842 The affix dati (अति with the elision of इम) as well as the affix vatup comes after the word किम, in the first case in construction, in the sense of 'numerical quantity'

The च introduces the affix वतुप् which is changed into वतुप् (इयत्) ॥ The word सङ्ख्यापरिमाणे means सङ्ख्याया परिमाण i e सङ्ख्यापरिच्छेद making estimate by numbers As का सङ्ख्या परिमाणं मेषां ब्राह्मणानां = कति ब्राह्मणा or कियन्तो ब्राह्मणा how many Brahmanas in number do you estimate these This always comes in the plural

१८४३ । सङ्ख्याया अवयवे तयप् । ५ । २ । ४२ ॥

पञ्चावयवा अस्य पञ्चतयं दारु ॥

1843 The affix tayap (तय) comes after a numeral, in the sense of "that whereof the parts are so many"

The word तदस्य is understood here. Thus पञ्च अवयवा अस्य = पञ्चतयम् having five parts The part being connected with the whole, the force of the affix is to denote the whole

१८४४ । द्वित्रिभ्यां तयस्यायज्वा । ५ । २ । ४३ ॥

द्वयम् । द्वितयम् । त्रयम् । त्रितयम् ॥

1844 The affix ayach (अयँ) is optionally the substitute of tayap, after words dvi and tri

As द्वाववयवावस्य = द्वयम्, or द्वितयम्, त्रयम् or त्रितयम् 'a couple' 'a triad' (VI 4 148)

१८४५ । उभादुदात्तो नित्यम् । ५ । २ । ४४ ॥

उभशब्दात्तयपोऽयच् स्यात् स चाद्युदात्तः । उभयम् ॥

1845. After the word udha, ayach is always the substitute for tayap, having the acute (udâtta) accent on its first syllable

Note.—The affix अयँच् having indicatory च takes the acute accent on the final syllable (VI 1 163 S 3710) i e on य, the special mention of udâtta in the sûtra shows that the accent should be on a syllable which would otherwise not have taken it i e the first syllable i e अ, for had this not been the meaning, there was no necessity of using the word udâtta in the sûtra

If उभ is a Sankhyâ word (I. 1 23 S 258), in the classical sense, it would have taken तयप्, the present sûtra ordains अयँ instead as a substitute always If it is not a Sankhyâ, then we should first ordain तयप् after it, by the process of splitting the sûtra V 2 42 into two, thus सङ्ख्याया तयप्, अवयवे तयप् and then replace तयप् by अय ॥

Thus उभौ मणितश्चोदितौ अवयवौ अस्य = उभय ॥ उभये देवमनुष्या, उभयो मणि ॥

१८४६ । तदस्मिन्नधिकमिति दशान्ताड्डः । ५ । २ । ४५ ॥

एकादश अधिका अस्मिन्नेकादशम् ॥ शतसहस्रयोरेवेष्यते * ॥ नेह एकादश अधिका अस्यां विंशतौ ॥ प्रकृतिप्रत्ययार्थयोः समानजातीयत्व एवेष्यते * ॥ नेह । एकादश माषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

1846 The affix da अ with the elision of अन् of the base), comes after a Numeral ending in daśan, being in the first case in construction, in the sense of " this is surplus in it ".

Thus एकादश अधिका अस्मिन् शत = एकादशं शतं "hundred + eleven" So also एकादशं सहस्रं ॥

Ishti —This applies only after शत and सहस्र, therefore, it does not apply here —एकादशाधिका अस्यां विंशतौ ॥

Ishti —This rule applies when both words denote a thing of the same denomination As एकादश कार्षापणा अधिका अस्मिन् कार्षापण शते = एकादशं कार्षापणशतं ॥ But not here —एकादश माषा अधिका अस्मिन् सुवर्णशते ॥

Note —The word इति in the sûtra is for clearness The rule applies to शतसहस्रं also, as एकादशं शतसहस्रं which may mean either (1) एकादश शतान्यधिकान्यस्मिन् or (2) एकादश सहस्राण्यधिकान्यस्मिन् ।

१८४७ । शदन्तविंशतेश्च । ५ । २ । ४६ ॥

ड स्यादुक्तेऽर्थे । त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् त्रिंशं शतम् । विंशम् ॥

1847 The affix da comes in the sense of " this is surplus in it ', after a Numeral ending in शत् and after विंशति , with the elision of अत् and अति ॥

The indicatory ड causes elision of टि portion VI 4 142 S 844 Thus त्रिंशदधिका अस्मिञ्छते = त्रिंशं शतं

Note —This rule applies to abstract Numerals Hence not here, गोत्रिंशदधिका अस्मिन् गोशते ॥

So also after विंशति , as विंशं शतं ॥

१८४८ । संख्याया गुणस्य निमाने मयट् । ५ । २ । ४७ ॥

भागस्य मूल्ये वर्तमानात्प्रथमान्तात्संख्यावाचिन षष्ठ्यर्थे मयट् स्यात् । यवानां द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदश्विद्भागस्य द्विमयमुदश्विद्यवानाम । गुणस्येति किम् । द्वौ व्रीहियवौ निमानमस्योदश्वित । निमाने किम् । द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य द्विगुणं क्षीरं पच्यते तैलेन ॥

1848 The affix mayaṭ (मय with feminine in ङीप्) comes after a Numeral in denoting a thing given in exchange in the sense of " containing so many times more of something " or " the price of a portion of this is so many equal portions of the other "

The word तदस्य from V 2 36 should be read in this The sense of the aphorism is "after a Numeral in the first case in construction (तद्), with the force of a genitive (अस्य), comes the affix मयट्, when the word in the first case in construction denotes the value (निमान) of a portion (गुण)" The word गुण means भाग or "portion", and निमान means 'price' In comparing the quality of one thing with another, निमान is the value or price Thus यवाना द्वौ भागौ निमानमस्योदश्विद्भागस्य = द्विमयमुदश्विद्यवानाम् "two parts of Yava is the price of one part of Udaśvit" Similarly त्रिमयम्, चतुर्मयम्, lit, "Udaśvit is द्विमय or 'two times' the value of yava".

Note —The word गुणस्य is in the singular number The comparison must therefore, be made with *one* portion of a thing, with the several portions of the other The ratio must be x : 1, but never x 2, or x 3 &c Therefore, the rule does not apply here, द्वौ भागौ यवाना त्रय उदश्वित ॥ The x also must be more than one The rule therefore does not apply here एको भागो निमानमस्य ॥

The word गुण denotes an integral number, therefore the rule will not apply to fraction As द्वौ भागौ यवानामध्यर्द्ध उदश्वित ॥

The affix also comes in the sense of purchasing or the comparative value of a thing, i e in denoting the thing received in exchange (निमेय) As उदश्वितो द्वौ भागौ निमेयमस्य यवभागस्य = द्विमया, as द्विमया यवा उदश्वित = "उदश्वितो द्वौ गुणा निमेयो येषामेकगुणाना यवाना "the exchange value of Udaśvita is twice as much as that of a Yava" The word निमान means the thing *given* in exchange, and निमेय the thing *received* in exchange Both words are reciprocal and are terms of barter or exchange, but they do not apply to sales or purchases for coins

Why do we say गुणस्य 'of a portion'? Observe द्वौ व्रीहियवौ निमानमस्योदश्वित ॥ Here being no comparision of ratios, there is no affixing

Why do we say निमाने "in denoting the thing given in exchange"? Observe, द्वौ गुणौ क्षीरस्य एकस्तैलस्य = द्विगुण पचते तैलं क्षीरेण "one part of oil cooks or absorbs as much as two parts of milk" Here the sense is that of 'cooking' and not of purchasing

Note —In short मयट has the meaning of 'time or fold'. As द्विमय "two time", the word qualifying sometime the निमान, sometime the निमेय, e. g द्विमयमुदश्वित यवाना "Udasvit is two times or two-fold or Yava in value', or द्विमया यवा उदश्वित "two times Yava are equal to one Udasvit'

१८४९ । तस्य पूरणे डट् । ५ । २ । ४८ ॥

एकादशाना पूरण एकादश ॥

1849 The affix dat (अ, causing the elision of the last vowel with the consonant following it) comes after a Numeral in the sixth case in construction, when the sense is "making full this number"

That by which a thing is completed is called पूरण ॥ Thus एकादशानां पूरणी = एकादशः the "eleventh" (i e the one which, added to ten, completes the eleven)

Note —By this affix, ordinals are formed The rule therefore, does not apply to a case like this —पञ्चानां घुटिकानां पूरणो घटः ॥

१८५० । नान्तादसंख्यादेर्मट् । ५ । २ । ४९ ॥

डटो मडागमः स्यात् । पञ्चानां पूरणः पञ्चमः । नान्तात्किम् । विंशः । असंख्यादेः किम् । एकादशः ॥

1850 The augment mat (म) comes before डट्, in the above sense, after a Numeral which ends in न्, when no other Numeral precedes it

Thus पञ्चमः 'fifth' (the completer of the five) Why do we say 'ending in न्' Observe विंशतेः पूरणः = विंशः 'twentieth' Why do we say 'not preceded by a Numeral'? Observe एकादशानां पूरणः = एकादशः ॥

१८५१ । षट्कतिकतिपयचतुरां थुक् । ५ । २ । ५१ ॥

एषां थुगागमः स्याड्डटि । षण्णां पूरणः षष्ठः । कतिथः । कतिपयशब्दस्यासंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव ज्ञापकाड्डट् । कतिपयथः । चतुर्थः ॥ चतुरश्छयतावाद्यक्षरलोपश्च * ॥ तुरीयः । तुर्यः ॥

1851 When ḍat follows, थुक् is the augment of the words shat, kati, katipaya and chatur

The डट् is to be read into this sûtra, and it should be changed into locative, as डटि 'when ḍaṭ follows' The word कतिपय is not a Numeral, it takes डट् by force of this sûtra Thus षण्णां पूरणः = षष्ठः 'sixth' कतिथः the which in order'? कतिपयथः 'the one in order after several', चतुर्थः 'the fourth'

Vart —The affixes छ (ईय) and यत् come after चतुर् and there is elision of the first letter As तुरीयः or तुर्यः ॥

Note —In this and the two following sûtras, the action of the ट् of डट् vanishes when an augment is added

१८५२ । बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५२ ॥

डटीत्येव । पूगसङ्घयोरसंख्यात्वेऽप्यत एव डट् । बहुतिथः । इत्यादि ॥

1852 When dat follows, तिथुक् is the augment of the words bahu, pûga, gaṇa, and sangha

The word डटि is understood here also The words पूग and सङ्घ are not Numerals, they take the affix डट् by virtue of this sutra Thus बहूनां पूरणो = बहुतिथः, पूगतिथ, गणतिथ, and सङ्घतिथ &c

१८५३ । वतोरिथुक् । ५ । २ । ५३ ॥

डटीत्येव । यावतिथः ॥

1853 When dat follows, इथुक् is the augment of a stem ending in vatu

The word डटि is understood here also The words ending in वतु are Numerals (I 1 23 S 258) and they will take डट् by V 2 48, the present sûtra declares the augment Thus यावतां पूरणो = यावतिथः ॥

१८५४ । द्वेस्तीय । ५ । २ । ५४ ॥

डटोऽपवादः । द्वयोः पूरणो द्वितीयः ॥

1854 The affix तीय comes in the sense of 'completer thereof', after the word dvi

This debars डट् ॥ Thus द्वयोः पूरणो = द्वितीय 'the second'—that which completes the two

१८५५ । त्रेः संप्रसारणं च । ५ । २ । ५५ ॥

तृतीयः ॥

1855. The affix tîya comes in the sense of 'completer thereof,' after the word tri, and there is samprasâraṇa (vocalisation) of the stem

The substitution of a vowel for a semi-vowel is samprasârana (I 1. 45) Thus त्रि + तीय = तृ + इ + तीय = तृतीय (VI 1. 108, the इ of त्रि assumes the form of the prior letter ऋ which is substituted for र्)

Note — In तृतीय the ऋ is not lengthened by VI 4 2 because that rule applies to the lengthening of the अण् letters only, this word being read into VI 4 2, by anuvṛitti from VI 3 111 S 174 The pratyâhara अण् is formed by the first ण् and means the letters अ, इ and उ ॥

१८५६ । विंशत्यादिभ्यस्तमडन्यतरस्याम् ५ । २ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो डटस्तमडागमो वा स्यात् । विंशतितमः । विंशः । एकविंशतितमः एकविंशः ॥

1856 After the words vinśati &c tamaṭ (तम with fem. in ङीप्) is optionally the augment of dat.

This rule falling under the jurisdiction of पूरण we must read the word डट् into this sûtra, as the affix to which the augment तमट् is added Thus विंशतेः पूरणः = विंशतितम or विंश 'twentieth' एकविंशतितम or एकविंश, त्रिविंशतितम or त्रिविंश त्रिंशत्तमः or त्रिंश एकत्रिंशत्तम or एकत्रिंश ॥

Note :—In the case of मट् and थट् there will be no difference whatever whether we take them as affixes or as augments Thus पञ्चन् + मट् = पञ्च + मट् (VI 4 144) = पञ्चम ॥

१८५७ । नित्यं शतादिमासार्धमाससंवत्सराच्च । ५ । २ । ५७ ॥

शतस्य पूरणः शततमः । एकशततमः । मासादेरत एव डट् । मासतमः ॥

1857 Always after the words śata &c, and after mâsa, ardha-mâsa and sam-vatsar, tamat is the augment of dat.

The words शतादय are numerals The words मास &c are not numerals, they would not have taken डट् but by the implication of this sûtra Thus शतस्य पूरणं शततम 'hundredth, सहस्रतम' । Similarly मासस्य पूरण = मासतमोदिवस the last day of the month, अर्द्धमासतम । सवत्सरतम ॥

Note —By the next sûtra the words मास &c, would have taken तमट्, but the scope of that sutra is confined to numerals not precede by another numeral There is no such restriction here Hence we have एकशततम । द्विशततम ॥

१८५८ । षष्ठ्यादेश्चाऽसंख्यादेः । ५ । २ । ५८ ॥

षष्टितम । संख्यादेस्तु विंशत्यादिभ्य इति विकल्प एव । एकषष्ठ । एकषष्टितम ॥

1158 After the words shashhti &c when no other Numeral precedes them, tamat is always the augment of dat

By sûtra V 2 56, the augment was optional, this makes it compulsory. Thus षष्टितम

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a Numeral"? Observe एकषष्ट एकषष्टितम, एकसप्तम or एकसप्ततितम ॥ Here V, 2 56 S 1856 applies also

१८५९ । मतौ छ सूक्तसाम्नो । ५ । २ । ५९ ॥

मत्वर्थे छ स्यात् । अच्छावाकशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति अच्छावाकीय सूक्तम । वारवन्तीय साम ॥

1859 When a Sûkta or a Sâman is to be expressed, the affix Chha (ईय) comes after a prâtipadika (nominal-stem), in the sense of the affix matup (V 2 94)

The word मतौ means 'in the sense of मतुप् affix' The sense of मतुप् is "whose is it or in whom it is" / Thus अच्छावाक् शब्दोऽस्मिन् = अच्छावाकीयम् सूक्तम्। मित्रावरुणीयम् साम, वारवन्तीयम् साम ॥

Note —The affix comes after a collocation of words, as अस्यवामीय 'the Sukta containing the words अस्य वाम' e g Rig Veda Mandala 1 sukta 164 Here the words अस्य वामस्य are considered as a Nominal Stem So also कयाशुभीयम् ॥

१८६० । अध्यायानुवाकयोर्लुक् । ५ । २ । ६० ॥

मत्वर्थस्य छस्य । अत एव ज्ञापकात्सत्र छ । विधानसामर्थ्याच्च विकल्पेन लुक् । गर्दभाण्ड । गर्दभाण्डीय ॥

1860 When an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed, there is (optionally) luk-elision of the affix Chha having the above sense of matup

This sûtra indicates by implication (ज्ञापक), that the affix छ comes after a nominal stem, to denote an Adhyâya or an Anuvâkâ According to Pâtanjali the elision is optional, by the very fact of the rule enunciating the elision of the affix According to Kaiyyata, as this sûtra is not placed in the section of matup affixes, which was the proper place for it, from its enunciation here we can infer that the elision is optional Thus गर्दभाण्ड शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गर्दभाण्डोऽध्याय , अनुवाको वा ॥ In the alternative, गर्दभाण्डीय ॥

१८६१ । विमुक्तादिभ्योऽण् । ५ । २ । ६१ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽण् स्यादध्यायानुवाकयो । विमुक्त शब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति वैमुक्त । दैवासुर ॥

1861 The affix an comes in the sense of matup, when an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed after the words vimukta &c

Thus विमुक्तशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = वैमुक्तोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ So also दैवासुर &c 1 विमुक्त 2 देवासुर, 3 रक्षोऽसुर, 4 उपसद् 5 सुवर्ण (सुपर्ण), 6 परिसारक (परिषारक् ') 7 सदसत् , 8 वसु 9 मरुत् मरुत्वत् 10 पत्नीवत् 11 वसुमत् , 12 महीयत्व, (महीयल), 13 सत्वत् , 14 बर्हवत्* 15 दशार्ण, 16 दशार्ह, 17 वयस् , (दशार्हपयस्), 18 हविर्धान, 19 पतत्रिन् (पतत्रि), 20 महित्री 21 अस्यहत्य, 22 सोमापूषन् , 23 इडा, 24 अग्नाविष्णु (विष्णु), 25 उर्वशी, 26 वृत्रहन् (वृत्रहति), 27 मित्री, 28 सोम 29 हेतु, ॥

१८६२ । गोषदादिभ्यो वुन् । ५ । २ । ६२ ॥

मत्वर्थेऽध्यायानुवाकयो । गोषदक । इषेत्वक ॥

1862, After the nominal stems goshada &c, there is the affix vun (अक) in the sense of matup, when an Adhyâya or an Anuvâka is to be expressed

Thus गोषदशब्दोऽस्मिन्नस्ति = गोषदकोऽध्यायोऽनुवाको वा ॥ इषेत्वक , मातरिश्वका &c Another reading is गोषद् the final consonant being mute

1 गोषद् , (गोषद), 2 इषेत्वा (त्वा), 3 मातरिश्वन् , 4 देवस्यत्वा, 5 देवीराप , 6 कृष्णोऽस्या, खरेष्ठ , 7 देवीं (दैवीं) धिय धिया (धियम्), 8 रक्षोहण, 9 युञ्जान, 10 अञ्जन, 11 प्रभूत, 12 प्रतुत, 13 कृशानु, (इशान), 14 सहस्रशीर्षा, 15 वातस्य ते, 16 कृशाश्व, 17 स्वाहाप्राणा, 18 प्रसन, ('), ॥

१८६३ । तत्र कुशल' पथ. । ५ । २ । ६३ ॥

वुन् स्यात् । पथि कुशल पथक ॥

1863. The affix vun comes, after the word pathin, being in the seventh case in costruction, when the sense is "versed therein or skilled therein"

Thus पथि कुशल = पथक, (पथिन् + वुन् = पथ् + वुन् VI 4 144 = पथ् + अक VII 1 1)

१८६४ । आकर्षादिभ्य कन् । ५ । २ । ६४ ॥

आकर्षे कुशल आकर्षक । आकषादिभ्य इति रेफरहितो मुख्य पाठ । आकषो निकषोपल ॥

1864. The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of 'versed therein, skilled therein', after the nominal stems âkarsha &c, being in the seventh case in construction

Thus आकर्षेकुशल = आकर्षक, त्सरुक । The best texts have आकष (Bohtlingk)

1 आकर्ष (आकष), 2 त्सरु, 3 पिशाच (पिपासा) 4 पिचण्ड, 5 अशनि, 6 अश्मन्, 7 निचय (विचय), 8 चय 9 विजय, 10 जय, 11 आचय, 12 नय 13 पाद (निपाद), 14 दीप, 15 ह्रद, 16 ह्राद, 17 ह्लाद, 18 गद्गद, 19 शकुनि, 20 अय, ॥

१८६५ । धनहिरण्यात्कामे । ५ । २ । ६५ ॥

काम इच्छा । धने कामो धनको देवदत्तस्य । हिरण्यक ॥

1865 The affix kan comes, after the words dhana and hiranya, being in 7th case in construction, in the sense of 'a desire thereafter'

The word काम means 'desire, wish' Thus धने कामः = धनको देवदत्तस्य ॥ So also हिरण्यको ॥

१८६६ । स्वाङ्गेभ्य प्रसिते । ५ । २ । ६६ ॥

केशेषु प्रसित केशक । तद्रचनायां तत्पर इत्यर्थ ॥

1866 The affix kan comes after a word denoting a part of one's body, in the sense of 'who takes care of it, who bestows care upon it.'

The words तत्र and कन् are understood in this sûtra The word प्रसित means 'devoted to, intent upon craving after' Thus केशेषु प्रसितः = केशक i e. केशादिरचनायां प्रसक्त एवमुच्यते ॥

Note,—The स्वाङ्गेभ्य is in the plural number, indicating that the affix comes even after a collective compound of Svânga terms Thus दन्तौष्ठक, केशनखक ॥ See II 8 44

१८६७ । उदराट्ठगाद्यूने । ५ । २ । ६७ ॥

अविजिगीषौ ठक् स्यात् । कनोऽपवाद । बुभुक्षयात्यन्तपीडित उदरे प्रसित औदरिक । आद्यूने किम् । उदरक । उदरपरिमार्जनादौ प्रसक्त इत्यर्थ ॥

1867 The affix than (ठक) comes in the sense of 'voracious' after the word udara

This debars the affix कन ॥

Adyûna = not desiring to conquer, उत्कर्षेच्छारहित see VIII 2. 49 S 3028 for the formation of this word from the root div

Note —The translation given above is according to Dr Bohtlingk According to the Kâsikâ, the ânuvritti of प्रसित is also read into this sûtra The meaning then would be 'that comes after the word udara in the seventh case in construction, in the sense of 'who is devoted therein, when the word so formed means 'voracious'

A person who is very much distressed by hunger is so called, उदरऽविजिगीषुर्भण्यत । Thus उदरे प्रसित = औदरिक (i e आद्यून)

Why do we say when it means 'voracious'? Observe उदरक 'abdominal'

१८६८ । सस्येन परिजात । ५ । २ । ६८ ॥

कन् स्वर्यते न तु ठक् । सस्यशब्दो गुणवाची न तु धान्यवाची । शस्येनेति पाठान्तरम् । सस्येन गुणेन परिजात सवन्न सस्यक साधु ॥

1868 The affix kan (क) comes after the word sasya being in the third case in construction, when the sense is "to supply richly with it".

The anuvritti of कन्, not of ठक्, is to be read here The word सस्य means 'good quality' and not 'corn', Another reading is शस्य The word परि means 'all, every where' That which is full of (परिजात) good qualities (सस्य) in which there is no defect, that is the signification here Thus सस्येन परिजात = सस्यक शालि 'a rice, above all praise', सस्यक साधु 'a good man, not equalled by any'

१८६९ । अंशं हारी । ५ । २ । ६९ ॥

हारीत्यावश्यके णिनि । अत एव तद्योगे षष्ठी न । अंशको दायाद ॥

1869 The affix kan comes after the word ansa 'a share' in the second-case in construction, the sense being 'who must take that'

The word अंश is used in the accusative in the aphorism, showing that the construction must be accusative The word हारिन्, nom हारी is formed by adding णिनि to the root हृ, the force of the affix being that of "must, or necessity" See III 3 170 S 3311 The word हारिन् will govern accusative and not genitive (II 3 70 S 628)

Thus अंश हारी = अंशक 'an heir', i e who is entitled to take a share at partition i e a दायाद । अंशक पुत्र ॥

१८७० । तन्त्रादचिरापहृते । ५ । २ । ७० ॥

तन्त्रक पट । प्रत्यग्र इत्यर्थ ॥

1870 The affix Kan comes after the word tantra 'a loom or a shuttle,' in the sense of "taken off therefrom not long ago or shortly before"

The word तन्त्र must be in the fifth case in construction, by the very fact of its being so employed in the sûtra The word अचिर means 'short time, not long' अपहृत means "taken off" Thus तन्त्रादचिरापहृत = तन्त्रकः 'a cloth just taken off the loom or from which the shuttle has just been taken off' i e an unbleached cloth As तन्त्रक पट, तन्त्रक प्रावार 'a new mantle' = प्रत्यग्र or नव. ॥

१८७१ । ब्राह्मणकोष्णिके सञ्ज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ७१ ॥

आयुधजीविनो ब्राह्मणा यस्मिन्देशे स ब्राह्मणक । अल्पमन्नं यस्यां सा उष्णिका यवागू । अन्नशब्दस्य उष्णादेशो निपात्यते ॥

1871 The words Brâhmanaka and ushnika are anomalous, when they are Names

Thus ब्राह्मणको देश, उष्णिका यवागू ॥ The affix कन् is added to ब्राह्मण, with the force of 'a place where Brâhmanas who live by the profession of arms dwell' Similarly उष्णिक means अल्पान्ना ॥ The word अन्न is replaced by उष्ण by virtue of this sutra

१८७२ । शीतोष्णाभ्यां कारिणि । ५ । २ । ७२ ॥

शीतं करोतीति शीतकोऽलस । उष्णं करोतीति उष्णक शीघ्रकारी ॥

1872. The affix kan comes after the words śîta and ushna, in the sense of 'who goes to work thus'

The words शीत and उष्ण being used as adverbs will be in accusative construction As शीतं करोति 'who goes to work coldly' i e a lazy man = शीतक = अलस, जड ॥ Similarly उष्णक = शीघ्रकारी, दक्ष 'who goes to work hotly'

१८७३ । अधिकम् । ५ । २ । ७३ ॥

अध्यारूढशब्दात्कन् उत्तरपदलोपश्च ॥

1873. The word adhika is anomalous

The word अधिक meaning 'more', is formed by adding कन् to the word अध्यारूढ, there being elision of the second term before the affix Thus अधिको द्रोण खार्याम् or अधिको द्रोण खारीं. "a Drona is superior to Khârî" अधिका खारी द्रोणेन "a Khârî is inferior to Drona", The word अध्यारूढ governs nominative or accusative indifferently

Note —Thus अध्यारूढो द्रोण खारीं ॥ Similarly अधिक would have governed the accusative also But Pânini uses the ablative and locative after adhika, as in II 3 9 S 645 and V 2 45 S 1846 and thus we learn that it governs the ablative and locative This is the case when adhyârudha is an active participle But when it is a passive participle, as it may also be by III 4 72 S 3086, then as the participle denotes the object, it will take the first case in construction In that case, there will not be the ablative or the locative

१८७४। अनुकाभिकाभीक कमिता । ५ । २ । ७४ ॥

अन्वभिभ्यां कन् । अभे पाक्षिको दीर्घश्च । अनुकामयते अनुकः । अभिकामयते अभिकः । अभीकः ॥

1874 The words anuka, abhika and abhîka are anomalously formed by adding कन् to anu and abhi, the meaning 'being at liberty to do or being fond of'

Thus अनुकामयते = अनुकः 'desirous, libidinous' अभिकामयते = अभिकः or अभीकः 'a lover, voluptuous person' These are formed by adding कन् to अनु and अभि ॥ In one case the short इ of abhi is lengthened

१८७५ । पार्श्वेनान्विच्छति । ५ । २ । ७५ ॥

अनृजुरुपायः पार्श्वं तेनान्विच्छति पार्श्वकः ॥

1875 The affix kan comes after the word pârśva, in the third-case in construction, signifying "who strives to gain something by that"

The word पार्श्वम् means 'a fraudulent or crooked expedient' One who endeavours to obtain anything by fraud is called पार्श्वक 'a cheat, a juggler, a partisan' पार्श्व = a rib, a cooked thing, as पार्श्वक = मायाविन्, कौसृतिक, जालिक &c

१८७६ । अय शूलदण्डाजिनाभ्यां ठक्ठञौ । ५ । २ । ७६ ॥

तीक्ष्ण उपायोऽयः शूलं तेनान्विच्छति आयःशूलिकः । साहसिकः । दण्डाजिनं दम्भः, तेनान्विच्छति दाण्डाजिनिकः ॥

1876 The affixes thak and thañ come respectively after ayaḥśûla and dandâjina, in the same sense of "who strives to gain something by that".

The word अन्विच्छति is understood here also The word अयःशूलम् means 'a violent proceeding' Who seeks to obtain anything by violent means is called आयःशूलिक = साहसिक ॥ The word दण्डाजिन् means 'staff (danḍa) and hide (ajina)' i e outer badges of devotion or hypocrisy Who seeks to gain something by hypocrisy and deceit is called दाण्डाजिनिक = दाम्भिक ॥

१८७७ । तावतिथं ग्रहणमिति लुग्वा । ५ । २ । ७७ ॥

कन् स्यात्पूरणप्रत्ययस्य च लुग्वा । द्वितियकं द्विकं वा ग्रहणं देवदत्तस्य । द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रहणमित्यर्थः । तावतिथेन गृह्णातीति कन्वक्तव्यो नित्यं च लुक् * ॥ षष्ठेन रूपेण गृह्णाति षट्को देवदत्तः । पञ्चकः ॥

1877 The affix kan is added to an ordinal number, in the sense of "acquiring a subject after so many attempts",

and there is optionally the elision of the affix denoting the ordinal number

The word तावतिथ (V 2 53 b 1853) stands here as a type of all words ending in affixes denoting पूरण i e ordinals The word ग्रहण means 'acquired or learned hereby' This qualifies the base Thus द्वितीयेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = द्विकं ग्रहणम् or द्वितीयकं ग्रहणम् 'the acquisition of the knowledge or book by the second time' i e "successful mastery by the second time". So also त्रिकं or त्रितीयकम्, चतुष्कम् or चतुर्थकम् ॥

Vârt —When the word, formed by the affix kan, means the *person* who acquires after so many times, then the elision of the पूरण affix is compulsory and not optional Thus षष्ठेन रूपेण ग्रन्थं गृह्णाति = षट्को देवदत्त 'Devadatta who learns the book for the sixth time' i e 'who succeeds in learning the book at the sixth attempt' Similarly पञ्चकः, चतुष्कः ॥ The word ग्रहण here is confined to books only and to nothing else

१८७८ । स एषां ग्रामणीः । ५ । २ । ७८ ॥

देवदत्तो मुख्यो येषां ते देवदत्तकाः । स्वक । मस्क ॥

1878. The affix kan comes after a word in the first case in construction, with the force of a genitive case, when the sense is "he is their leader"

The word ग्रामणी means 'head man, leader, spokes-man' Thus देवदत्तो मुख्योऽस्य = देवदत्तक, ॥ So also स्वकः and मस्क ॥

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning a leader'? Witness देवदत्त शत्रुरेषाम् ॥ Here there is no affixing

१८७९ । शृङ्खलमस्य बन्धनं करभे । ५ । २ । ७९ ॥

शृङ्खलक करभ ॥

1879 The affix kan comes after the word śriṅkhala 'a clog', in the sense of "clog is its fetter", when the whole word means a young camel

Thus शृङ्खल बन्धनमस्य करभस्य = शृङ्खलक ॥

Note —The young ones of a camel are called करभ ॥ The wooden clogs put on their feet to prevent them from straying are called शृङ्खल ॥ Though the ropes &c are also used along with the clog, yet śriṅkhala being the principal object that takes away the freedom is called बन्धन or bond or fetter

१८८० । उत्क उन्मनाः । ५ । २ । ८० ॥

उद्गतमनस्कवृत्तेरुच्छब्दात्स्वार्थे कन् । उत्क उत्कण्ठित ॥

1880 The word utka is anomalous, meaning 'longing after, yearning'.

He whose mind anxiously desires or yearns after a thing is called उन्मन ॥ The word उत्क is formed by adding कन् to the preposition उद् without changing the sense, in the sentence उद्गतमनस्कवृत्ति ॥ Thus उत्को देवदत्त उत्क प्रवासो = उत्सुक or उत्कण्ठित ॥

१८८१ । कालप्रयोजनाद्रोगे । ५ । २ । ८१ ॥

कालवचनात्प्रयोजनवचनाच्च कन् स्याद्रोगे । द्वितीयेऽहनि भवो द्वितीयको ज्वरः । प्रयोजन कारण रोगस्य फल वा । विषपुष्पैर्जनितो विषपुष्पक । उष्ण कार्यमस्य उष्णक । रोगे किम् । द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

1881 The affix kan comes after a word expressing a time, or a cause or effect (of the diseased), when an illness is denoted

The word काल means 'days' &c, and प्रयोजन means 'the cause (of disease) or its effect' Thus द्वितीयेऽह्निभव = द्वितीयको ज्वर 'the fever which comes on the second day' Similarly after a word denoting प्रयोजन, as, विषपुष्पैर्जनित = विषपुष्पको ज्वर 'a fever caused by poisonous flowers' So also काशपुष्पक ॥ So also उष्ण कार्यमस्य = उष्णक 'a fever producing heat' Why do we say "when an illness is denoted"? When 'illness' is not meant, then there is no affixing, as, द्वितीयो दिवसोऽस्य ॥

Note —The word संज्ञा is to be read in to this sutra from the next sûtra Therefore words द्वितीयक &c are Names

१८८२ । तदस्मिन्नन्न प्राये संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ८२ ॥

प्रथमान्तात्सप्तम्यर्थे कन् स्यात् यत्प्रथमान्तमन्न चत्प्रायविषय तत् । गुडापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी ॥ वटकेभ्य इनिर्वाच्य * ॥ वटकिनी ॥

1882 The affix kan is added to a word denoting food, in the first case in construction, in the sense of "this is the principal food on this particular occasion", when the whole word so formed is a Name

Thus गुडापूपा प्रायेणान्नमस्या पौर्णमास्या = गुडापूपिका पौर्णमासी "The Gûdâpûpikâ —Paurnamâsî" i e that particular Full Moon day in which cakes of sugar form the principal accompaniment of food

Vârt —The affix इनि comes after वटक in the same sense As वटकिनी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८३ । कुल्माषादञ् । ५ । २ । ८३ ॥

कुल्माषा प्रायेणान्नमस्यां कौल्माषी ॥

1883 The affix aṅ comes after kulmâsha, in the same sense "this is the principal food on this particular occasion"—and the whole word is a Name

The ञ् of अञ् is for the sake of causing Vriddhi and accent Thus कुल्माषा प्रायेणान्नमस्या=कौल्माषी पौर्णमासी ॥

१८८४ । श्रोत्रियश्छन्दोऽधीते । ५ । २ । ८४ ॥

श्रोत्रिय । वत्यनुवृत्तेश्छान्दस ॥

1884 The word śrotriyan is irregularly formed meaning 'who has studied the Chhandas'

Note —The न् in श्रोत्रियन् is for the sake of accent As श्रोत्रियो ब्राह्मण "a Brâhmana learned in the Vedas" The word श्रोत्रिय is either a condensed expression for the full sentence छन्दोऽधीते, referring to no particular base or affix Or the word छन्दस् is replaced by श्रोत्र, and then is added the affix घन् ॥ But how do you form then छान्दस, in the sense of छन्दोऽधीते, by adding the affix अण् by IV 2 59 S 1269 ? The present sutra is optional, the word वा of V 2 77 S 1877 being under stood here so that we have the form छान्दस also Some say that श्रोत्रिय applies only to that person who has not only studied the Vedas, but who acts upon its purport also, while छान्दस applies to a student in general, so one sutra does not debar the other, as they apply to different objects

१८८५ । श्राद्धमनेन भुक्तमिनिठनौ । ५ । २ । ८५ ॥

श्राद्धी । श्राद्धिक ॥

1885 The affixes ini (इन्)and than come after the word śrâddha, in the sense of "this is eaten by him"

Thus श्राद्ध भुक्तमनेन=श्राद्धी or श्राद्धिक "a person who has eaten obsequial food"

Note —This relates to a person who eats on the day the Śraddha ceremony takes place, and not at any other time nor who eats stale food of srâddha अद्य भुक्ते श्राद्धे श्व श्राद्धिक इति माभूत् ॥ The word श्राद्ध originally means a certain ceremony, and is derived from the word श्रद्धा with the affix ण V 2 101 In a figurative sense, it here means the food taken at that ceremony

१८८६ । पूर्वादिनिः । ५ । २ । ८६ ॥

पूर्वं कृतमनेन पूर्वी ॥

1886 The affix ini (इन्) comes after pûrva, in the sense of 'by whom something was done formerly'

The word अनेन of the last sûtra is understood here But what is the verb of which अनेन is the agent The भुक्त of the last sutra is not to be read

into this sûtra Therefore we must supply some general verb such as 'doing' &c, to complete the sense Thus पूर्वं गतमनेन = पूर्वी ॥ In fact पूर्विन् means " by whom some thing was done &c, formerly "

१८८७ । सपूर्वाच्च । ५ । २ । ८७ ॥

कृतपूर्वी ॥

1887 The affix ini comes after the word pûrva, also when another word precedes it, the sense being 'by whom something is done'

Thus कृतपूर्वी कटम् = पूर्वं कृतमनेन 'who formerly made' भुक्तपूर्वी ओदनम् ॥

Note —In these words, first कृत and पूर्व are compounded by II 1 4, and then the affix is added These two sûtras V 2 86, 87, give rise to these two maxims अहनवता प्रातिपदिकेन तदन्तविधिर्नास्ति "that which cannot possibly be anything but a Prâtipadika or Nominal stem, does, (contrary to I 1 72 S 26) not denote that which ends with it but it denotes only itself " व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन "The rule of vyapadesivad bhâva does not apply to a prâtipadika" That rule is embodied in the following paribhâshâ—व्यपदेशिवदेकस्मिन्—"an operation which affects some thing on account of some special designation, which for certain reasons attaches to the latter, affects likewise that which stands alone and to which therefore, just because the reasons for it do not exist, that special designation does not attach ".

१८८८ । इष्टादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ८८ ॥

इष्टमनेन इष्टी । अधीती ॥

1888 The affix ini comes after ishta &c. in the sense of 'by him'

Thus इष्टमनेन = इष्टी यज्ञे, पूर्ती श्राद्धे &c " who sacrificed ", "who performed a charitable act". The words इष्टिन्, पूर्तिन &c formed by इन् will govern locative instead of accusative See vârtika under II 3 36 So also अधीती ॥

1 इष्ट, 2 पूर्त, 3 उपासादित (उपसादित), 4 निगदित, 5 परिगदित *, 6 परिवादित, 7 निकथित, 8 निषादित *, 9 निपठित, 10 सकलित, 11 परिकलित, 12 संरक्षित, 13 परिरक्षित, 14 अर्चित, 15 गणित*, 16 अवकीर्ण, 17 आयुक्त, 18 गृहीत, 19 आम्नात 20 श्रुत (आम्नातश्रुत,) 21 अधीत, 22 अवधान (!)*, 23 आसेवित, 24 अवधारित, 25 अवकल्पित, 26 निराकृत, 27 उपकृत, 28 उपाकृत, 29 अनुयुक्त, 30 अनुगणित, 31 अनुपठित, 32 व्याकुलित, 33 परिकथित, 34 संकल्पित, 35 विकलित, 36 निपतित, 37 पठित, 38 पूजित, 39 परिगणित, 40 उपगणित, 41 परित, (?), 42 अपवारित, 43 उपनत, 44 निगृहीत, 45 अपचित ॥

१८८९ । छन्दसि परिपन्थिपरिपरिणौ पर्यवस्थातरि । ५ । २ । ८९ ॥

लोके तु परिपन्थिशब्दो न न्याय्य ॥

1889 In the Chhandas, the words paripanthin and pariparin are anomalously formed by this affix, and have the sense of 'an antagonist'

Note —The word पर्यवस्थातृ means 'an adversary, an antagonist' Thus मा त्वा परिपरिणो विदन् मा त्वा परिपन्थिनो विदन् (Yaj Ved IV 34) These words are obsolete in the classical literature See however Gita III 34

१८९० । अनुपद्यन्वेष्टा । ५ । २ । ९० ॥

अनुपदमन्वेष्टा अनुपदी गवाम् ॥

1890 The word anupadin, formed anomalously by ini, denotes 'who goes after, who searches'

Thus अनुपदी गवाम् 'going after or searching the cows'

१८९१ । साक्षाद्द्रष्टरि संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ९१ ॥

साक्षाद्द्रष्टा साक्षी ॥

1891 The affix ini comes after the word sâkshât in the sense of 'a spectator, looker on,' when the word so formed is a Name.

The word साक्षात् is an Indeclinable The word संज्ञा is used in the aphorism to restrict the sense of the word Thus साक्षाद् द्रष्टा = साक्षी, 'an eye witness'

Note —In any transaction like loan, &c three persons directly see the fact and may be called द्रष्टा viz who gives, who takes, and another who merely looks on By using the word संज्ञा the word साक्षिन् is restricted to the mere looker on, and not to the lender or borrower

१८९२ । क्षेत्रियच् परक्षेत्रे चिकित्स्यः । ५ । २ । ९२ ॥

क्षेत्रियो व्याधिः । शरीरान्तरे चिकित्स्यः । अप्रतिकार्य इत्यर्थः ॥

1892 The word kshetriyach (क्षेत्रियँ) is anomalous, meaning "curable in another body" i e "not curable in this life".

The whole word is enunciated here in the sense of para kshetre-chikitsya, or the word क्षेत्रिय, with acute on the last syllable, is formed by adding the affix घच् to the word परक्षेत्र, the force of the affix being 'curable therein' and the word पर is elided before this affix Thus क्षेत्रियो व्याधि 'incurable disease', i e—organic disease The word परक्षेत्र means body assumed in the next reincarnation The word क्षेत्रिय applies to an irremediable disease

Note :—The word क्षेत्रिय means 'poison' also = यत् परक्षेत्रे परशरीरे संक्रमय्य चिकित्स्यते ॥ That which is to be removed from another's body where it has entered' Or क्षेत्रिय means 'rank growth or grass', i e यानि सस्यार्थे क्षेत्रे जातानि चिकित्स्यानि नाशयितव्यानि "that like grass &c which grows in a para kshetra or another's field i e a field set apart for grain &c and not for grass, and which therefore must be weeded

out (chikitsya)" Or कोविद is an 'adulterer', i e परदारा॰ परक्षेत्र, तत्र चिकित्स्य निगृहीत व्य ॥ These are all secondary meanings

१८९३ । इन्द्रियमिन्द्रलिङ्गमिन्द्रदृष्टमिन्द्रसृष्टमिन्द्रजुष्टमिन्द्रदत्तमितिवा । ५ । २ । ९३ ॥

इन्द्र आत्मा तस्य लिङ्ग करणेन कर्तुरनुमानात् । इतिशब्द प्रकारार्थ । इन्द्रेणदुर्जयमिन्द्रियम ॥

1893 The word Indriyam, (having udâtta on the last), is anomalous, meaning an organ of sense, and so called, either because it is " the characteristic from which the existence of Indra is inferred ", or 'it is seen by Indra', or 'it is created by Indra', or 'it is wished for by Indra', or 'it is given by Indra

The word इन्द्रिय is a primitive word, meaning organs of sense, such as eyes &c Its derivation is obscure, if it is a derivative word at all In the latter alternative, it may be said to be formed by the affix घच् added after इन्द्र, in the sense of either 'a mark thereof' As इन्द्रस्य लिङ्गम्=इन्द्रियम् ॥ The senses (indriyas) are so called because, Indra is Atma or soul, and it is inferred by the existence of the senses, eyes, ears &c So that these organs are the 'marks' or signs or linga of Indra because they being an instrument presuppose an agent, there being no instrument without an agent

Note —Or the senses (indriyas) are so called because they are '*seen or known* by Indra or Âtmâ' (इन्द्रेण दृष्ट = ज्ञात) The affix is here added to a word in the third case in construction The knowing or perceiving of the senses by the Self is an allusion to the following Sruti of the Aitareya Upanishad Chapter III verse 13, where the Self having created the physical body took a survey of it स एतमेव पुरुषं ब्रह्म ततममपश्यदिदमदर्शमिति, He beheld this Brahma, who dwells in the body, who pervades every where, and exclaimed—'I have seen this' Or they are so called because hey are *created* by Indra or Âtmâ (इन्द्रेण सृष्ट) i e the senses are formed, according to the good and bad deeds of the Self Or they are so called because they are '*wished for*' by Indra or Self (इन्द्रेण जुष्ट सेवित) as they are the gate-ways of knowledge Or they are so called because they are '*given by*' Indra (इन्द्रेण दत्त) i e they are allotted to their respective objects by Indra e g the eye is given to perceive forms, the ear to perceive sounds and so on The word वा 'or' joins every one of the above

The word इति shows, that there may be other appropriate significations also As, इन्द्रेण दुर्जयम्=इन्द्रियम् 'senses'—difficult to be subdued by the Soul

१८९४ । तदस्यास्त्यस्मिन्निति मतुप् । ५ । २ । ९४ ॥

गावोऽस्यास्मिन्वा सन्ति गोमान् ॥ भूमनिन्दाप्रशंसासु नित्ययोगेऽतिशायने । संबन्धेऽस्तिविवक्षाया भवन्ति मतुबादय॰ ॥

1894 The affix matup (मत मन्त् / ई) comes after a word in first case in construction in the sense of ' whose it is', or ' in whom it is '.

Thus गावोऽस्य सन्ति = गोमत् nom गोमान् ' having cows ', as गोमान् देवदत्त ॥ वृक्षा अस्मिन् सन्ति = वृक्षवत् (व being substituted for म by VIII 2 9) as वृक्षवान् पर्वत ॥ Similarly यवमान्, प्लक्षवान् ॥ The word इति shows that the use of मतुप् and cognate affixes are restricted in their application For example, a person who has three barley grains only will not be called यवमान् ॥ This affix comes when the significations are (1) A large quantity or number, as गोमान् ' having many cows ' (2) When censure (निन्दा) is implied, as ककुदावर्त्ती, संख्यावकी, (3) when praise (प्रशंसा) is meant, as रूपवती कन्या, (4) when an inherent, or permanent quality of a thing is meant (नित्ययोग) as, क्षीरिणी वृक्ष ॥ When excellence (अतिशायन) is meant, as उदरिणी कन्या ॥ (6) When accompaniment (संसर्ग) is meant, as दण्डी, छत्री ॥ (7) When the sense of अस्ति ' to be ' is denoted, as अस्तिमान् ॥

१८९५ । रसादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ९५ ॥

मतुप्, रसवान् । रूपवान् । अन्यमत्वर्थीयनिवृत्त्यर्थं वचनम् । रस, रूप, वर्ण, गन्ध, स्पर्श, शब्द, स्नेह भाव, गुणात् । एकाच ॥ स्ववान् । गुणग्रहणं रसादीनां विशेषणम् ॥

1895 The affix matup comes after the nominal stems rasa &c, in the sense of ' whose it is ', or ' in whom it is '

As रसवान्, रूपवान्, गन्धवान् ॥ (Why this special sûtra with regard to रसादि words, when they would have taken मतुप् by the last sûtra ?) This prevents the application to these words of other affixes having the sense of मतुप् ॥

Note —How do you form then रूपिणी कन्या, रूपिको दारक ॥ These are rare forms According to Pâtanjali this sûtra is useless Or the words रस &c, must denote qualities, perceivable by the organs of taste, touch &c, i e रस should mean taste, रूप form Therefore the forms रूपिणी and रूपिक are valid, meaning शोभायोग्यता ॥ So also रसिको नट = भावयोग, here रूप and रस do not mean ' form ' and ' taste ' And all words of quality having one syllable are governed by this sûtra, and form their derivative in मतुप् ॥ See V 2 115

1 रस, 2 रूप, 3 वर्ण *, 4 गन्ध, 5 स्पर्श, 6 शब्द, 7 स्नेह, 8 भाव *, 9 गुणात् (गुणग्रहण रसादीना विशेषणम्), 10 एकाच (स्ववत्) ॥

Gana Sûtra —The affix मतुप् comes after रस &c, when they denote quality

Gana Sûtra —So also after words of one syllble As स्ववान् ॥

१८९६ । तसौ मत्वर्थे । १ । ४ । १९ ॥

तान्तसान्तौ भसञ्ज्ञौ स्तो मत्वर्थे प्रत्यये परे । वसो सम्प्रसारणम् । विदुष्मान् ॥
गुणवचनेभ्यो मतुपो लुगिष्ट * ॥ शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ती शुक्ल पट । कृष्ण ॥

1896. The word-form ending in त् or in स is called Bha, when an affix with the force of matup ('whose is it,' 'or in whom it is' V 2 94) follows

The word Bha is understood in this sûtra Thus is the word विदुष्मान् (VI 4. 131 S 435) By making these Bha, the operation of pada rule is barred

Vârt —The affix मतुप् is elided after words of quality (गुणवचन), as शुक्लो गुणोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्ल पट ॥ कृष्ण, श्वेत &c

१८९७। मादुपधायाश्च मतोर्वोऽयवादिभ्य । ८ । २ । ९ ॥

मवर्णावर्णान्तान्मवर्णावर्णोपधायाश्च यवादिवर्जितात्परस्य मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । किंवान् । ज्ञानवान् । विद्यावान् । लक्ष्मीवान् । यशस्वान् । भास्वान् । यवादेस्तु यवमान् । भूमिमान् ॥

1897 For the म् of the affix मत् is substituted व्, if the stem ends in म् or अ (and आ) or if these are in the penultimate position, but not after यव and the rest

After a stem ending in म् or having म as its penultimate letter, and after a stem ending in अ or आ, or having these letters as its penultimate, there is substituted व् for the म् of मतुप् ॥ First after stems ending in म्, as किंवत् (किंवान्) Secondly म penultimate as लक्ष्मीवान् । Thirdly a stem ending in अ or आ, as ज्ञानवान्, विद्यावान् ॥ Fourthly अ or आ in the penultimate as यशस्वान्, भास्वान् ॥

Why do we say "with the exception of यव &c"? Observe यवमान्, भूमिमान् ॥

The following is the list of यवादि words

1 यव, 2 दल्मि, 3 ऊर्मि, 4 भूमि, 5 कृमि, 6, क्रुञ्चा, 7 वशा, 8 द्राक्षा, 9 भ्राक्षा ॥ These words either end in म and अ or have these as their penultimate 10 ध्रजि, 11 ध्वजि, 12 सञ्जि, These are exceptions to VIII 2 15 S 3600) 13 हरित्, 14 ककुत्, 15 मरुत्, ॥ These are exceptions to VIII 2 10 16 इक्षु, 17 मधु 18 द्रुम, 19 मण्ड, 20 धुम ॥ These are exceptions to VIII 2 11

This is an âkritigana Wherever in a word, the म् of मतुप् is not changed to व् though the rules require it, that word should be classified under यवादि class In the secondary word नार्मत (= नृमत इव), the व् change has not taken place, because the अ is here a Bahiranga, the real vowel being ऋ ॥

The word मात् in the sûtra is the Ablative of म, i e, of म् + अ, it is a Samâhâra Dvandva of these two letters.

१८९८ । झय । ८ । २ । १० ॥

झयन्तान्मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । अपदान्तत्वान्नजश्त्वम् । विद्युत्वान् ॥

1898 The व् is substituted for the म of मत् after a stem ending in a mute consonant

As विद्युत्वान् ॥

१८९९ । संज्ञायाम् । ८ । २ । ११ ॥

मतोर्मस्य व स्यात् । अहीवती । मुनीवती । शरादीनां चेति दीर्घ ॥

1899 The व् is substituted for म of मत् when the word so formed is a Name

As अहीवती, मुनीवती ॥ For long vowel, see VI 3 120 S 1042

१९०० । आसन्दीवदष्ठीवच्चक्रीवत्कक्षीवद्रुमण्वच्चर्मण्वती । ८ । २ । १२ ॥

एते षट् संज्ञायां निपात्यन्ते । आसनशब्दस्यासन्दीभाव । आसन्दीवान् ग्राम । अन्यत्रासन्न-वान् । अस्थिशब्दस्याष्ठीभाव । अष्ठीवान् नाम ऋषि । अस्थिमानन्यत्र । चक्रशब्दस्य चक्रीभाव । चक्रीवन्नाम राजा । चक्रवानन्यत्र । कक्ष्याया सम्प्रसारणम् । कक्षीवान्नाम ऋषि । कक्ष्यावानन्यत्र । लवणशब्दस्य रुमण्भाव । रुमण्वान्नाम पर्वत । लवणवानन्यत्र । चर्मणो नलोपाभावो णत्वं च । चर्मण्वती नाम नदी । चर्मवत्यन्यत्र ॥

1900 The following six Names are irregularly formed —âsandîvat, ashthîvat, chakrîvat, kakshîvat, rumanvat charmanvatî

The change of म to व in these was obtained from the last sutra The irregularity consists in the substitutions of stems आसन्दीवत्, is from the stem आसन which is here changed to आसन्दी ॥ As आसन्दीवान् ग्राम, अहिस्थलम् ॥ When not a name we have आसन वान् ॥

2 अष्ठीवत् is from अस्थि which is changed to अष्ठी ॥ As अष्ठीवान् the name of a particular Rishi Otherwise अस्थिवान् ॥ 3 चक्रीवत् is from चक्र which is changed to चक्री as चक्रीवान् राजा ॥ Otherwise we have चक्रवान् । 4 कक्षीवत् is from कक्ष्या there is vocalisation of य and the lengthening is by VI 4 2 S 2559 कक्षीवान् is the name of a Rishi. Otherwise we have, कक्ष्यावान् ॥ 5 रुमण्वत् is the name of a mountain, it is formed from लवण which is changed to रुमण् ॥ Otherwise we have लवणवान् 6 चर्मण्वती is from चर्मन्, there is non elision of न् and its change to ण् ॥ The Charmanvati is the name of a river Otherwise we have चर्मवती ॥

१९०१ । उदन्वानुदधौ च । ८ । २ । १३ ॥

उदकस्य उदन्भावो मतौ उदधौ संज्ञायां च । उदन्वान् समुद्र ऋषिश्च ॥

1901. The word उदन्वान् is irregularly formed in the sense of "a sea" or a "name".

It is derived from उदक 'water' with the affix मतु ॥ उदन्वान् is the name of a Rishi, because he controlled the rains, it rained at his command It also means ocean or that in which water is held, like, तडाक &c

१६०२ । राजन्वान् सौराज्ये । ८ । २ । १४ ॥

राजन्वती भू । राजवानन्यत्र ॥

1902 Also राजन्वान् when the sense is of a good government

The kingdom whose king is good is called राजन्वान् देश , राजन्वती भू ॥ The affix मतुप् is used here in the sense of प्रशंसा or praise Otherwise राजवान् ॥

१६०३ । प्राणिस्थादातो लजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । ९६ ॥

चूडाल । चूडावान् । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । शिखावान्दीप । आत किम् । हस्तवान् । प्राण्यङ्गादेव, नेह । मेधावान् । प्रत्ययस्वरेणैव सिद्धेऽन्तोदात्तत्वे चूडालोऽसीत्यादौ स्वरितो वानुदात्ते पदादाविति स्वरितबाधनार्थश्चकारः ॥

1903 The affix lach (लँ) comes optionally, in the sense of matup, after a stem ending in long आ, the word expressing something which is found only in a living being

Thus from चूडा 'a crest' we have चूडाल or चूडावान् ॥ Why do we say 'which is found in a living being'? Observe शिखावान् दीप 'the crested flame of a lamp' Why do we say "ending in आ"? Observe हस्तवान् , पदवान् , ॥

It should be stated that the affix लच् comes only after what denotes member or limb of a living being, (and not anything like love, passion, intelligence &c that are also found in a living being) Hence there is no affixing of लच here in मेधावान् "possessed of intelligence"

Every affix is udâtta (III 1 3), unless contrary is indicated by some anubandha The लच् would have been udâtta by III 1 3, even without the indicatory च् (VI 1 163 S 3710) The employment of this aunbandha , however, indicates that this udâtta will never be changed into svarita, as other udâttas are by rule VII 2 6 S 3659) As चूडालोँऽसि ॥

१६०४ । सिध्मादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । ९७ ॥

लच्वा स्यात् । सिध्मल । सिध्मवान् । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहण मतुप्समुच्चयार्थं नतु प्रत्ययविकल्पार्थम् । तेनाकारान्तेभ्य इनिठनौ न ॥ वात्सदन्तबलललाटानामूङ् च ॥ * वातूल ॥

1904 The affix lach comes in the sense of matup, after the words sidhma &c, and optionally matup also.

Thus सिध्मल or सिध्मवान् ॥ The word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in this sûtra, causes the employment of the affix मतुप् in the alternative. It does not mean

that the affix लच् is optional For were लच् optional, then the affixes इनि and ठन् would come by V 2 115 S 1922 after those words of सिध्मादि class which end in अ But that is not the case

Note —The words पार्ष्णि and धमनि lengthen the vowel before ल, as पार्ष्णील धमनील ॥

Vârt —The words वात, दन्त, बल, ललाट and गल take the augment ऊङ् before लच्, as वातूल, दन्तुल, बलूल, ललाटूल, गळूल ॥

Note —The words जटा, घटा, कटा, and कला take लच् when censure is meant, as जटाल, घटाल कलाल and कटाल but जटावास्तापस when no censure is meant

Note —The affix लच् comes after words denoting lower organisms and words denoting disease as यूकाल, मक्षिकाल, विचर्चिकाल, विपादिकाल मूर्छाल ॥

1 सिध्म, 2 गडु, 3 मणि, 4 नाभि 5 बीज (जीव), 6 वीणा*, 7 कृष्ण*, 8 निष्पाव, 9 पांसु, 10 पार्श्व, 11 पर्शु (परशु) 12 हनु, 13 सक्तु, 14 मांस, 15 पार्ष्णिधमन्योर्दीर्घश्च 16 वातदन्तबलललाटानामूङ् च 17 जटाघटाकटाकला। (कटा) क्षेपे, 18 पर्ण, 19 उदक, 20 प्रज्ञा, 21 सक्थि, (साक्थ) 22 कर्ण, 23 स्नेह, 24 शीत, 25 श्याम, 26 पिङ्ग, 27 पित्त, 28 पुष्क, (शुष्क), 29 पृथु, 30 मृदु 31 मञ्जु 32 मण्ड, 33 पत्र, 34 चटु, 35 कपि, 36 गण्डु, (कण्डु), 37 ग्रन्थि, 38 श्री*, 39 कुश, 40 धारा*, 41 वर्मन्*, 42 पक्ष्मन्*, 43 श्लेष्मन्, 44 पेश, 45 निष्पाद्, 46 कुण्ड, 47 क्षुद्रजन्तूपतापयोश्च 48 गण्ड, 49 सञ्ज्ञा, ॥

१९०५ । वत्सांसाभ्यां कामबले । ५ । २ । ९८ ॥

आभ्यां लच् स्याद्यथासङ्ख्यं कामवति बलवति चार्थे । वत्सल । अंसल ॥

1905 The affix lach comes after the word vatsa and ansa, in the sense of "love" and "strength" respectively

Thus वत्सल 'loving the calf, loving, tender' अंसल 'strong, lusty'

Note —The word वत्स means 'calf' In वत्सल there is no trace of its origin, for it is applied to father master &c, as वत्सल स्वामी, वत्सल पिता &c The word अंस means 'shoulder' but अंसल means 'strong' The affix लच् in these cases is not optional but necessary and debars मतुप् ॥ In other senses, the matup only is added as अंसवती गौः, अंसवान् दुर्बल ॥

१९०६ । फेनादिलच्च । ५ । २ । ९९ ॥

चाल्लच् । अन्यतरस्यांग्रहणं मतुप्समुच्चयार्थमनुवर्तते । फेनिल । फेनल । फेनवान् ॥

1906 The affix ilach (इलँ) as well as lach, comes after the word phena, in the sense of matup and optionally the affix matup also.

The word च draws in लच्, and the word अन्यतरस्याम् understood in the sûtra adds मतुप् in the alternative. As फेनिल, फेनल and फेनवान् ॥

१९०७ । लोमादिपामादिपिच्छादिभ्यः शनेलचः । ५ । २ । १०० ॥

लोमादिभ्य श । लोमशः । लोमवान् । रोमश । रोमवान् । पामादिभ्यो न । पामन ॥ अङ्गात्कल्याणे * ॥ अङ्गना ॥ लक्ष्म्या अच्च * ॥ लक्ष्मण ॥ विष्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसन्धे * ॥ विषुण । पिच्छादिभ्य इलच् । पिच्छिल । पिच्छवान् । उरसिल । उरस्वान् ॥

1907 The three affixes śa (श), na (न), and इलच् (इलँ) come in the sense of matup, respectively after the words of these three classes i e lomádi, pâmâdi, and pichchhâdi and the affix matup also comes in the alternative

The affix श comes after लोमादि words as लोमश or लोमवान् 'hairy' So also रोमश or रोमवान् ॥ The affix न comes after पामादि words, as पामन or पामवान् 'scabby

Vârt —The affix न comes after the word अङ्ग in the sense of beautiful, as अङ्गना 'the fair one' i e a woman

Vârt —The affix न comes after लक्ष्मी before which ई is changed to अ, as लक्ष्मीरस्यास्ति = लक्ष्मण ॥

Note —The words शाकी, पलाली and दद्रू shorten their final vowel before न as शाकिनम् a field, पलालिनम्, दद्रुणम् ॥

Vârt —The word विष्वक् (विषु + अच्) loses its second member, before न, and the change caused by sandhi (उ into व्) is undone Otherwise the form would be विष्ण (वक् being elided), as विष्वञ्जितानि सन्ति अस्य = विषुणम 'moving variously'

The affix इलच् comes after पिच्छादि words, as, पिच्छिलः or पिच्छवान् 'broth', उरसिल or उरस्वान् ॥

1 लोमन्, 2 रोमन् 3 बभ्रु, 4 हरि, 5 गिरि*, 6 कर्क*, 7 कपि, 8 मुनि, 9 तरु ॥

1 पामन्, 2 वामन्, 3 वेमन्, 4 हेमन् 5 श्लेष्मन्, कद्रू (कद्रु), 7 वल, 8 सामन्, 9 ऊष्मन्, 10 कृमि*, 11 अङ्गात् कल्याणे, 12 शाकीपलालीदद्र्वा (शाकीपलालीदद्रुवा), ह्रस्वत्वं च, 13 विष्वगित्युत्तरपदलोपश्चाकृतसंधे (विषुण), 14 लक्ष्म्या अच्च (लक्ष्मण), 15 श्रेष्ठ, 16 पलल ॥

1 पिच्छा (पिच्छ), 2 उरस, 3 धुवक (क्षुवक), 4 ध्रुवक (ध्रुवका), 5 जटाघटाकला (जटाघटाकलात्), क्षेपे, 6 वर्ण, 7 उदक, 8 पङ्क 9 प्रज्ञा ॥

Note —The affix ilach comes after jatâ ghatâ, and kalâ, when censure is meant, as जटिल, घटिल कलिल but जटावान्, when no censure is meant

१९०८ प्रज्ञाश्रद्धार्चाभ्यो णः । ५ । २ । १०१ ॥

प्राज्ञो व्याकरणे । प्राज्ञा । श्राद्ध । आर्च ॥ वृत्तेश्च * ॥ वार्त ॥

1908 The affix na (अ) comes in the sense of matup, after the words prajñâ, śraddhâ, and archâ . as well as the affix matup

As प्राज्ञ or प्रज्ञावान्, श्राद्ध or श्रद्धावान्, आर्च or अर्चावान् ॥

Vârt —So also after वृत्ति, as वार्त्त or वृत्तिमान् ॥

१९०९ । तप सहस्राभ्यां विनीनी । ५ । २ । १०२ ॥

विनीन्योरिकारो नकारपरित्राणार्थं । तपस्वी । सहस्री । असन्तत्वाददन्तत्वाच्च सिद्धे पुनर्वचनमणा, बाधा माभूदिति । सहस्रात्तु ठनोऽपि बाधनार्थम् ॥

1909 The affixes vini (विन्) and ini (इन्) come, with the force of matup, after the words tapas and sahasra respectively

The final इ in विनि and इनि is for the sake of saving the न from becoming इत् and thus get elided

The word तपस् ends in अस्, and therefore by V 2 121 S 1928 it would have taken विनि, similarly सहस्र ends in अ, and by V 2 115 S 1922 it would have taken इनि, it may, therefore, be said, where is the necessity for the present sutra ? To this it is replied, that by the next sutra, these words take the affix अण् also, so that, had there not been this present sûtra, the अण् would have debarred the application of इनि and विनि of V 2 115 S 1922 and V 2 121 S 1928 The affix ठन् (V 1 115) is also debarred after the word सहस्र though it ends in अ ॥

Thus तपोऽस्यास्मिन् वा विद्यते = तपस्विन्, nom तपस्वी ॥ Similarly सहस्रिन् nom सहस्री ॥

१९१० । अण् च । ५ । २ । १०३ ॥

योगविभाग उत्तरार्थ । तापस । साहस्र ॥

ज्योत्स्नादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ ज्यौत्स्न । तामिस्र ॥

1910 And also an (अ) comes after tapas and sahasra

Thus तापस साहस्र ॥ The separation of this sûtra from the last is for two purposes, 1st, the anuvritti of अण् runs in the subsequent sutras, which could not have been done had it been included in the last sûtra, 2ndly, the rule of yathasankhya (I 3 10 S 62) would not have applied to the last sutra, had अण् been read along with विनि and इनि ॥

Vârt —The word ज्योत्स्ना &c are governed by this rule and take अण् As ज्योत्स्ना विद्यतेऽस्मिन् पक्षे = ज्यौत्स्न पक्ष ॥ Similarly तामिस्र (a kind of hell)

१९११ । सिकताशर्कराभ्यां च । ५ । २ । १०४ ॥

सैकतो घट । शार्कर ॥

1911 The affix aṇ comes in the sense of matup, after sikatâ and śarkarâ.

Thus सैकतो घट:, शार्कर मधु ॥

Note —These are the examples, when they do not denote a place In denoting a place they will take इलच् and लुप् of the next sûtra

१९१२ । देशे लुबिलचौ च । ५ । २ । १०५ ॥

चादण् मतुप् च । सिकता सन्त्यस्मिन्देशे सिकता: । सिकतिल । सैकत । सिकतावान् । एव शर्करा इत्यादि ॥

1912 When the sense is that of 'a locality', there may take place the lup-elision of the affixes denoting matup

(with the preservation of the gender and number of the word), or there may be the affix ilach (इलँ), as well as an and matup, after the word sikatâ and śarkarâ

By च in the sutra, अण् and मतुप् are introduced The लुप् refers to मतुप and every affix in general Thus सिकता अस्मिन् विद्यन्ते = सिकता देश or सिकतिल, सैकत or सिकतावान् ' a sandy country ' So also शर्करा देश or शर्करिल or शार्कर or शर्करावान् 'a stony locality '

Note —Why do we say when meaning a ' locality ' ? Observe सैकत ' a vessel of sand ', शार्कर "honey or sugar" In the case of the elision of the affix, the gender and number are preserved by I 2 51 S 1294)

१९१३ । दन्त उन्नत उरच् । ५ । २ । १०६ ॥

उन्नता दन्ता सन्त्यस्य दन्तुर ॥

1913 The affix urach (उरँ) comes after danta denoting 'having projecting teeth'

Thus दन्ता उन्नता अस्य सन्ति = दन्तुर ॥

Note —The words in the sûtra are either in the nominative or the locative case, but have the force of ablative

Why do we say when the meaning is that of ' projecting'? Observe दन्तवान् 'having teeth'

१९१४ । ऊषसुषिमुष्कमधोर । ५ । २ । १०७ ॥

ऊषर । सुषिर । मुष्कोऽण्ड , मुष्कर । मधु माधुर्यम् , मधुर ॥ रप्रकरणे खमुखकुञ्जेभ्य उपसङ्ख्यानम् * ॥ खर । मुखर । कुञ्जो हस्तिहनु , कुञ्जर । नगपांसुपाण्डुभ्यश्च * ॥ नगरम् । पांसुर । पाण्डुर । पाण्डरशब्दस्तु अव्युत्पन्न एव ॥ कच्छ्वा ह्रस्वत्व च ॥ कच्छुर ॥

1914 The affix र comes, after the word ûsha, sushi, mushka and madhu, with the force of matup

Thus ऊषर क्षेत्रम् 'a barren soil, impregnated with ûsha or salt ' सुषिर काष्ठं 'a perforated wood i e containing सुषि or hole ' मुष्कर पशु 'a beast having testicles, or mushka ' मधुरो गुड ' sweet sugar '

Note —The word इति shows that the words formed with र are names of certain things Therefore it will not apply here ऊषोऽस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ' there is salt in this pot' we cannot say ऊषरो घट , nor मधुरो घट for मध्वस्मिन् घटे विद्यते ॥

Vârt —The affix र comes after ख, मुख and कुञ्ज, as खमस्यास्ति कण्ठविवर महत् = खर ' an ass, lit having a wide throat ' मुखमस्यास्ति इति सर्वस्मिन् वक्तव्ये = मुखर, ' talkative', कुञ्जावस्य स्त = कुञ्जर 'an elephant having tusks' The word कुञ्ज means the tusk of an elephant or the lower jaw of an elephant. The word कुञ्जर is a common name for all elephants

Vârt —The affix र comes after नग, पांसु and पाण्डु as नगरम् 'a city' lit having trees (naga = tree), पांसुर पाण्डुर ॥ The word पाण्डर has no derivative

Vârt —So also after कच्छू the vowel being shortened as कच्छुर ॥

१९१५ । द्युद्रुभ्यां मः । ५ । २ । १०८ ॥

द्युम । द्रुम ॥

1915 The affix म comes after dyu and dru, in the sense of matup

Thus द्युम । द्रुम ॥ These are primitive words, and therefore do not take मतुप् in the alternative

१९१६ । केशाद्वोऽन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १०९

प्रकृतेनान्यतरस्यामहणेन मतुपि सिद्धे पुनर्ग्रहणामिनिठनो समावेशार्थम् । केशव । केशी । केशिक । केशवान् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * मणिवो नागविशेष । हिरण्यवो निधिविशेष ॥ अर्णसो लोपश्च * ॥ अर्णव ॥

1916 The affix व comes optionally, with the force of matup, after keśa

Though the word अन्यतरस्याम् was understood here from V 2 96 S 1903 (see V 2 97), its repetition shows that in the alternative we have not only मतुप but the affixes इनि and ठन् (V 2 115 S 1922) also Thus we have four forms केशव , केशी, केशिकः and केशवान् ॥

Vârt —The affix व is seen after other words also As मणिव 'a kind of serpent हिरण्यव 'a kind of gem', कररव.

Vârt —The final of अर्णस् is elided before व, as अर्णवः

१९१७ । गाण्ड्यजगात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११० ॥

ह्रस्वदीर्घयोर्यणा तन्त्रेण निर्देश । गाण्डिवम् । गाण्डीवम् । अर्जुनस्य धनु । अजगव पिनाक ॥

1917. The affix व comes after gâṇḍî and ajaga, in the sense of matup; when the word is a Name

As गाण्डीव 'the bow Gâṇḍîva of Arjuna', अजगवं 'the bow Ajagava of Śiva' There is shortening also, as गाण्डिव ॥ The sûtra is so framed, that the word गाण्डी and गाण्डि are both included.

१९१८ । काण्डाण्डादीरन्नीरचौ । ५ । २ । १११ ॥

काण्डीर । आण्डीरः ॥

1918. The affixes îran and îrach come in the sense of matup, after the words kâṇḍa and aṇḍa respectively.

Thus काण्डीरः and आण्डीरः ॥ Another reading has आण्ड and आण्डीर ॥

१९१९ । रजःकृष्यासुतिपरिषदो वलच् । ५ । २ । ११२ ॥

रजस्वला स्त्री। कृषीवल । वलइति दीर्घ । आसुतीवल शौण्डिक । परिषद्वल । पर्षदिति पाठान्तरम्। पर्षद्वलम् ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते * ॥ भ्रातृवल । पुत्रवल । शत्रुवल । वल इत्यत्र संज्ञायामित्यनुवृत्तेर्नेह दीर्घ ॥

1919 The affix valach (वलॅ) comes, in the sense of matup, after rajas, krishi, âsuti, and parishad

As रजस्वला स्त्री, कृषीवल कुटुम्बी, आसुतीवल शौण्डिक, परिषद्वलो राजा ॥ The lengthening of vowel in कृषि and आसुति takes place by VI 3 118 S 1040

Note —The affix वलच comes only under certain senses and conditions, as shown in the above examples Thus in रजोऽस्मिन् ग्रामे विद्यते, there is no affixing

Vârt —The affix valach is seen after other words also As भ्रातृवल, पुत्रवल शत्रुवल, ॥ The sûtra VI 3 118 S 1040 does not apply here, and so there is no lengthening, as the words "when it is a name" is understood there The examples here are not names

१९२० । दन्तशिखात्संज्ञायाम् । ५ । २ । ११३ ॥

दन्तावलो हस्ती। शिखावल केकी ॥

1920 The affix valach comes in the sense of matup after danta and śikhâ when a Name is formed

Thus दन्तावलो हस्ती, शिखावल केकी ॥ The final vowel of दन्त is lengthened before वल by VI 3 118 S 1040

१९२१ । ज्योत्स्नातमिस्राशृङ्गिणोर्जस्विन्नूर्जस्वलगोमिन्मलिनमलीमसा । ५ । २ । ११४ ॥

मत्वर्थे निपात्यन्ते । ज्योतिष उपधालोपो नश्च प्रत्यय । ज्योत्स्ना । तमस उपधाया इत्व रश्च । तमिस्रा । स्त्रीत्वमतन्त्रम । तमिस्रम् । शृङ्गादिनच। शृङ्गिण । ऊर्जसो वलच्। तेन बाधा मा भूदिति विनिरपि, ऊर्जस्वी । ऊर्जस्वल । ऊर्जोऽसुगागम इति वृत्तिस्तु चिन्त्या। ऊर्जस्वतीतिवदसुन्नन्तनवोपपत्ते । गोशब्दान्मिनि । गोमी। मलशब्दादिनच्। मलिन । ईमसश्च। मलीमस ॥

1921 The words jyotsnâ, tamisrâ, śringina, ûrjasvin, ûrjasvala, gomin, malina, and malîmasa are irregularly formed, in the sense of matup and are Names

They are thus formed ज्योतिष् + न = ज्योत्स्ना 'moon light, (the इ being elided) तमस् + र = तमिस्रा 'night' (इ being added) it has other genders than feminine as तामस नभ 'dark sky' शृङ्ग + इनच् शृङ्गिण ॥ To ऊर्जस् are added the affixes विनि and वलच्, as ऊर्जस् + विन = ऊर्जस्विन्, ऊर्जस्वल ॥ The Kâśikâ derives this by adding the augment असुक to ऊर्ज् and then affixing वल and इन् ॥ This is a rather doubtful derivative for there is a form like ऊर्जस् ending in असुन् from which is derived the word ऊर्जस्वती ॥ It is easy therefore to derive urjasvin and ûrjasval, from this ûrjas गो + मिनि = गोमिन् N S गोमी, मल + इनच् = मलीन, मल + ईमसच् = मलीमस ॥

१९२२। अत इनिठनौ। ५। २। ११५॥

दण्डी। दण्डिक ॥

1922 The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after nominal stems ending in short अ, and in the alternative matup also comes

Thus दण्डिन् N S दण्डी or दण्डिक ॥

Note —The word अन्यतरस्याम् (V 2 96 S 1903) is understood here also, so we have मतुप्, as दण्डवान्, छत्रवान् ॥ Why do say 'short अ'? Observe खट्वावान् ॥ Here there is neither इन् nor ठन् ॥

These two affixes इनि and ठन् do not come after words of one syllable, after words ending in krit affixes, after words denoting genus (jâti), and when the construction is that of locative As स्व and ख form only स्वावान्, खवान्, ॥ Kṛit as, कारकवान् ॥ Genus, as, व्याघ्रवान्, सिंहवान् ॥ Locative, as दण्डा अस्यां सन्ति = दण्डवती शाला ॥ There are, however, some exceptions to this, as krit —कार्यिन्, कार्यिक हार्यिन्, हार्यिक ॥ Genus (jati) —तण्डुलिन्, तण्डुलिक ॥

१९२३। व्रीह्यादिभ्यश्च। ५। २। ११६॥

व्रीही। व्रीहिक । न च सर्वेभ्यो व्रीह्यादिभ्य इनिठनाविष्येते। किं तर्हि शिखामालासज्ञादिभ्य इनि *। यवखदादिभ्य इक *। अन्येभ्य उभयम् * ॥

1923 The affixes ini and than come in the sense of matup, after the words vrîhi &c, as well as the affix matup

Thus व्रीहिन् (nom व्रीही), व्रीहिक, व्रीहिमान्, मायी, मायिक, मायावान् ॥

These two affixes, however, do not come after all व्रीह्यादि words

Vârtika —The affix इनि comes after शिखादि sub division

Vârtika —The affix इकन् after यवखदादि subdivision

Vârt —After the remaining words, both इनि and ठन् (=इकन्) come

Note —The शिखादि after which इनि only comes are —1 शिखा, 2 मेखला, 3 सज्ञा, 4 बलाका, 5 माला 6 वीणा, 7 वडवा, 8 अष्टका, 9 पताका, 10 कर्मन्, 11 चर्मन्, 12 हसा, ॥ The यवखद &c are the following 1 यवखद, 2 कुमारी, 3 नौ, they take इकन् only The rest take both The word व्रीहि will get these affixes by the next sutra also, why is it then read in this class? The word व्रीहि in the Tundâdi class V 2 117, S 1924 does not mean the word form व्रीहि but words synonym with it Thus शालयोऽस्य सन्ति = शालिल, शाली, शालिक, शालिमान् ॥ The word शीर्ष preceded by the negative particle, takes these affixes, as अशीर्षी and अशीर्षिक ॥ The remaining words are व्रीहि, माया शाला केका, वर्मन्, दष्ट्रा, सज्ञा ॥

१९२४। तुन्दादिभ्य इलच्च। ५। २। ११७॥

चादिनिठनौ मतुप् च। तुन्दिल । तुन्दी। तुन्दिक । तुन्दवान्। उदर, पिचण्ड, यव, व्रीहि। स्वाङ्गाद्विवृद्धौ * ॥ 'विवृद्ध्युपाधिकात्स्वाङ्गवाचिन इलजादय स्यु" । विवृद्धौ कर्णौ यस्य स कर्णिल। कर्णी। कर्णिक । कर्णवान् ॥

'a beggar who has not artha or wealth' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'rich' All these are obtained by बहुल

१९२९ । ऊर्णाया युस् । ५ । २ । १२३ ॥

सित्वात्पदत्वम् । ऊर्णायु । अत्र छन्दसीति केचिदनुवर्तयन्ति । युक्तं चैतत् । अन्यथा हि अहंशुभमोरित्यत्रैवोर्णाग्रहणं कुर्यात् ॥

1929 The affix युस् is added to ऊर्णा in the sense of matup, (in the Chhandas)

The स् of युस् makes the word ऊर्णा a पद (I 4 16 S 1252), the result of which is that rules applicable to भ Bha do not apply, e g VI 1 148, S 1063 by which the final इ or ई or आ is elided Thus ऊर्णायु ॥ According to some, छन्दसि is to be read in this sûtra This is reasonable, for if yus is added to ûrnâ in the classical literature also, then there was no necessity of this sûtra The word urnâ could have been read along with aham and śubham in V 2 140 S 1946,

१९३० । वाचो ग्मिनिः । ५ । २ । १२४ ॥

वाग्मी ॥

1930 The affix gmini (ग्मिन्) comes after the word vâch, in the sense of matup.

Thus वाग्मी

Note —The affix is not ग्मिन् for had it been so, the form would have been वाङग्मिन् by VIII 4 45 S 116 Vârt

१९३१ । आलजाटचौ बहुभाषिणि । ५ । २ । १२५ ॥

कुत्सित इति वक्तव्यम् ॥—कुत्सितं बहु भाषते वाचालः । वाचाटः । यस्तु सम्यग्बहु भाषते । स वाग्मीत्येव ॥

1931 The affixes âlach (आलच्) and âtach (आटच्) come, in the sense of matup, after vâch, the word denoting 'a talkative',

This debars ग्मिन् ॥ Thus वाचाल 'garrulous', वाचाटः ॥

Vârt —These affixes come when contempt is expressed An orator (वाग्मी) also talks much, but to the purpose He will not be called वाचाल or वाचाट ॥

१९३२ । स्वामिन्नैश्वर्ये । ५ । २ । १२६ ॥

ऐश्वर्यवाचकात्स्वशब्दान्मत्वर्थे आमिनच् । स्वामी ॥

1932 The irregularly formed word svâmin denotes 'Sir or Lord'

The affix आमिन् comes in the sense of lordship after the word स्व meaning 'lord' Thus स्वमस्यास्ति = ऐश्वर्यमस्यास्ति = स्वामिन् ॥

Note —Why do we say when meaning Sir' Observe, स्ववान् ॥

१९३३ अर्शआदिभ्योऽच् । ५ । २ । १२७ ॥

अर्शांस्यस्य विद्यन्ते अर्शस । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

1933 The affix ach (अ) comes in the sense of matup, after the word arśa &c

Thus अर्शांसि अस्य विद्यन्ते = अर्शसः ॥ The Arsâdi is an Âkritigana.

Note —After a word denoting a member of the body comes the affix अच् when defect is meant As खञ्ज पादोस्यास्ति = खञ्ज । काण ॥ So also after words denoting color, as शुक्लोऽस्यास्ति = शुक्ल पट ॥

1 अर्शस्, 2 उरस, 3 तुन्द, 4 चतुर, 5 पलित, 6 जटा, 7 घटा, 8 घाटा, 9 अभ्र (अभ्र), 10 कर्दम, 11 अम्ल, (आम) 12 लवण 13 स्वाङ्गाद्धीनात्, 14 वर्णात् । आकृतिगण ॥

१९३४ । द्वन्द्वोपतापगर्ह्यात्प्राणिस्थादिनि । ५ । २ । १२८ ॥

द्वन्द्व । कटकवलयिनी । शङ्खनूपुरिणी । उपतापो रोग । कुष्ठी । किलासी । गर्ह्यं निन्द्यम् । ककुदावर्ती । काकतालुकी । प्राणिस्थात्किम् । पुष्पफलवान्घट । प्राण्यङ्गान्न ॥ पाणिपादवती । अत इत्यनु । चित्रकललाटिकावती । सिद्ध प्रत्यय पुनर्वचन ठनादिबाधनार्थम् ॥

1934 The affix ini (इनि) comes, in the sense of matup, after a dvandva compound, after the name of a disease, and after anything denoting fault, when the thing is found in a living being

Thus Dvandva —कटकवलयिनी,'a woman having a bracelet and a zone', शङ्खनूपुरिणी 'a woman having sankha and nûpura ornaments' So after diseases, —कुष्ठी 'a leper', किलासी 'a white leper' So after names of faults —ककुदावर्ती, कतालुकी ॥

Why do we say when found in 'a living being?' Observe पुष्पफलवान् वृक्षः ॥

Vârtika —The affix does not come after words denoting members of a living body as, पाणिपादवती ॥ The words अत V 2 115, S 1922 is understood in this sûtra also, so that the affix does not come after words not ending in अ, as चित्रकललाटिकावती ॥ Though the Dvandva compound &c ending in अ, would have taken इनि by V 2 115, the repetition of this affix in the present sûtra shows that the Dvandva compounds &c, take only इनि, and not ठन् &c

१९३५ । वातातीसाराभ्यां कुक् च । ५ । २ । १२९ ॥

चादिनि । वातकी । अतीसारकी ॥ रोगे चायमिष्यते * । नेह । वातवती गुहा ॥ पिशाचाच्च * ॥ पिशाचकी ॥

1935 The augment kuk (कुक्) comes before इनि, after the words vâta and atisâra

The words वात and अतिसार being names of diseases, will take इनि by the fore-going sûtra, the present aphorism only teaches the affixing of the augment Thus वातकी, अतिसारकी ॥ Another reading is अतीसारकी ॥ *Ishti* This is when the words वात and अतिसार denote diseases Otherwise, वातवती गुहा ॥

Vârt —So also after पिशाच, as पिशाचकी वैश्रवण 'the Kubera'

१९३६ । वयसि पूरणात् । ५ । २ । १३० ॥

पूरणप्रत्ययान्तान्मत्वर्थे इनि स्याद्वयसि द्योत्ये । मास संवत्सरो वा पञ्चमोऽस्यास्तीति पञ्चमी उष्ट्र । ठन्बाधनार्थमिदम् । वयसि किम् । पञ्चमवान् ग्राम ॥

1936 The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after an ordinal numeral, when age is denoted

Thus पञ्चमोऽस्यास्ति मास संवत्सरो वा = पञ्चमिन् 'five months or years old', as पञ्चमी उष्ट्र ॥ By V 2 115 S 1922 the affix इनि would have come after these words, the present sutra is a restrictive rule teaching that ठन् does not come in this sense

Why do we say वयसि 'when age is denoted'? Observe, पञ्चमवान् ग्रामराग ॥

१९३७ । सुखादिभ्यश्च । ५ । २ । १३१ ॥

इनिर्मत्वर्थे । सुखी । दु खी । मालाक्षेपे ॥ माली ॥

1937 The affix ini comes (to the exclusion of other affixes) in the sense of matup, after the words sukha &c

Thus सुखिन् nom सुखी, दु खी &c When censure is implied, then इन् comes after माला, to the exclusion of मतुप्, as माली ।

The following is the list of सुखादि words —

1 सुख, 2 दु ख, 3 तृप्र, 4 कृच्छ्र, 5 आस्र (आस्र), 6 अस्र*, 7 अलीक, 8 करुण (करुणा) 9 सोढ, 10 प्रतीप (प्रमीप), 11 शील, 12 हल, 13 माला क्षेपे, 14 कृपण, 15 प्रणय (प्रणाय), 16 दल*, 17 कक्ष* ॥ *Ganasutra*, After माला the affix is added in the sense of 'censure', Thus मालिन्, N S माली ॥

१९३८ । धर्मशीलवर्णान्ताच्च । ५ । २ । १३२ ॥

धर्माद्यन्तादिनिर्मत्वर्थे । ब्राह्मणधर्मी । ब्राह्मणशीली । ब्राह्मणवर्णी ॥

1938 The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, (to the exclusion of others), after nominal steps ending in dharma, sîla, and varna

Thus ब्राह्मणाना धर्म = ब्राह्मणधर्म, सोऽस्यास्ति = ब्राह्मणधर्मी ॥ ब्राह्मणशीलिन्, ब्राह्मणवर्णिन् ॥

१६३६ । हस्ताज्जातौ । ५ । २ । १३३ ॥
हस्ती । जातौ किम् । हस्तवान्पुरुष ॥

1939 The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word hasta, when a genus is denoted by the word so formed

Thus हस्तोऽस्यास्ति=हस्तिन् N S हस्ती 'an elephant' Why do we say when meaning a जाति 'a genus'? Observe हस्तवान् पुरुष ॥

१६४० । वर्णाद्ब्रह्मचारिणि । ५ । २ । १३४ ॥
वर्णी ॥

1940 The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the word varna, when the word so formed means a Brahmachârin

Thus वर्णिन् 'a Brahmachârî' Nom Sing वर्णी ॥

Note —The first three वर्ण or castes, who are entitled to the investiture with the sacred thread, and lead the life of a Brahma student, are so called When the meaning is not of Brahmachârî we have वर्णवान् ॥

१९४१ । पुष्करादिभ्यो देशे । ५ । २ । १३५ ॥

पुष्करिणी । पद्मिनी । देशे किम् । पुष्करवान्करी ॥ बाहूरुपूर्वपदाद्बलात् * ॥ बाहुबली । ऊरुबली ॥ सर्वादेश्च * ॥ सर्वधनी । सर्वबीजी ॥ अर्थाच्चासन्निहिते * ॥ अर्थी । सन्निहिते तु अर्थवान् ॥ तदन्ताच्च * ॥ धान्यार्थी । हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1941 The affix ini comes in the sense of matup, after the words pushkara &c, when the word so formed denotes a locality

Thus पुष्करिणी 'a tank', पद्मिनि &c Why do we say when 'locality' is expressed? Observe पुष्करवान् करी ॥

Vârt —The affix इन् comes after बल preceded by बाहु or ऊरु as बाहुबलिन् ऊरुबलिन् ॥

Vârt —So also after words preceded by सर्व, as, सर्वधनिन्, सर्वबीजिन् सर्वकेशी नट ॥

Vârt —So also after अर्थ when meaning 'not near', as अर्थिन् meaning अर्थोऽसन्निहितोऽस्य 'wanting wealth' Otherwise अर्थवान् 'having wealth'

Vârt —So also after a compound ending in अर्थ as धान्यार्थी, हिरण्यार्थी ॥

1 पुष्कर 2 पद्म 3 उत्पल, 4 तमाल 5 कुमुद, 6 नड 7 कपित्थ 8 बिस, 9 मृणाल, 10 कर्दम, 11 शालूक 12 विगर्ह 13 करीष, 14 शिरीष, 15 यवास 16 प्रवाह (प्रवास) 17 हिरण्य, 18 कैरव, 19 कल्लोल 20 तट* 21 तरंग, 22 पङ्कज*, 23 सरोज* 24 राजीव*, 25 नालीक*, 26 सरोरुह*, 27 पुटक, 28 अरविन्द*, 29 अम्भोज*, 30 अब्ज*, 31 कमल*, 32 पयस्*, 33 बयस, ॥

१९४२ । बलादिभ्योमतुबन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । २ । १३६ ॥

बलवान् । बली । उत्साहवान् । उत्साही ॥

1942 After the nominal-stems bala &c, comes the affix matup optionally, as well as ini

The affix इनि will come in the alternative Thus बलवान् or बली (Nom of बलिन्), उत्साहवान or उत्साही (Nom of उत्साहिन्) ॥

1 बल, 2 उत्साह, 3 उद्भास (उद्भाव), 4 उद्वास*, 5 उद्वास, 6 शिखा*, 7 कुल, 8 चूडा*, 9 सुल*, 10 कूल*, 11 आयाम, 12 व्यायाम, 13 उपयाम, 14 आरोह, 15 अवरोह, 16 परिणाह, 17 युद्ध, 18 उद्दाम, 19 शिखाबल, 20 वृगमूल, 21 वश ॥

१९४३ । सञ्ज्ञायां मन्माभ्याम् । ५ । २ । १३७ ॥

मन्नन्तान्मान्ताच्चेनिर्मत्वर्थे । प्रथिमिनी । दामिनी । होमिनी । सोमिनी । सञ्ज्ञाया किम् । सोमवान् ॥

1943 After a nominal-stem ending in मन् or म comes the affix ini, in the sense of matup, when the whole word so formed means a name

Thus प्रथिमन् + इनि = प्रथिम + इन् (VI 4 144, S 679) = प्रथिमन् fem प्रथिमिनी ॥ So also दामिनि ॥ Similarly होम, होमिनी, सोम, सोमिनी ॥ Why do we say, 'when meaning a name'? Observe, सोमवान् ॥

१९४४ । कंशंभ्यांबभयुस्तितुतयस । ५ । २ । १३८ ॥

कमिति मान्तौ । कमित्युदकसुखयो । शमिति सुखे । आभ्या सप्त प्रत्ययाः स्यु । युस्यसोः सकार पदत्वार्थ । कवः । कभ । कंयु । कंति । कंतुः । कंत । कंय । शवः । शंभ । शंयु । शंति । शंतु । शंत । शंय । अनुस्वारस्य वैकल्पिक परसवर्ण । वकारयकारपरस्यानुनासिकौ वयौ ॥

1944 The seven affixes va, bha, yus, ti, tu, ta and yas, come in the sense of matup, after कम् 'water and happiness', and शम् 'happiness'

Thus कव, कभ, कंयु, कन्ति, कन्तु, कन्त, कंयः, शव, शम्भ, शयु, शन्ति, शन्तु, शन्त, शंय ॥

The स् in युस् and यस्, make the stem, a Pada (I 4 16 S 1252), the result of which is that म of कम् and शम् is changed into Anusvâra before these two affixes by VIII 3 23 S 122 When denoting a Name, the forms will be कन्य and शन्य ॥ The anusvâra is optionally changed to a nasal homogenous to the class that follows The va and ya become nasalised when preceded by an anusvâra, (Thus the first affix is व va and not ब ba as given in the Kâsikâ]

१९४५ । तुन्दिवलिवटेर्भः । ५ । २ । १३९ ॥

वृद्धा नाभिस्तुन्दिः । मूर्धन्योपधोऽयमिति माधव । तुन्दिभ वलिभ । वटिभ । पामादित्वाद्वलिनोऽपि ॥

1945 The affix bha (भ) comes in the sense of 'pride' matup, after tundi, vali and vati

Thus तुन्दिभ 'having a protuberent belly' वलिभ and वटिभ ॥ Another form is वलिन, because वलि is included in the Pâmâdi class V 2 100 S 1907 The forms तुन्दिल &c, are valid by V 2 117 S 1924

१९४६ । अहंशुभमोर्युस् । ५ । २ । १४० ॥

अहमिति मान्तमव्ययमहङ्कारे । शुभमिति शुभे । अहंयु अहङ्कारवान् ॥ शुभंयु शुभान्वित ॥

1946 The affix yus (यु) comes in the sense of matup, after the words aham 'pride', and the indeclinable ubham 'good'

Thus अहंयुः = अहङ्कारवान्, selfish, haughty', शुभंयु = कल्याणवान् ॥ 'auspicious' The स् of युस् makes the words अहम् and शुभम्, Padas, and म is changed into Anusvâra (I 4 16, VIII 3 23) See V 2 123

Here ends the chapter on Matup affixes

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अथ तद्धित प्राग्दिशीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVII

THE VIBHAKTI AFFIXES

१९४७। प्राग्दिशो विभक्ति । ५ । ३ । १ ॥

दिक्शब्देभ्य इत्यत प्राग्वक्ष्यमाणा प्रत्यया विभक्तिसंज्ञा स्यु ॥ अथ स्वार्थिका प्रत्यया ॥ समर्थानामिति प्रथमादिति च निवृत्तम् । वेति त्वनुवर्तत एव ॥

1947 The affixes taught from this aphorism forward as far as V 3 27 S 1974 (exclusive) are called Vibhakti

The affixes herein taught do not change the sense of the word, i e they are स्वार्थ affixes which leave to the word their own denotation The rule IV 1 82 S 1072 extends no further than this, hence the words formed by these affixes do not produce epithets connoting the sense of the primitive and denoting something else

The affixes now to be taught being स्वार्थिक, the anuvritti of समर्थानाम् and प्रथमाद् of IV 1 82, S 1072 does not apply to them The word वा of IV 1 82 S 1072 however applies here, so that these affixes are optional, thus we may have कुत or कस्मात्, कुत्र or कस्मिन् ॥

Note —Thus V 3 7 S 1953 declares, that after the words किम् in the ablative there is the affix तसिल्, as कुत तत यत ॥

Note —The purpose served by designating these affixes as Vibhakti is (a) to debar the elision of final स् and म् of the affixes as इत् (I 3 4 S 190) Thus in the affix थाल्म् V 3 18, S 1967 म् is not इत्, had it been so, rule I 1 47 would have applied (b) to regulate the accent of इदम्, thus इदम् + तसिल् = इतै here by VI 1 171 S 3717 the affix तसिल् becomes udâtta by virtue of its being Vibhakti, otherwise, the accent would have been regulated by the indicatory ल (VI 1 193 S 3676) (c) to make applicable to these words the rules of त्यदादि, that is the rules given in the Sûtras VII 2 102 S 265 and those that follow Thus त्यद् + तसिल् = तत, the द् being replaced by अ by VII 2 102 S 265

१९४८। किंसर्वनामबहुभ्योऽद्व्यादिभ्य । ५ । ३ । २ ॥

किम सर्वनाम्नो बहुशब्दाच्चेति प्राग्दिशोऽधिक्रियते ॥

1948 These Prâgdisîya affixes come after the word kim, and after a stem called sarvanâma, and after bahu, but not after dvi &c

The words त्रि &c though सर्वनाम are exempted Thus कुत्र, कुत, यत, यत्र, बहुत , बहुत्र ॥

Note —Why do we say अद्व्यादि ' not dvi &c Observe द्वाभ्याम्, द्वयो ॥ Why do we say किम् &c ? Observe वृक्षात् वृक्षे &c The word किम् is a सर्वनाम but it being included in the dvyâdi class, would have been exempted from the operation of this rule had it not been separately mentioned

Note —The word बहु here is 'a Sankhya' Therefore, the affix does not apply here, बहो सुपात् , बहौ सूपे ॥

१९४९ । इदम इश् । ५ । ३ । ३ ।

प्राग्दिशीये परे ॥

1949 For idam, there is the substitute इश् (इ), when a Prâgdiśîya affix follows

The word प्राग्दिश is understood here also The श् of इश् is indicatory of the substitution of the whole (I 1 55) Thus इदम्+ह V 3 11,=इह ॥

१९५० । एतेतौ रथो । ५ । ३ । ४ ॥

इदम् शब्दस्य एत इत इत्यादशौ स्तो रेफादौ थकारादौ च प्राग्दिशीये परे । इशोऽपवाद ॥

1950 The substitutes एत and इत come in the place of idam, when 'a Prâgdiśîya affix beginning with र and थ respectively follows

This debars इश् ॥ The अ in र is for the sake of euphony Thus इदम्+ हिल्=एतर्हि (V 3 16) इदम्+थमु=इत्थम (V 3 24)

१९५१ । एतदोऽन् । ५ । ३ । ५ ॥

योगविभाग कर्तव्य ॥ एतद ॥ एतेतौ स्तो रथो ॥ अन् ॥ एतद इत्येव । अनेकाल्त्वात्सर्वादेश । नलोप , प्रातिपदिकान्तस्य ॥

1951 The substitute अन् comes in the place एतद् when a Prâgdiśîya affix follows

Note —According to Kâsika the substitute is अश् । The श of अश् causes the replacement of the whole (I 1 55 S 45) According to Patanjali the substitute is अन् and not अश् ॥ Thus एतद् । तसिल्=अत V 3 7 S 1953, अत्र V, 3 10

This sutra must be divided into two, (1) एतद , and (2) अन्, the meaning being (I) The substitutes एत and इत् come in the place of एतद् when affixes beginning with र् and थ respectively follow, as एतद्+र्हिल=एतर्हि (V 3 21 S 1969) एतद्+थमु=इत्थम ॥ The थ must be the थ of थमु which comes after idam (V 3 24 S 1972) for the application of this rule (1), and not the थ of थाल् (V 3 23 S 1971) before which the substitute will be अश् ॥ The word एतद् will take थमु by the implication of this rule The substitute अन् replaces एतद् before other Prâgdiśîya affixes As the substitute consists of more than

one letter, it replaces the whole of etad Thus एतद् + तसिल् = अत् + तस् = अतः (the त is elided by VIII 2 7 S 236)

१९५२ । सर्वस्य सोऽन्यतरस्यां दि । ५ । ३ । ६ ॥

प्राग्दिशीयो दकारादौ प्रत्यये परे सर्वस्य सो वा स्यात् ॥

1952 The स is substituted optionally for सर्व before a prâgdiśîya vibhakti beginning with द ॥

Thus सर्वदा or सदा ॥ When the affix is not Prâgdiśîya, there is no substitution as; सर्वं ददाति = सर्वदा ब्राह्मणी 'a Brâhmanî who gives all'

१९५३ । पञ्चम्यास्तसिल् । ५ । ३ । ७ ॥

पञ्चम्यन्तेभ्य किमादिभ्यस्तसिल् स्याद्वा ॥

1953 The affix tasil (तस्) comes after the word, किम् a sarvanâma, and bahu, when ending in the ablative case. but not after dvi &c

As किम् + तसिल् = कु + तस् ॥ The following sûtra changes किम् into कु ॥

१९५४ । कु तिहोः । ७ । २ । १०४ ॥

किम कु स्यात्तादौ हादौ च विभक्तौ परत । कुत । कस्मात् । यत । तत । अत । इत । अमुत । बहुत । द्वाभ्याम् । द्वाभ्याम् ॥

1954 कु is substituted for किम् before a vibhakti affix beginning with a त or a ह ॥

Thus कुतः = कस्मात् ॥ कुत्र, कुह (V 3 13, 7 S 1961 and 1953) The इ in ति means beginning with a त ॥ So also यत , तत , अत , इत , अमुत , बहुत ॥ But not after द्वि &c As द्वाभ्याम् ॥

१९५५ । तसेश्च । ५ । ३ । ८ ॥

किंसर्वनामबहुभ्यः परस्य तसेस्तासिलादेश स्यात् । स्वरार्थं विभक्त्यर्थं च वचनम् ॥

1955 The affix tasil (तस्) is substituted for तस् (V 4 44, 45 S 2111 and 1221) when kim, a sarvanâma, and bahu follow

This substitution is for the sake of accent, and for giving it the designation of vibhakti Otherwise तस् (V 4 44) being taught subsequently and it not being a Prâgdiśiya affix, it does not get the name of vibhakti, and so यत् &c cannot be changed to य when तसि will be added (VII 2 102 S 265). So we can never get the form यत as in the sentence यतोऽवगच्छाति ॥

१९५६ । पर्यभिभ्यां च । ५ । ३ । ९ ॥

आभ्या तसिल् स्यात् ॥ सर्वोभयार्थाभ्यामेव * ॥ परित । सर्वत इत्यर्थ । अभित । उभयत इत्यर्थ ॥

1956 The affix tasil comes after pari and abhi also.

Vârt :—This affix comes when परि means 'all', and अभि means 'both. Thus परितः = सर्वतः, 'all round', अभितः, उभयतः 'on both sides'

१९५७ । सप्तम्यास्त्रल् । ५ । ३ । १० ॥

कुत्र । यत्र । तत्र । बहुत्र ॥

1957 The affix tral (त्र) comes after kim, a sarvanâma, and bahu, when ending in a locative

Thus कुत्र (VII 2 104 S, 1954) 'where', तत्र (VII 2 102 S 265) 'there', बहुत्र 'in many places'

१९५८ । इदमो हः । ५ । ३ । ११ ॥

त्रलोऽपवादः । इशादेशः । इह ॥

1958 The affix ह comes after इदम् ending in the locative

This debars त्रल ॥ Thus इह (V 3 3 S 1949) 'here'.

१९५९ । किमोऽत् । ५ । ३ । १२ ॥

वाग्रहणमपकृष्यते । सप्तम्यन्तात्किमोऽद्वा स्यात्पक्षे त्रल् ॥

1959 The affix अत् (अ) comes optionally after kim ending in the locative, as also the affix tral

We must draw forward the word वा 'optionally' from the sûtra after the next So that this sûtra is an optional one Thus किम् + अत् ॥ Now applies the next sûtra by which किम् is replaced by क ॥ In the other alternative त्रल् also comes, as कुत्र ॥

१९६० । क्वाति । ७ । २ । १०५ ॥

किमः क्वादेशः स्यादति । क्व । कुत्र ॥

1960 क्व is substituted for किम् before the vibhakti अत् (V 3 13)

As क्व । So also कुत्र ॥

Note —The substitute कु of VII 2 104 S 1954, before the affix अ would have become क, but it would have caused guna, hence this separate substitute Had the sûtra been किमोऽद्भुत् it would not have included the अकच् augmented किम् ॥

१९६१ । वा ह च च्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । १३ ॥

कुह स्थः । कुह जग्मथुः ॥

1961 Optionally the affix ह also comes in the Chhandas, after the word kim in the locative as well as the other affixes

As in the Rig Veda VIII 62 4 कुहस्थः कुहजग्मथुः कुहः श्येनेव पेतथुः ॥ 'Where are ye two? Where are you going? Where do you fall like eagles"?

१९६२ । एतदस्त्रतसोस्त्रतसौ चानुदात्तौ । २ । ४ । ३३ ॥

अन्वादेशविषये एतदोऽश् स्यात्सचानुदात्तस्त्रतसो परत तौ चानुदात्तौ स्त । एतस्मिन् ग्रामे सुख वसाम । अथोऽत्राधीमहे । अतो न गन्तार स्म ॥

1962 In the 100m of एतद् in case of its re-employment there is the substitution of the gravely accented अश् when the affixes त्र (V 3 10 S 1957) and तस् (V 3 7 S 1953) follow, and the affixes त्र and तस् are anudâtta also (gravely accented)

Thus अत्र 'here', and अतस् 'hence', in the following —एतस्मिन् ग्राम सुख वसाम , अथो अत्र अधीमहे । 'We live in this (etasmin) village happily, therefore let us read with full devotion in this (atra)' एतस्माच्छात्राच्छन्दोऽधीष्व, अथो अतो व्याकरणमप्यधीष्व । 'Learn from this student Prosody and also learn from him Grammar' By rule V 3 5 S 1951 अश् is declared to be the substitute of एतद् , its repetition here is to indicate that the अश् of anvâdeśa is anudâtta

१९६३ । इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते । ५ । ३ । १४ ॥

पञ्चमीसप्तमीतरविभक्त्यन्तादपि तसिलादयो दृश्यन्ते । दृशिग्रहणाद्भवदादियोग एव । स भवान् । ततो भवान् । तत्र भवान् । त भवन्तम् । ततो भवन्तम् । तत्र भवन्तम् । एव दीर्घायु । देवानाप्रिय । आयुष्मान् ॥

1963 The above affixes are seen coming after kim, a sarvanama and bahu, ending with other case-affixes also, besides the locative and ablative

That is to say, the affixes तसिल्, त्रल्, ह &c come after kim &c which are not in the ablative or the locative case By the employment of the expression 'are seen', it is hinted that this may take place not on every occasion, but only when in juxtaposition with such words as भवत् 'Your Honor', दीर्घायु 'long lived', आयुष्मान् 'having long life', and देवानाम्प्रिय 'the beloved of the Gods' Thus

Nom	ततो भवान् or तत्र भवान् = स भवान् ॥
Acc	तत्र भवन्तम् or ततो भवन्तम् = त भवन्तम् ॥
Ins	तत्र भवता or ततो भवता = तेन भवता ॥
Dat	ततो भवते or तत्र भवते = तस्मै भवते ॥
Abl	ततो भवत or तत्र भवत = तस्माद् भवत ॥
Gen	ततो भवत or तत्र भवत = तस्य भवत ॥
Loc	ततो भवति or तत्र भवति = तस्मिन् भवति ॥

Similarly with the words दीर्घायु , आयुष्मान् and देवानाम्प्रिय ॥

१९६४ । सर्वैकान्यकिंयत्तद काले दा । ५ । ३ । १५ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तेभ्य: कालार्थेभ्य स्वार्थे दा स्यात् । सर्वस्मिन्काले सदा । सर्वदा । एकदा । अन्यदा । कदा । यदा । तदा । काले किम् । सर्वत्र देशे ॥

1964 After sarva 'all', eka 'one', anya 'other', kim 'what', yad 'which', and tad 'that', when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, the words being in the locative case

The word सप्तम्या V 2 10 S 1957 is understood here and not the word इतराभ्या of the last. This debars त्रल् ॥ Thus सर्वदा or सदा (V 3 6 S 1952) 'at every time' or 'always', एकदा 'once', अन्यदा 'at another time', कदा (VII 2 103 S 342) 'when', यदा 'when', तदा 'then'

Why do we say काले 'when time is denoted'? Observe सर्वत्रदेशे where although the case is the 7th, the affix is not दा, because the sense is 'in every *place*' or 'every where'

१९६५ । इदमोर्हिल् । ५ । ३ । १६ ॥

सप्तम्यन्तात्काले इत्येव । हस्यापवाद । अस्मिन्काले एतर्हि । काल किम् । इह देशे ॥

1965 After idam 'this', ending in the locative case, comes the affix rhil र्हि when time is denoted.

The words सप्तम्या and काले are understood This rhil debars ha. The ल् of र्हिल् is for accent Thus अस्मिन् काले = एतर्हि (V 3 4 S 1950) 'at this time' Why 'when time is denoted'? Observe इह 'in this *place*', as इह देशे ॥ See V 3 4 S 1950

१९६६ । अधुना । ५ । ३ । १७ ॥

इदम सप्तम्यन्तात्कालवाचिन स्वार्थेऽधुनाप्रत्यय स्यात् । इश् । यस्येति लोप । अधुना ॥

1966 After idam ending in the locative case, comes the affix अधुना, when time is denoted

Thus इदम् + अधुना = इ + अधुना (V 3 3 S 1949) = ० + अधुना (S 311) = अधुना ॥ According to Kâśikâ अस्मिन् काले = अधुना 'at this time', अश् is substituted for इदम् and, धुन affix is added

१९६७ । दानीं च । ५ । ३ । १८ ॥

इदानीम् ॥

1967. The affix dânîm also comes after idam, ending in the locative, and denoting time

Thus अस्मिन् काले = इदानीम् (V 3 3 S 1949) 'at this time'.

१९६८ । तदो दा च । ५ । ३ । १९ ॥

तदा । तदानीम् । तदो दावचनमनर्थकं विहितत्वात् ॥

1968 After tad, ending in the seventh case, when time is denoted, comes the affix दा, and also dânîm

The दानीम् is read into the sutra by force of the word च 'also' Thus तस्मिन् काले = तदा or तदानीम् 'at that time' *Vârt* —This sûtra, so far as it ordains दा after तद् is useless, because the word तद् already takes दा by V 3 15

१९६९ । अनद्यतने र्हिलन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

कर्हि । कदा । यर्हि । यदा । तर्हि । तदा । एतस्मिन्काले एतर्हि ॥

1969 The affix rhil comes optionally, in denoting time not of the current day, after the words 'kim' the sarvanâma, and bahu &c' in the 7th case

The anuvṛitti of छन्दसि is not read into this sûtra This is a general rule Thus कर्हि or कदा, (VII 2 103 S, 342), यर्हि or यदा, तर्हि or तदा, एतर्हि ॥

१९७० । सद्यःपरुत्परार्यैषमःपरेद्यव्यद्यपूर्वेद्युरन्येद्युरन्यतरेद्युरितरेद्युरपरेद्युरधरेद्युरुभयेद्युरुत्तरेद्युः । ५ । ३ । २२ ॥

एते निपात्यन्ते । समानस्य सभावो द्यस् चाहनि* । समानेऽहनि सद्यः । पूर्वपूर्वतरयोः पर उदारी च प्रत्ययौ वत्सरे* । पूर्वस्मिन्वत्सरे परुत् । पूर्वतरे वत्सरे परारि ॥ इदम इश् समसण् प्रत्ययश्च संवत्सरे* । अस्मिन्संवत्सरे ऐषमः । परस्मादेद्यव्यहनि* । परस्मिन्नहनि परेद्यवि । इदमोऽश् द्यश्च* । अस्मिन्नहनि अद्य । पूर्वादिभ्योऽष्टभ्योऽहन्येद्युस्* । पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि पूर्वेद्युः । अन्यस्मिन्नहनि अन्येद्युः । उभयोरह्नोरुभयेद्युः ॥ द्युश्चोभयाद्वक्तव्यः* ॥ उभयद्युः ॥

1970. The following words are anomalous, sadyaḥ, parut, parâri, aishamas, paredyavi, adya, pûrvedyus, anyedyus, anyataredyus, itaredyus, aparedyus, adharedyus, ubhayedyus, and uttaredyus

The words सप्तम्या and काल are understood here The base, the substitute, the **affix**, the particular time &c, must all be deduced from these forms *Vârt*.—सद्यः is formed from समान, by substituting स for समान, and adding द्यस्, in the sense of 'a day' समानेऽहनि = सद्यः 'the same day' *Vârt* —The पूर्व and पूर्वतर are replaced by पर, and then उत् and आरि are added, in the sense of 'a year' Thus पूर्वस्मिन् संवत्सरे = परुत् 'last year' पूर्वतरे संवत्सरे = परारि 'the year before last' *Vârt* —The इश् replaces इदम्, and समसण् is added, in the sense of 'year' अस्मिन् संवत्सरे = ऐषमः 'during this year' *Vârt* —To पर is added एद्यवि in the sense of 'a day' as, परस्मिन्नहनि = परेद्यवि 'the other day' *Vart* —The अश् replaces इदम् and द्यस् is added in the sense of 'a day' Thus अस्मिन्नहनि = अद्य 'to day' *Vârt* —To पूर्व, अन्य, अन्यतर, इतर, अपर, अधर,

उभय and उत्तर is added the affix एद्युस्, in the sense of 'a day' as पूर्वस्मिन्नहनि = पूर्वेद्युस् 'on the day before', अन्यस्मिन्नहनि = अन्येद्युस् 'on the following day' अन्यतरस्मिन्नहनि = अन्यतरेद्यु 'on either of two days' इतरस्मिन्नहनि = इतरेद्यु 'on another day', अपरस्मिन्नहनि = अपरेद्यु on the following day' अधरस्मिन्नहनि = अधरे द्यु 'on a previous day' उभयोरह्ना = उभयद्यु 'on both days' *Vârt* —So also उभयद्युः is formed by dyus added to ubhaya

१९७१ । प्रकारवचने थाल् । ५ । ३ । २३ ॥

प्रकारवृत्तिभ्य किमादिभ्यस्थाल्स्यात्स्वार्थे । तेन प्रकारेण तथा । यथा ॥

1971 The affix thâl (था) comes, after the words kim &c V 3 2, when we speak of a kind or manner of being

The sûtra V 3 2, S 1948 is to be read into this The anuvritti of सप्तम्या and काले ceases The word प्रकार means the differentiating quality distinguishing a species among the genus it means 'sort', 'kind', 'mode', 'manner,' &c Thus तेन प्रकारेण = तथा 'so, in that manner' Similarly यथा ॥

Note —The affix जातीयर् taught in V 3 69 S 2024 has also the same force, with this difference that jâtiyar applies to words which denote things possessing such a quality (प्रकारवान्) while thâl denotes mode itself Therefore, one does not debar the other, so that we have forms like तथाजातीय and यथाजातीय ॥

१९७२ । इदमस्थमुः । ५ । ३ । २४ ॥

थालोऽपवाद ॥ एततोऽपि वाच्य * ॥ अनेन एतेन वा प्रकारेण इत्थम् ॥

1972 After idam comes the affix thamu (थमु) in the same sense i e in denoting manner

Vârt —It comes after etad also This debars थाल्, thus —अनेन or एतेन प्रकारेण = इत्थम् V 3 4, S 1950 'in this manner' The उ in थमु protects the म from becoming इत (See I 3 4 S 190)

१९७३ । किमश्च । ५ । ३ । २५ ॥

केन प्रकारेण कथम् ॥

1973 Also after kim, comes the affix thamu in the sense of manner

Thus केन प्रकारेण = कथम् 'how ?'

Here ends the chapter on Prâgdisîya affixes

अथ तद्धितप्रागिवीय प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXVIII

THE SVARTHIKA AFFIXES

१९७४ । दिक्शब्देभ्य. सप्तमीपञ्चमीप्रथमाभ्यो दिग्देशकालेष्वस्तातिः । ५ । ३ । २७ ॥

सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्यो दिशिरूढेभ्यो दिग्देशकालवृत्तिभ्य स्वार्थेऽस्तातप्रत्यय स्यात् ॥

1974 After words which primarily denote 'direction' ending in the locative, ablative and nominative, and referring to 'direction', 'locality' or 'time', comes the affix astâti (अस्तात्) without change of sense

Note —The word दिक् शब्दा means 'words denoting directions'. Thus पुरस्तात्, has all these three significations in the following sentences, पुरस्ताद्वसति 'he lives eastward', पुरस्तादागत 'he came from east' पुरस्ताद् रमणीयम् 'It was delightful previously' Similarly with अधस्तात् ॥ For further explanation see S 1977 below

१९७५ । पूर्वाधरावराणामसि पुरधवश्चैषाम् । ५ । ३ । ३९ ॥

एभ्योऽस्तात्यर्थेऽसिप्रत्यय स्यात्तद्योगे चैषा क्रमात्पुर, अध, अव्, इत्यादेशा स्यु ॥

1975 After pûrva, adhara and avara comes the affix asi (अस्) in the sense of astâti, and pura, adh, and av are their respective substitutes before this affix

Note —The word अपञ्चम्या does not govern this sutra Thus पुरो वसति, पुर आगत पुरो रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधस् and अवस् with वसति, आगत and रमणीयम् ॥ As अधोवसति, अध आगत , अधोरमणीयम्, अवोवसति, अवआगत and अवोरमणीयम् ॥ See S 1984

१९७६ । अस्ताति च । ५ । ३ । ४० ॥

अस्तातौ परे पूर्वादीना पुराद्य स्यु । पूर्वस्या पूर्वस्या पूर्वा वा दिक् । पुर पुरस्तात् । अध अधस्तात् । अव । अवस्तात् ॥

1976 The same substitution takes place when the affix astâti (अस्तात्) follows

That is पुर for पूर्व, अध् for अधर and अव् for अवर ॥ Thus पुरस्तात् or अधस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति or आगत or रमणीयम् ॥

१९७७ । विभाषावरस्य । ५ । ३ । ४१ ॥

अवरस्यास्तातौ परेऽव स्याद्वा । अवस्तात् । अवरस्तात् । एव देशे काले च । दिशि रूढेभ्य किम् । ऐन्द्र्या वसति । सप्तम्याद्यन्तेभ्य किम् । पूर्वं ग्राम गत । दिगादिवृत्तिभ्य किम् । पूर्वस्मिन् गुरौ वसति । अस्ताति चेति ज्ञापकाद्दसिरस्तातिं न बाधते ॥

1977 The substitution of अव् for अवर is optional when astâti follows

This declares an option when by the last it was compulsory As अवरस्तात् or अवस्तात् वसति, आगत , or रमणीयम्॥

Why do we say 'after words which primarily denote direction'? Observe ऐन्द्र्या दिशि वसति, 'He lives in the Aindrâ direction" Here ऐन्द्री is a secondary word denoting eastern direction Why do we say 'ending in the locative, ablative and nominative'? Observe पूर्वम् ग्राम गत ॥ Why do we say when the sense is 'a direction', 'a locality' or a 'time'? Observe पूर्वस्मिन् गुरौ वसति 'he lives in the presence of the Guru'

Note —This affix is a स्वार्थिक affix, like the affixes taught previously The words denoting direction must be primitive words of direction, and not derivative words like ऐन्द्री &c which also denote direction

The sûtra 1976 indicates by implication that the affix अस्ताति V 3 27 S, 1974 is not debarred by अस् after these words

१९७८ । दक्षिणोत्तराभ्यामतसुच् । ५ । ३ । २८ ॥

अस्तातेरपवाद । दक्षिणत । उत्तरत ॥

1978 After dakshinâ and uttara (referring to a direction or a locality or a time, and ending with the locative, ablative or nominative), comes the affix atasuch (अतस्) ॥

This debars अस्ताति ॥ Thus दक्षिणत उत्तरत ॥

Note —The word दक्षिणा can never refer to time, so with regard to it direction and locality are only taken The अ of अतसुच् is for the sake of differentiating this affix from तस् in sûtras like II 3 30

१९७९ । विभाषापरावराभ्याम् । ५ । ३ । २९ ॥

परत । अवरत । परस्तात् । अवरस्तात् ।

1979 Optionally after para and avara, comes the affix atasuch, in the sense of astâti

Thus परत or परस्तात् ॥ So also अवरस्तात् or अवरत ॥

१९८० । अञ्चेर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ३० ॥

अञ्चत्यन्तादिक्शब्दादस्तातेर्लुक् स्यात् । लुक् तद्धितलुकि ॥ प्राच्या प्राच्या प्राची वा दिक् प्राक् । उदक् । एव देशे काले च ॥

1980 After words of direction ending in अञ्च्, there is luk-elision of the affix astâti.

Thus प्राक् or प्रत्यक् as प्राच्यां दिशि वसति = प्राग् वसति, प्रागागत, प्राग्रमणीयम् ॥ The feminine affix of प्राची is also elided, when the taddhita affix is elided by लुक् ॥ See I 2 49 S 1408 So also उदक् 'in the north' Similarly when locality or time is denoted

१९८१ । उपर्युपरिष्टात् । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

अस्तातेर्विषये ऊर्ध्वशब्दस्योपादेशः स्याद्रिल्रिष्टातिलौ च प्रत्ययौ । उपरि उपरिष्टाद्वा वसति । आगतो रमणीयं वा ॥

1981 The words upari and uparishtât are anomalous in the sense of astâti

These words are derived irregularly from the word ऊर्ध्व, by changing it into उप and adding the affixes रिल् and रिष्टातिल् ॥ Thus ऊर्ध्वायां दिशि वसति = उपरि वसति । So also उपर्यागत उपरि रमणीयम् ॥ उपरिष्टाद्वसति, उपरिष्टादागत, उपरिष्टाद्रमणीयम् ॥

१९८२ । पश्चात् । ५ । ३ । ३२ ॥

अपरस्य पश्चभाव आतिश्च प्रत्ययोऽस्तातेर्विषये ॥

1982 The word paśchât is anomalous, in the sense of astâti

The word is formed by changing अपर into पश्च and adding the affix आति ॥ As अपरस्यां दिशि वसति = पश्चाद्वसति, आगत रमणीयम् &c

Note —So also when अपर is preceded by another word denoting direction, it is changed into pascha and âti is added As दक्षिणपश्चात्, उत्तरपश्चात् ॥

Note —So also when अर्ध follows such a compound, apara is changed into paścha, as, दक्षिणपश्चार्ध, उत्तरपश्चार्ध ॥

Note —Apara is changed into paścha, when followed by ardha, and not preceded by any other word As, पश्चार्ध ॥

१९८३ । उत्तराधरदक्षिणादाति । ५ । ३ । ३४ ॥

उत्तरात् । अधरात् । दक्षिणात् ॥

1983 To the words uttara, adhara and dakshina is added the affix âti, in the sense of astâti

Thus उत्तरस्यां दिशि वसति = उत्तराद्वसति ॥ Similarly अधरात् and दक्षिणात् ॥

१९८४ । एनबन्यतरस्यामदूरेऽपञ्चम्याः । ५ । ३ । ३५ ॥

उत्तरादिभ्य एनब्वा स्यादवध्यवधिमतो सामीप्ये पञ्चम्यन्तं विना । उत्तरेण । अधरेण । दक्षिणेन । पक्षे यथास्वं प्रत्ययाः । इह कश्चिदुत्तरादीननुवर्त्य दिक्शब्दमात्रादेनपमाह । पूर्वेण ग्रामम् ॥ अपरेण ग्रामम् ॥

1984. The affix enap (एनप्) comes optionally, (after the words uttara, adhara and dakshina in the sense of astâti), when the limit indicated is not remote, and when it is not a substitute of the ablative case-affix

Note —The affix अस्ताति and the other affixes taught above come with the force of locative, ablative and nominative The एनप् comes with the force of locative and nominative and not that of ablative The adverbs so formed refer to objects not at a distance

Thus उत्तरेण or उत्तरात् or उत्तरतो वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ Similarly अधरेण, अधरात् अधस्ताद् वसति &c, so also दक्षिणेन, दक्षिणात्, दक्षिणतो, वसति &c 'He lives near by in the north ward or southward' Why do we say when not denoting distance? In the other alternative the ordinary affixes will come as दक्षिणतः उत्तरतः, अधस्तात्, उत्तरात्। Observe उत्तराद्वसति he lives far away in the north' Why do we say 'when not having the force of ablative'? Observe उत्तरादागतः ' come from the north'

Note —The word अपञ्चम्याः governs all the succeeding sûtras upto V 3 39, exclusive

Some do not read उत्तर &c into this sûtra according to them this is a general rule applicable to all words denoting direction As पूर्वेण ग्रामम्, अपरेण ग्रामम् (II 3 31) The प् in enap is for the sake of accent (III 1 4 S 3709)

१९८५ । दक्षिणादाच् । ५ । ३ । ३६ ॥
अस्तातेर्विषये । दक्षिणा वसति । अपञ्चम्या इत्येव । दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

1985 The affix ach (आच्) comes after the word dakshina, in the sense of astâti, but not as a substitute of the ablative case-affix

The word अदूरे of the last sûtra is not read into this though the word अपञ्चम्याः governs it Thus दक्षिणा वसति or रमणीयम्, but दक्षिणत आगतः in the ablative

Note —The च् in आच् is not for the sake of accent (VI 1 163 S 3710) for the simple affix आ would be udâtta by the general rule III 1 3 S 3708 The च् serves the purpose of differentiating this आ from other affixes in Sûtra II 3 29 S 595

१९८६ । आहि च दूरे । ५ । ३ । ३७ ॥
दक्षिणाद् दूरे आहि स्यात् चादाच् । दक्षिणाहि । दक्षिणा ॥

1986 The affix âhi (आहि) comes after the word dakshina, in the sense of astâti, as well as ach when the reference is to a distant limit

We draw in the affix आच् by force of the word च 'and'

Thus दक्षिणाहि वसति or दक्षिणा वसति 'he lives far away in the south'.

Note —Why do we say दूरे when the adverb denotes a distant limit'? Observe दक्षिणतो वसति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also as, दक्षिणत आगतः ॥

१९८७ । उत्तराच्च । ५ । ३ । ३८ ॥

उत्तराहि । उत्तरा ॥

1987 The affixes आच् and आहि come after uttara in the sense of astâti, when the reference is to a distant limit

Thus उत्तरा or उत्तराहि वसति or रमणीयम् ॥ "He lives far away in the north or the northward far away is pleasant"

Note —But when 'distance' is not meant we have उत्तरेण प्रयाति ॥ The word अपञ्चम्या governs this also as उत्तरादागत ॥

१९८८ । संख्याया विधार्थे धा । ५ । ३ । ४२ ॥

क्रियाप्रकारार्थे वर्तमानात्संख्यावाचकात्स्वार्थे धा स्यात् । चतुर्धा । पञ्चधा ॥

1988 The affix dhâ (धा) comes after a nominal-stem denoting a Numeral, when it means the mode or manner of an action

Note —The word विधा and प्रकार have the same meaning Thus adverbs so formed apply to every kind of action

Thus एकधा भुङ्क्ते 'he eats once' द्विधा गच्छति 'he goes twice' Similarly त्रिधा चतुर्धा पञ्चधा ॥

१९८९ । अधिकरणविचाले च । ५ । ३ । ४३ ॥

द्रव्यस्य संख्यान्तरापादने संख्याया धा स्यात् । एक राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु ॥

1989 The affix dhâ comes after a numeral, when the sense is a change in the apportionment or distribution of substances

Note —The word संख्याया is understood here The word अधिकरणम् means 'matter, stuff substance' विचाल 'change in numbers' Thus to make one into many, or to make many into one

Thus एक राशिं पञ्चधा कुरु 'divide one heap into five' Similarly अनेकम् एकधा कुरु "make these many heaps into one"

१९९० । एकाद्धो ध्यमुञन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ४४ ॥

ऐकध्यम् । एकधा ॥

1990 After the word eka, the substitute dhyamuñ (ध्यमुञ्) comes optionally instead of dha

Thus एकधा राशिं कुरु or ऐकध्यं कुरु, एकधा भुङ्क्ते or ऐकध्यं भुङ्क्ते ॥

Note —The repetition of धा in the sûtra shows that the substitution takes place when the sense is that of विधा, as well as when it is that of अधिकरण विचाल ॥ Had धा not been repeated, the substitution would have come in the sense of अधिकरण विचाल only, as immediately preceding this sûtra

१९९१ । द्वित्र्योश्च धमुञ् । ५ । ३ । ४५ ॥

आभ्यां धा इत्यस्य धमुञ् स्याद्वा । द्वैधम् । द्विधा । त्रैधम् । त्रिधा । धमुञन्तात्स्वार्थे डदर्शनम् * ॥ पथि द्वैधानि

1991 The substitute dhamuñ धमुञ् comes optionally, in the place of धा after the words dvi and tri

Note — Here also it comes in both the विधार्थ and अधिकरण विचाल senses By च, the word 'optionally' is drawn into the sûtra

Thus द्विधा or द्वैधम्, त्रिधा, or त्रैधम् ॥

Vârt —The affix ड (ḍa, with the elision of the final vowel) comes without changing the sense, after words ending in dhamuñ As पथि, द्वैधानि सम्प्रयन्ते ॥

१९९२ । एधाच्च । ५ । ३ । ४६ ॥

द्वेधा । त्रेधा ॥

1992 The substitute edhâch (एधाच्) comes optionally in the place of dha, after dvi and tri

Thus द्वेधा (VI 4 148 S 311) or द्वैधम् or द्विधा, त्रेधा त्रैधम् or त्रिधा ॥

१९९३ । याप्ये पाशप् । ५ । ३ । ४७ ॥

कुत्सितो भिषक् भिषक्पाशः ॥

1993 The affix pâśap (पाशप्) denotes something as insignificant

The word याप्य means 'contempt, trifling' &c Thus कुत्सित याप्यो भिषक् भिषक्पाशः 'a very bad physician' So also वाग्मिकपाशः ॥

Note —Of course this will not come in denoting a person who is a good physician, but bears a bad character, or who is a good performer of sacrifices but immoral

१९९४ । पूरणाद्भागे तीयादन् । ५ । ३ । ४८ ॥

द्वितीयो भागो द्वितीयः । तृतीयः । स्वरे विशेषः ॥ तीयादीकक् स्वार्थे वाच्य * ॥ द्वैतीयीकः द्वितीयः । तार्तीयीकः तृतीयः ॥ न विद्यायाः * ॥ द्वितीया । तृतीया । विद्येत्येव ॥

1994 After (a nominal stem being) an ordinal number ending in tîya, comes the affix अन् (अ) (the word retaining its denotation), when a 'part' is meant

This sûtra is made only to teach accent, for the word to which अन् is added undergoes no other change of form except in accent Thus द्वितीयः (V 2 54. S 1854) has udâtta on ती (III 1 3 S 3708) but when अन् is added, the accent falls on द्वि (VI 1 197 S 3686) Thus द्वितीयो भाग = द्वितीयः 'the moiety' Similarly तृतीय 'the one-third'

Note —Why do we say when 'part' is meant? Otherwise, there is no change in accent The affix तीय always comes in forming ordinal numbers and for no other purpose, for the तीय in words like कुलतीय is not significant as it is not an affix The employment of the word पूरण in the aphorism is useless for the purposes of this sûtra Its anuvṛtti, however, runs in the other sûtras, and that is the only purpose that it serves here

Vârt —The affix ईकक् is added to words ending in तीय, without changing the sense As द्वैतीयीक, तार्तीयीक, in the same sense as द्वितीय and तृतीय ॥

Vârt —But not so, when the word ending in तीय refers to विद्या ॥ As द्वितीया विद्या, तृतीया विद्या ॥

१९९५ । प्रागेकादशभ्योऽच्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ४९ ॥

पूरणप्रत्ययान्ताद्भागेऽन् । चतुर्थ । पञ्चम ॥

1995 After an ordinal numeral upto eleven exclusive, comes the affix अन्, the word retaining its denotation, when a 'part' is meant but not so in the Chhandas

This is for accent also Thus चतुर्थ, पञ्चम, सप्तमः, नवम, दशम ॥

Note —Why do we say प्रागेकादश 'before eleven'? Observe एकादशः, द्वादशः no change of accent (VI 1 223 S 3734) Why do we say 'not in the Chhandas'? Observe, पञ्चममिन्द्रियस्यापाक्रामत (पञ्चम has acute on the final being formed by डट् preceded by मट् V 2 48, 49 S 1849, 1850)

१९९६ । षष्ठाष्टमाभ्यां ञ च । ५ । ३ । ५० ॥

भागेऽन् । षष्ठो भाग षाष्ठ । षष्ठ । आष्टम । अष्टमः ॥

1996 The affix ña (अ) also comes as well as अन् after shastha and ashtama, when a 'part' is meant, but not in the Chhandas*

The words भागे and अच्छन्दसि are understood here. By च, the affix अन् is included Thus षष्ठ or षष्ठ आष्टम or आष्टम ॥

१९९७ । मानपश्वङ्गयो कन्लुकौ च । ५ । ३ । ५१ ॥

षष्ठाष्टमशब्दाभ्यां क्रमेण कन्लुकौ स्तो माने पश्वङ्गे च वाच्ये । षष्ठको भाग मान चेत् । अष्टमो भाग पश्वङ्ग चेत् । अस्य अनो वा लुक् । चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तम् । षष्ठ । षाष्ठ । अष्टम । आष्टम । महाविभाषया सिद्धे लुग्वचन पूर्वयः ञानौ नित्याविति ज्ञापयति ॥

1997 After the words shashtha and ashtama there may come respectively कन् (क) and लुक elision of the affix, when the meaning is a division of a measure called mâna or grain, or the part of the body of a beast respectively

The word मान means a grain weight (व्रीहि पात्मित सुवर्णं) ॥ That is to say, कन् comes after षष्ठ when a division of मान 'measure' is expressed, and लुक् comes after अष्ट when a part of पश्वङ्ग is denoted Thus षष्ठका भाग 'a sixth of a grain measure' अष्टमो भाग 'an-eighth part of the body of a beast' The लुक् here takes the place of the affix ञ as well as ञन् ॥ By च, the affixes above mentioned are also employed as षाष्ठ or षष्ठ, आष्टम or अष्टम ॥ When a measure or the body of an animal is not denoted, this rule (though optional) will not apply

Though under the Great Option (IV 1 82 S 1092) all these affixes may be elided, yet the separate luk elision herein taught indicates by implication, that the ञ and ञन् of the preceding aphorism are compulsory and cannot be elided by the Great Option See also V 3 1 S 1947

१९९८ । एकादाकिनिच्चासहाये । ५ । ३ । ५२ ॥

चात्कन्लुकौ । एक । एकाकी । एकक ॥

1998 After the word eka, comes also the affix âkinich (आकिनिच्), (the word retaining its denotation), when the sense is 'without a companion'

By the word च, the affix कन् and the elision लुक् also take effect the elision being of कन् or आकिनिच् ॥ Thus एकाकिन् (nom एकाकी), एकक or एक ॥

Note —By using असहाय, it is indicated that the word एक here is not a numeral meaning 'one', but a noun meaning 'alone' एकोऽन्यार्थे प्रधाने च, प्रथमे, केवले, तथा ॥ साधारणे, समाने ऽल्पे, सख्यायां च प्रयुज्यते ॥ So that this word will have dual एकाकिनौ, and the plural एकाकिन ॥

१९९९ । भूतपूर्वे चरट् । ५ । ३ । ५३ ॥

आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः आढ्यचर ॥

1999 The affix चर (with the feminine in ङीप्) comes after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation, when the meaning is 'this had been before'

The word भूतपूर्व is a compound of पूर्व and भूत the compounding being by सुप्सुपा, and denotes something done in a past time Thus आढ्यो भूतपूर्वः = आढ्यचर 'once opulent'

Note —The ट indicates that the feminine will be in ङीप् as, आढ्यचरी ॥ The च् is not इत् in चरट् though required by I 3 7 S 189 This proves that चुटू rule is anitya The sutra V 2 18 S 1819 might have been read after this, with the saving of the word भूतपूर्व, but then खञ् would have debarred चरट् which is, however, not intended

२००० । षष्ठ्या रूप्य च । ५ । ३ । ५४ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताद्भूतपूर्वेऽर्थे रूप्य स्याच्चरट् च । कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौ कृष्णरूप्य । कृष्णचर । तसिलादिषु रूप्यस्यापरिगणितत्वान्न पुंवत् । शुभ्राया भूतपूर्व शुभ्रारूप्य ॥

2000 After a nominal-stem ending in the sixth-case, comes the affix रूप्य, and also चरट्, in the sense of 'having belonged formerly to somebody'

The word भूतपूर्व here qualifies the sense of the affix, and not the sense of the base, as it was in the last sûtra Thus कृष्णस्य भूतपूर्वो गौः = कृष्णरूप्य 'the cow that formerly belonged to Krishna' Similarly देवदत्तचर ॥ The affix रूप्य not being included in tasilâdi class of sûtra VI 3 35 S 836 does not cause the masculisation Thus शुभ्राया भूतपूर्व = शुभ्रारूप्य and not शुभ्ररूप्य ॥

२००१ । अतिशायने तमबिष्ठनौ । ५ । ३ । ५५ ॥

अतिशयविशिष्टार्थवृत्ते स्वार्थे एतौ स्त । अयमेषामतिशयेनाढ्य आढ्यतम । लघुतमो लघिष्ठ ॥

2001 When the sense is that of surpassing, there come the affixes तमप् (तम्) and इष्ठन् (इष्ठ), after a nominal stem, the word retaining its denotation

Note —These affixes form the superlative degree. The word अतिशायन is an irregular form of अतिशयन, and it qualifies the sense of the primitive The स्वार्थिक affixes sometimes qualify the sense of the primitive

Thus आढ्यतम = सर्वे इमे आढ्या, अयमेषामतिशयेनाढ्य 'the richest' i e 'these are all rich, but he surpasses them all in riches' Similarly पटु—पटिष्ठ, गुरु—गरिष्ठ, लघु—लघिष्ठ (VI 4 155 S 1786)

Note —When among superlatives, further excellence is indicated, then these words may take additional affixes also as श्रेष्ठ, though a superlative, forms श्रेष्ठतम ॥ As देवो व सविता प्रापयतु श्रेष्ठतमाय कर्मणे । युधिष्ठिर श्रेष्ठतमः कुरूणामिति ॥

२००२ । तिङश्च । ५ । ३ । ५६ ॥

तिङन्तादतिशये द्योत्ये तमप् स्यात् ॥

2002 So also after a finite verb, comes the affix tamap, when 'surpassing' is meant

By the next sûtra, the affix तमप् gets the designation *gha* घ ॥

Note —By ङ्याप्प्रातिपदिकात् IV 1 1 S 182 whose force runs throughout, the taddhita affixes are ordained only after nominal stem , they would not have come after verbs , hence this sûtra Thus पचतितमाम् (the आम् is added by V 4 11, S 2004) = सर्व इमे पचन्तीति, अयमेषामतिशयेन पचति, 'he cooks surprisingly' जल्पातितमाम् &c, The affix इष्ठन् never comes after a verb, as by V 3 58 S 2006 it is restricted to adjectives

२००३ । तरप्तमपौ घ । १ । १ । २२ ॥

एतौ घसंज्ञौ स्त ॥

2003 The affixes tarap and tamap are called घ ॥

As this affix is gha, the next sutra applies

२००४ । किमेत्तिङव्ययघादाम्वद्रव्यप्रकर्षे । ५ । ४ । ११ ॥

किम् एदन्तात्तिङोऽव्ययाच्च यो घस्तदन्तादामु स्यान्न तु द्रव्यप्रकर्षे । किंतमाम् । प्राह्णेतमाम् । पचतितमाम् । उच्चैस्तमाम् । द्रव्यप्रकर्षे तु उच्चैस्तमस्तरु ॥

2004 To the affix तर and तम (घ I 1 22 S 2003) ordained to come after the word किम (V 3 55 S 2001) or after a word ending in ए (VI 3 17 S 975) or after a finite verb (V 3 56 57 S 2002) or after an indeclinable, is added the affix âm (आम), but not if the excess belongs to a substance (and not to an action or quality)

Note :—The घ or तरप् and तमप् affixes are employed for comparison (प्रकर्ष 'excess') of adjectives and adverbs This rule applies to adverbs and not to adjectives i e when an adverb qualifies a verb or another adjective, but not when an adjective qualifies a noun The द्रव्य denoting word by itself has no 'excess' &c, it is the adjective which qualifies such substance that is capable of excess or comparison The prohibition in अद्रव्यप्रकर्ष therefore really relates to the *quality* of a substance , i e to adjectives द्रव्यस्याव्यपदेशास्य न विना भेद हेतुना । प्रकर्षोविद्यते नापि शब्दस्यापेति वाच्यताम् ॥

Thus किंतराम् or किन्तमाम् "how excessively ", प्राह्णेतराम् or प्राह्णेतमाम्, पचतितराम् or पचतितमाम् "he cooks surprisingly ", उच्चैस्तराम्, उच्चैस्तमाम् "more or most loftily or loudly"

But when the excess belongs not to an action or attribute, but to a substance, the âm आम् is not added As उच्चैस्तम तरु "a most lofty tree"

२००५ । द्विवचनविभज्योपपदे तरबीयसुनौ । ५ । ३ । ५७ ॥

द्वयोरेकस्यातिशये विभक्तव्ये चोपपदे सुप्तिङन्तादेतौ स्त । पूर्वयोरपवाद । अयमनयोरतिशयेन लघुर्लघुतर लघीयान् । उदीच्या प्राच्येभ्य पटुतरा । पटीयांस ॥

2005 The affixes tarap (तरप्) and îyasun (ईयसुन्) come in the sense of 'surpassing', after a nominal stem or a finite-verb, when it expresses (comparison between) two things, or when that which is added to it (upapada), is to be distinguished from another

Note :—The word द्विवचन does not mean 'dual', but means an expression for two विभज्य is irregularly formed by यत्, and means 'that which is to be distingui shed or differentiated'

This debars तमप् and इष्ठन् ॥

The rule of यथासंख्य (I 3 10 S 128) does not apply here First to take an exmple of द्विवचन or when comparison is between two things thus : द्वाविमावाढ्यौ, अनयोरयमतिशयेन = आढ्यतर 'both are rich, but he is *richer* amongst the two' So also लघुतर and लघीयान् ॥

Similarly सुकुमारतर, पचतितरां जल्पतितराम् (V 4 11 S 2004), or with ईयसुन् as द्वाविमौ पटू अयमनयोरतिशयेन पटु = पटीयान 'more skilful of the two', लघीयान् ॥ Secondly to take an example of विभज्ये चोपपदे i e when a word in construction is to be differentiated thus माथुरा पाटलिपुत्रकेभ्य आढ्यतरा 'The men of Mathurâ are richer than those of Pâṭaliputra' Here there are more than two things but as the words are expressed in the sentence, the comparative degree in plural number is used

Similarly so also उदीच्या प्राच्येभ्य पटुतरा "The northerns are more skilful than the easterns" पटीयास लघीयास ॥ Of course all these words must be plural, as they refer to more than two persons

२००६ । अजादी गुणवचनादेव । ५ । ३ । ५८ ॥

इष्ठनीयसुनौ गुणवचनादेव स्त । पटिष्ठ । पटीयान् । नेह । पाचकतर । पाचकतम ॥

2006 The two affixes beginning with a vowel (i. e. ईयसुन् and इष्ठ) are added only after words denoting attributes

Thus पटिष्ठः पटीयान्, but not after words like पाचक &c there we have पाचकतर, पाचकतम ॥

Note —The word एव 'only' restricts the scope of the *affixes*, and not of the *primitives* Thus पटुतर, पटुतमः are also valid forms

२००७ । तुश्छन्दसि । ५ । ३ । ५९ ॥

तृन्तृजन्तादिष्ठनीयसुनौ स्तः ।

2007 These affixes ishthan and îyasun come in the Chhandas after a nominal stem ending in तृ ॥

The तु is ablative of तृ which includes both तृन् and तृच् ॥ This extends the application of these affixes to words other than attributes.

२००८ । तुरिष्ठेमेयःसु । ६ । ४ । १५४ ॥

तृशब्दस्य लोपः स्यादिष्ठेमेयःसु परेषु । अतिशयेन कर्ता करिष्ठः । दोहीयसी धेनुः ॥

2008 The affix तृ is elided before the affixes इष्ठन्, इमनिच् and ईयसुन् ॥

Thus करिष्ठ विजयिष्ठ वहिष्ठ दोहीयसी धेनु ॥ The whole affix तृ is elided, otherwise only the last vowel (टि) with the following consonant would have been elided by the following rules

Thus अतिशयेन कर्ता = करिष्ठः (कर्तृ + इष्ठन् = कर् + इष्ठ by VI 4. 154, S 2008 तृ is elided) As आसुति करिष्ठः, दोहीयसी धेनु ॥ By the Vârtika under VI, 3 35 S 836 दोग्ध्री is changed into masculine दोहितृ and then ईयस् is added by VI 4 145 S 2008)

२००९ । प्रशस्यस्य श्रः । ५ । ३ । ६० ॥

अस्य श्रादेशः स्यादजाद्योः ॥

2009 For प्रशस्य is substituted श्र, when these affixes ishṭhan and îyasun follow

Then applies the following

२०१० । प्रकृत्यैकाच् । ६ । ४ । १६३ ॥

इष्ठादिष्वेकाच् प्रकृत्या स्यात् । श्रेष्ठः । श्रेयान् ॥

2010. A monosyllabic bha stem retains its original form, without undergoing any change, before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् ॥

Thus श्रेष्ठ and श्रेयान् ॥

२०११ । ज्य च । ५ । ३ । ६१ ॥

प्रशस्यस्य ज्यादेशः स्यादिष्ठेयसोः । ज्येष्ठः ॥

2011 For praśasya, ज्य is also substituted before these two affixes.

As ज्येष्ठ ॥

२०१२ । ज्यादादीयसः । ६ । ४ । १६० ॥

आदेः परस्य । ज्यायान् ॥

2012 आ is substituted for the first letter of ईयस् after ज्य ॥

As ज्यायान् ॥

Note :—ज्य is substituted for प्रशस्य by V 3 61, S 2011

२०१३ । वृद्धस्य च । ५ । ३ । ६२ ॥

ज्यादेश स्यादजाद्यो । ज्यष्ठ । ज्यायान् ॥

2013 ज्य is also substituted for वृद्ध, when ishthan and îyas follow

Thus ज्यष्ठ 'the oldest', ज्यायान् 'the older'

Note —By VI 4 157, S 2016 वर्षि is also substituted for वृद्ध and we have वर्षिष्ठ and वर्षीयान् also The word वृद्ध though not a gunavachana, takes these affixes by the implication of this sûtra

२०१४ । अन्तिकबाढयोर्नेदसाधौ । ५ । ३ । ६३ ॥

अजाद्यो । नेदिष्ठ । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठ । साधीयान् ॥

2014 For अन्तिक is substituted नेद, and for बाढ is साध, when these affixes follow

Thus नेदिष्ठ । नेदीयान् । साधिष्ठ and साधीयान् ॥

२०१५ । स्थूलदूरयुवह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां यणादिपरं पूर्वस्य च गुण । ६ । ४ । १५६ ॥

एषां यणादिपरं लुप्यते पूर्वस्य च गुण इष्ठादिषु । स्थविष्ठः । दविष्ठ । यविष्ठ । ह्रसिष्ठ । क्षेपिष्ठ क्षोदिष्ठ । एवमीयसुन् । ह्रस्वक्षिप्रक्षुद्राणां पृथ्वादित्वात् ह्रसिमा । क्षेपिमा । क्षोदिमा ॥

2015 Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस्, is elided the last semi-vowel with that which follows it, and for the first vowel, a Guna is substituted, in स्थूल, दूर, युवन्, ह्रस्व, क्षिप्र and क्षुद्र ॥

That is ल र, वन् and व and र are elided Thus स्थविष्ठ, स्थवीयान्, दविष्ठ दवीयान्, यविष्ठ यवीयान्, ह्रसिष्ठ, ह्रसीयान्, ह्रसिमा, क्षेपिष्ठ, क्षेपीयान्, क्षेपिमा ॥ The words ह्रस्व क्षिप्र, and क्षुद्र are read in Pṛthvâdi class and take 'iman' affix (V 1 122 S 1784) क्षोदिष्ठ, क्षोदीयान्, क्षोदिमा ॥ Why do we say पर in यणादिपरं 'the *last* semivowel'? The *first* semivowel of युवन् and ह्रस्व i e य of यु and र of ह्र should not be elided The word पूर्व is employed for the sake of distinctness

२०१६ । प्रियस्थिरस्फिरोरुबहुलगुरुवृद्धतृप्रदीर्घवृन्दारकाणां प्रस्थस्फवर्बंहिगर्वर्षित्रप्द्राघिवृन्दा: । ६ । ४ । १५७ ॥

प्रियादीनां क्रमात्प्रादय स्युरिष्ठादिषु । प्रेष्ठ । स्थेष्ठः । स्फेष्ठः । वरिष्ठ । बंहिष्ठ । गरिष्ठ । वर्षिष्ठ । त्रपिष्ठ । द्राघिष्ठ । वृन्दिष्ठ । एवमीयसुन् । प्रेयान् । प्रियोरुबहुलगुरुदीर्घाणां पृथ्वादित्वात्प्रेमेत्यादि ॥

2016 Before the affixes इष्ठ, इमन् and ईयस् the following substitutions take place —प्र for प्रिय; स्थ for स्थिर, स्फ for स्फिर, वर् for उरु, बंह् for बहुल, गर् for गुरु, वर्षि for वृद्ध, त्रप् for तृप्र, द्राघ for दीर्घ, and वृन्द् for वृन्दारक ॥

Thus प्रेष्ठ, प्रेमा, प्रेयान्, स्थिर, स्थेष्ठ स्थेयान्, स्थेमा, स्फिर, स्फेष्ठ, स्फेयान्, उरु, वरिष्ठ वरिमा वरीयान्, बहुल, बंहिष्ठ बंहीयान् बंहिमा, गुरु गरिष्ठ, गरीयान् गरिमा वृद्ध वर्षिष्ठ वर्षीयान्, तृप, त्रपिष्ठ, त्रपीयान्, दीर्घ, द्राघिष्ठ, द्राघीयान्, द्राघिमा, वृन्दारक, वृन्दिष्ठ, वृन्दीयान्, ॥

Of the above, priya, uru, guru and bahula are read in the Prithvâdi class and take इमन् (V 1 122 S 1784) while others do not

२०१७ । बहोर्लोपो भू च बहो । ६ । ४ । १५८ ॥

बहोः परयोरिमेयसोर्लोप स्याद्बहोश्च भूरादेश । भूमा । भूयान् ॥

2017 The इ and ई of these affixes (इमन् and ईयस्) are elided after बहु, and for बहु is substituted भू ॥

Thus भूयान्, भूमा

Note —In the case of इष्ठ, the following sûtra 2018 will apply Under I 1 54 and 67 बहोः being in the Ablative, the first letter of the succeeding term is elided, viz इ or ई, in this case बहु belongs to the Prithvadi class and takes इमन् affix (V 1 122 S 1784 The repetition of बहोः is for the sake of pointing out the sthânî for which the word भू is to be substituted otherwise भू would have replaced these affixes

२०१८ । इष्ठस्य यिट् च । ६ । ४ । १५९ ॥

बहोः परस्य इष्ठस्य लोप स्यात् यिडागमश्च । भूयिष्ठ ॥

2018 After बहु the augment यिट् is added to इष्ठ, and भू replaces बहु ॥

As भूयिष्ठ ॥

Note —This augment यिट् debars the lopa substitution of the last sûtra in the case of इष्ठ ॥ The इ in यिट् is for the sake of pronunciation, the augment being य् ॥ Or इष्ठ may be taken to have lost its इ by the foregoing sûtra, and to the ष्ठ the augment यि may be added

२०१९ । युवाल्पयो कनन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

एतयो कनादेशो वा स्यादिष्ठेयसो । कनिष्ठ । कनीयान् । पक्षे यविष्ठ । अल्पिष्ठ इत्यादि ॥

2019 Before these affixes, कन् is optionally substituted for युवन् and अल्प ॥

Thus कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् or यविष्ठ यवीयान् । similarly अल्पिष्ठ, अल्पीयान् or कनिष्ठ, कनीयान् ॥ सर्व इमे युवान्, अयमेषामतिशयेन कनिष्ठः । द्वाविमौ युवानौ अयमनयोरतिशयेन, कनीयान् । यविष्ठः । यवीयान् । सर्वइमेऽल्पा । अयमेषामतिशयेन, कनिष्ठ । इमाविमावल्पावयमनयोरतिशयेनकनीयान् अयमस्मात्कनीयान् । अल्पिष्ठ अल्पीयानीति वा ॥

२०२० । विन्मतोर्लुक् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

विनो मतुपश्च लुक् स्यादिष्ठेयसो । अतिशयेन स्रग्वी । स्रजिष्ठः । स्रजीयान् । अतिशयेन त्वग्वान् त्वचिष्ठ । त्वचीयान् ॥

2023 Optionally to a declined noun may be added the affix बहुच् (बहु), but it stands before when the sense is slight incompleteness

This is the only exception to the general rule that an affix is added *after* a word The affix बहुच however is added *before* the word The च of बहुच् indicates that the udātta will fall on the final vowel of the word See VI 1 163 S 3710 Thus बहुपटुः 'a tolerably skilful person' By the word optionally' it is indicated that the affixes कल्प &c also come as पटुकल्प ॥ Why do we say सुप 'to a noun ending in a case affix i e a declined noun' For it indicates that the affix is not added to finite verbs (तिङन्त) ॥ As यजतिकल्पम् ॥

२०२४ । प्रकारवचने जातीयर् । ५ । ३ । ६९ ॥

प्रकारवति चायम् । थाल् तु प्रकारमात्रे । पटुप्रकार पटुजातीय ॥

2024 The affix जातीयर् comes after a case-inflected word which expresses 'a speciality'

That which distinguishes one thing from another is called प्रकार or 'speciality' When a word expresses speciality, it is called प्रकारवचन ॥ This word qualifies the sense of the primitive The affix जातीयर् and the affix थाल् V 3 23 S 1971 both denote प्रकार, but while जातीयर् denotes प्रकारवान्, the other denotes प्रकारमात्र i e merely प्रकार ॥

Thus पटुजातीय 'he may be reckoned among the clever persons'

Note —The above Sûtra may, therefore be translated in these words also, "the affix जातीयर् has the sense of "*belonging to the class of*" "*being of the nature of*"

२०२५ । प्रागिवात्क । ५ । ३ । ७० ॥

इवे प्रतिकृतावित्यत प्राक् काधिकार ॥

2025 The affix ka (क) governs all the sûtras, as far as "ive pratikritau" (V 3 96 S 2051).

Note —Properly speaking क extends only upto V. 3 86 S 2041 Thus in the sûtra अज्ञाते V 3 73 S 2028 the word क must be supplied to complete the sense As अश्वक, गर्दभक ॥ This affix क does not come after finite verbs (तिङन्त), but the affix अकच V 3, 71 S 2026 comes after such verbs In other words, the phrase तिङश्च V 3 56, S 2002 should be connected, by way of anuvritti, with the next sûtra, and not with this

२०२६ । अव्ययसर्वनाम्नामकच् प्राक् टेः । ५ । ३ । ७१ ॥

तिङश्चेत्यनुवर्तते ॥

2026 The affix akach (अक) is added to an Indeclinable and to a Pronominal, before the last vowel of those words, in the sense of Prâgivîya affixes

Note —The च् shows that the acute accent falls on the final (VI 1 163 S 3710), though the affix is inserted in the middle of the word The phrase तिङश्च V 3 56 S 2012 is understood here also This अकच् debars क॥ Thus उच्चै + अक् = उच्च् + अक् + ऐ = उच्चकै । Similarly नीचकै, शनकै from नीचै and शनैः॥ So also after Pronominals, as सर्वके, विश्वके, and उभयके from सर्वे विश्वे and उभये॥

२०२७ । कस्य च दः । ५ । ३ । ७२ ॥

कान्ताव्ययस्य दकारोऽन्तादेशः स्यादकच ॥

2027 The letter द is the substitute of the final क् of an Indeclinable, when the affix akach is added

Note —The word अव्यय is to be read into this sûtra and not सर्वनाम, because no Pronominal ends in क्॥ Thus धकित्, हिरकुत् and पृथकत् from धिक्, हिरुक् and पृथक्॥ Thus हिरुक् + अक् = हिर् + अक् + उक् = हिरकुक्, now comes the present rule and the final क् is changed into द्, as हिरकुद् or °त्॥

२०२८ । अज्ञाते । ५ । ३ । ७३ ॥

कस्यायमश्वोऽश्वक । उच्चकै । नीचकै । सर्वके । विश्वके ॥ ओकारसकारभकारादौ सुपि सर्वनाम्नष्टे प्रागकच् * ॥ अन्यत्र तु सुबन्तस्य टे प्रागकच् * ॥ युवकयो । आवकयो । युष्मकासु । अस्मकासु । युष्मकाभि । ओकारेत्यादिकिम् । त्वयका । मयका ॥ अकच्प्रकरणे तूष्णीम काम्वक्तव्य * ॥ मित्वादन्त्यादच पर । तूष्णीकामास्ते ॥ शीले कोमलोपश्च * ॥ तूष्णींशीलस्तूष्णीक । पचतकि । जल्पतकि । धकित् । हिरकुत् ॥

2028 The affix क (V 3 70 S 2025) and अक् (V. 3 71 S 2026) come after a word, noun or verb, when something or somebody not known, is spoken of

This अज्ञात or want of knowledge refers not to the object itself, but to its relation with some other object As अश्वक 'whose horse?' Similarly in उच्चकै 'high' (is it so?) नीचकै Is it low'? सर्वके 'was this agreed to by all'? So also विश्वके॥ Similarly पचतकि "He cooks, is it"? जल्पतकि, 'He speaks, does he'?

The affix is added to सुबन्त words i e to declined nouns, and not to प्रातिपदिक or crude-nouns as was required by IV 1 1 S 182 Sometimes, however, the affix is added after a Prâtipadika also The usage will determine when the affix should be added to a Nominal stem (Prâtipadika) and when to a Subanta word Thus in युष्मकाभि, अस्मकाभि, युष्मकासु, अस्मकासु, युवकयो, आवकयो, the affix is added to the Prâtipadika viz to युष्मद्, अस्मद्, giving युष्मकद्,

असकद् which are then declined as Pronominals But in the examples त्वयका, मयका, त्वयकि मयकि, the affix अक् is added to त्वया, मया (the Instrumental case of युष्मद् and अस्मद्), and त्वयि and मयि the Locative singular of the same

Vârt —The ffix अकच् is added before the final syllable (ti) of a Sarvanama or a Pronominal a Prâtipadika when a case-affix beginning with ओ, स or भ follow

Vârt —The affix is added to the *declined* pronoun, in the remaining cases

Vârt —The affix काम् is added to the Indeclinable तूष्णीम् ॥ The म् is indicatory, therefore, का comes before the final vowel (I, 1 47 S 37) As तूष्णीम् + का = तूष्णीकाम्, as तूष्णीकामास्ते, तूष्णीका तिष्ठति 'he remained silent'

Vârt —When, however, the meaning is 'that whose habit is so', then the affix क is added, and the म् of तूष्णीम् is elided As तूष्णीक 'a taciturn'

The phrase तिङश्च (V 3 56 S 2002) being understood here, the affix अक् comes after finite verbs also As पचति—पचतकि । जल्पति—जल्पतकि ॥

२०२९ । कुत्सिते । ५ । ३ । ७४ ॥

कुत्सितोऽश्वोऽश्वक ॥

2029 The above affixes come when the thing is spoken of as contemptible

Thus अश्वकं 'a sorry horse'

२०३० । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ७५ ॥

कुत्सिते कन् स्यात्तदन्तेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते । शूद्रक । राधक । स्वरार्थं वचनम् ॥

2030 The affix kan (क) comes in the above sense of contemptible, when the whole word is a Name.

The word कुत्सिते of the last sûtra is understood here also This कन् debars क ॥ शूद्रक । राधक ॥ The difference between कन् and क is in the accent (VI 1 197 S 3686)

२०३१ । अनुकम्पायाम् । ५ । ३ । ७६ ॥

पुत्रक । अनुकम्पित पुत्र इत्यर्थ ॥

2031 The above affixes come when compassion is denoted

The word अनुकम्पा means 'compassion, pity, endearment' Thus पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child'

२०३२ । नीतौ च तद्युक्तात् । ५ । ३ । ७७ ॥

सामदानादिरूपायो नीतिस्तस्यां गम्यमानायामनुकम्पायुक्तात्कप्रत्ययः स्यात् । हन्त ते धानकाः । गुडकाः । एहकि । अद्धकि । पूर्वेणानुकम्प्यमानात्प्रत्ययः । अनेन तु परम्परासम्बन्धेऽपीति विशेषः ॥

2032 Also as an expression of courteousness, the above mentioned affix is added to that by which compassion is shown

The word नीति means 'policy' or 'expedient', such as 'conciliation', 'dissension' and punishment' तद्युक्तात् means 'joined with that', i e with gift compassion &c In other words, the things signified by the bases, are connected as means of relief with the persons or things that have been objects of compassion Thus, हन्त ते धानका 'alas ! here are barley for you' एहकि, अद्धकि 'O-dear! come and eat' (These words are supposed to be addressed to a person who is starving, by one who wants to relieve him Being moved with compassion, he entreats courteously the object of sympathy, with gifts to relieve his want) In the last Sûtra, the affix was added, in the sense of compassion, to the name of the person or action that evoked pity In the present sûtra, the affix is added to the object or action by which pity is shown. The word एहकि is from एहि the Imperative second person singular of इ 'to go' with the upasarga आ ॥

२०३३ । बह्वचो मनुष्यनाम्नष्ठज्वा । ५ । ३ । ७८ ॥

पूर्वसूत्रद्वयविषये ॥

2033 The affix ṭhach (इक) is optionally added to a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, as an expression of compassion or of courtesy joined with compassion.

In the alternative we have कन् also As अनुकम्पितो देवदत्त = देविकः (देवदत्त + इक = देव + इक V 3 83 S 2035) When कन् is added there is no shortening of the base, as देवदत्तक ॥ Similarly याज्ञिकः or यज्ञदत्तक ॥

Why do we say बह्वच 'after a polysyllable?' Observe दत्तक । गुप्तक ॥ Why do we say 'being a Man-name'? Observe भद्रबाहुक भद्रबाहुकः, which are epithets and not Proper Nouns (भद्रौ बाहु यस्य), or these are names of quadrupeds

२०३४ । घनिलचौ च । ५ । ३ । ७९ ॥

तथैव ॥

2034 Also the affixes ghan (इय) and ilach (इल) come after a word of more than two syllables, being the name of a human being, when compassion or courtesy joined with compassion is expressed.

Note —The force of च is that the other affix कन् also comes, as well as ठच् ॥ Thus from देवदत्त we have देविय, देविल, देविक, देवदत्तक (V 3 83 S 2035)

२०३५ । ठाजादावूर्ध्वं द्वितीयादचः । ५ । ३ । ८३ ॥

अस्मिन्प्रकरणे यष्ठोऽजादिप्रत्ययश्च तस्मिन्प्रत्ययेपरे प्रकृतेर्द्वितीयादच ऊर्ध्वं सर्वं लुप्यते । अनुकम्पितो देवदत्ता देविक । देविय । देविल, देवदत्तक । अनुकम्पिता वायुदत्तो वायुदत्तक । ठग्रहणमुकौ द्वितीयत्वे कविधानार्थम् । वायुक । पितृक ॥

चतुर्थादच ऊर्ध्वस्य लोपो वाच्य * ॥ अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पति दत्तो, बृहस्पतिक ॥
अनजादौ च विभाषा लोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ देवदत्तक ॥ देवक ॥
लोप पूर्वपदस्य च * ॥ दत्तिक । दत्तिय । दत्तिल । दत्तक ॥
विनापि प्रत्यय पूर्वोत्तरपदयोर्वा लोपो वाच्य * ॥ देवदत्त । दत्त । देव ॥ सत्यभामा । भामा । सत्य ॥

उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च * ॥ भानुदत्त भानुल ॥
ऋवर्णादपि * ॥ सवित्रिय । सवितृल ॥ ल इति लोप सज्ञा प्राचाम् ।
चतुर्थादनजादौ च लोप पूर्वपदस्य च ॥
अप्रत्यये तथैवेष्ट उवर्णाल्ल इलस्य च ॥ १ ॥

2035 When tha (V 3 78 S 2033) or one of the affixes beginning with a vowel (V. 3 79, 80 S 2034, 2036) taught above, follows, there is elision of all that portion which comes after the second vowel of the name of a human being.

The word लोप is understood here from V 3 82 S 2039 The word ऊर्ध्वम् indicates that the *whole* of that portion of the term which follows the second vowel should be elided, otherwise, only the first letter of the third syllable would have been elided (by I 1 54 S 44) The illustrations have been given above Thus देवदत्त+इक, here all the letters after the अ of देव should be elided as देविक, so also देवियः, देविल ॥

The affix ठ is replaced by इक् or क (VII 3 50, 51) hence its special mention in this sûtra For had it not been used, the sûtra would have run thus 'When an affix beginning with a vowel follows &c' This rule would have applied to इक substitute of ठ, but not to क substitute of ठ which comes after words ending in उ, ऋ, त्, इस् and उस् ॥ But it is intended that क (and not इक) substitute of ठ should be added to words whose second syllables end in उक् (उ or ऋ) vowels If it be said that इक substitute of would be sufficient for words like वायुदत्त &c also as it will cause the elision of the third and subsequent syllables, and when such syllables are elided, क would be the proper substitute to add to वायु and not इक, which we can do by the rule of sthânivat, we say, it is not so For if it were the case, we should add the क substitute and not इक in the following, मथित+ठक् (VI 4 51 S 2313) =मथित्+ठक् (VI 4 148 S 311) because, after elision, मथित् ends with

But we know that क is not added but इक, and we have मथितिकः ॥ Hence the employment of ऊ in the sûtra is proper as, वायुदत्त —वायुक , पितृदत्त —पितृक ॥

Vârt —It should be stated that the portion after the fourth vowel is elided in certain cases As अनुकम्पितो बृहस्पतिदत्त —बृहस्पतिक , बृहस्पतियः, बृहस्पतिल ॥

Vârt —When an affix not beginning with a vowel follows, the elision is optional Thus देवदत्त + कन्=देवदत्तक or देवक, यज्ञदत्तक or ज्ञयक ॥

Vârt —There is elision of the first term, when these affixes ठच् &c. denoting compassion, whether beginning with vowel or not, follow Thus दत्तिक , दत्तिल , दत्तिय , दत्तक from देवदत्त or यज्ञदत्त or वायुदत्त &c-

Vârt —The dimunitive of compassion or endearment may be formed without adding any affix, by simply dropping either the first or the second term of the name Thus दत्त or देव from देवदत्त , सत्यभामा—भामा or सत्या ॥

Vârt —The affix इल is replaced by ल after a word ending in उ as, भानुल from भानुदत्त , वसुल —वसुदत्त ॥ The ल is a designation for lopa in the terminology of the ancients

Vârtika —So also after a word ending in ऋ as सवितृल or सवितृय ॥

२०३६ । प्राचामुपादेरडज्वुचौ च । ५ । ३ । ८० ॥

उपशब्दपूर्वात्प्रातिपदिकात्पूर्वविषये अडच् वुच् एतौ स्त । चाद्यथाप्राप्तम् । प्राचां ग्रहणं पूजार्थम् । अनुकम्पित उपेन्द्रदत्त उपड । उपक । उपिक । उपिय । उपिल । उपेन्द्रदत्तक । षड् रूपाणि ॥

2036 According to the opinion of Eastern Grammarians, the affixes adach (अड) and vuch (अक) also come after a human-name beginning with the word उप ॥

The च shows that the former affixes also come The sense of the affixes are the same as above viz compassion or courtesy Thus from the word उपेन्द्रदत्त, we have, 1 उपेन्द्रदत्तक (kan), 2 उपिक (thach), 3, उपिल (ilach), 4 उपियः (ghan), 5 उपक (vuch), 6 उपड (adach) The shortened forms are by V 3 83 S 2035 In diminutives, the forms are generally shortened The word प्राचां is used as a sign of respect (pujârtha), for the word वा was understood in the aphorism by anuvritti from V 3 78

२०३७ । जातिनाम्नः कन् । ५ । ३ । ८१ ॥

मनुष्यनाम्न इत्येव । जातिशब्दो यो मनुष्यनामधेयस्तस्मात्कन्स्यादनुकम्पायां नीतौ च । सिंहकः । शरभकः । रासभक ॥ द्वितीयात्स्वरादूर्ध्वं ये तत्रादेर्लोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ अनुकम्पित कहोड कहिक ॥ एकाक्षरपूर्वपदानामुत्तरपदलोपो वक्तव्य * ॥ वागाशीर्दत्त वाचिक । कथं षडङ्गुलिदत्त षडिक इति ॥ षषष्ठाजादिवचनात्सिद्धम् ॥

2037 The affix I in क is added to the Name of a human being, which expresses a special idea when compassion, or courtesy is meant

The word manushya nâmnah of S 2033 is understood here

The जातिनामन् are words like व्याघ्र् &c which are well known names of particular species of animals &c, but which come to be applied to men by way of metaphor The anuvritti of बह्वचः does not extend to it This is a general rule Thus सिंहक, शरभक शरभक ॥ The word वा being understood in this sûtra, the previous affixes also come, as सिंहिल ॥ The word नामन् is used along with जाति, to prevent the affix being added to the word-form जाति (I 1 68)

Vârt —When the second vowel is ओ, औ, ए, or ऐ, then this is also elided. As लहिक from लहोड, कहिक from कहोड ॥

Vârt —When the first member consists of a single syllable, there is elision of the second member as वाचिक from वागाशीदत्त (the ग् changed back to च् because the stem is now च and not पद and rule VIII 2 39 S 84 does not apply) So also स्रुचिक त्वचिक ॥ The form षडिक (and not षषिकः from षट्) is an exception It is diminutive of षडङ्गुलिदत्त ॥

२०३८ । शेवलसुपरिविशालवरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात् । ५ । ३ । ८४ ॥

एषां मनुष्यनाम्नां ठाजादौ परे तृतीयादच ऊर्ध्वं लोपः स्यात् । पूर्वस्यापवादः । अनुकम्पितः शेवलदत्तः शेवलिकः । शेवलियः । शेवलिलः । सुपरिकः । विशालिकः । वरुणिकः । अर्यमिकः ॥

2038 There is elision of that portion of the word, which follows the third vowel, in the case of a man-name beginning with Sevala, Supari, Visâla, Varuna, and Aryaman, when the above affixes tha or those having an initial vowel follow

This debars the previous sûtra Thus अनुकम्पित शेवलदत्त = शेवलिक, शेवलिय, शेवलिल, सुपरिक, सुपरिय, सुपरिल from सुपरिदत्त so also विशालिक, विशालिय, विशालील, वरुणिक, वरुणिय, वरुणिल, अर्यमिक, अर्यमिय and अर्यमिल ॥

२०३९ । अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च । ५ । ३ । ८२ ॥

अजिनान्तान्मनुष्यनाम्नोऽनुकम्पायां कन् तस्य चोत्तरपदलोपः । अनुकम्पितो व्याघ्राजिनो । व्याघ्रकः । सिंहकः ।

2039 The affix kan (क) comes in the sense of compassion, after a man-name ending in अजिन, and this second member is elided before the affix

The words कन् and मनुष्यनाम्न are understood in this sutra Thus व्याघ्रक from व्याघ्राजिन and सिंहक from सिंहाजिन ॥ Vyâghrâjina and Sinhâjina are names of men

२०४० । अल्पे । ५ । ३ । ८५ ॥

अल्पं तैलं तैलिकम् ॥

2040 The above-mentioned affixes क (V 3 70 S 2025) and the rest come in expressing the small quantity or small number of anything

Thus अल्पं तैलं = तैलिक ' a little oil '

२०४१ । ह्रस्वे । ५ । ३ । ८६ ॥

ह्रस्वो वृक्षो वृक्षक ॥

2041 The above mentioned-affixes (V 3 70 S 2025) come in expressing shortness of length or diminutive

The ह्रस्व here is opposed to दीर्घ or 'long' Thus ह्रस्वोवृक्ष = वृक्षक 'a small tree'

२०४२ । संज्ञायां कन् । ५ । ३ । ८७ ॥

ह्रस्वहेतुका या सञ्ज्ञा तस्यां गम्यमानायां कन् । पूर्वस्यापवाद । वंशक । वेणुक ॥

2042 The affix kan (क) comes when the short thing is a Name

Thus वंशक वेणुक ॥ This debars क ॥

२०४३ । कुटीशमीशुण्डाभ्यो र । ५ । ३ । ८८ ॥

ह्रस्व कुटी कुटीर । शमीर । शुण्डार ॥

2043 The affix र comes after the words kutî, śamî and śundâ, when shortness of length is meant

The word ह्रस्वा is understood here, but not सञ्ज्ञा ॥ This debars क V 3 70 S 2025 Thus ह्रस्वा कुटी = कुटीर, शमीर and शुण्डार ॥

Note —The derivatives are masculine names, though the primitives are feminine

२०४४ । कुत्वा डुपच् । ५ । ३ । ८९ ॥

ह्रस्वा कुतू कुतुप । कुतू कृत्ते स्नेहपात्रं ह्रस्वा सा कुतुप पुमान् ॥

2044 The affix dupach (उपँ) comes in expressing diminution, after the word kutû 'a ja

This debars क ॥ Thus कुतुप, from कुतू the long ऊ being elided owing to ड ॥ It means a small leathern vessel for oil This word is neuter also as, कुतुपम् ॥ See Amarakosha II 9 33

२०४५ । कासूगोणीभ्यां ष्टरच् । ५ । ३ । ९० ॥

आयुधविशेष कासू । ह्रस्वा सा कासूतरी । गोणीतरी ॥

2045 The affix shṭarach (तरँ with feminine ईं IV 1 40 S 497) comes in expressing diminutive, after the words kâsû and goṇî

Thus ह्रस्वा कासू =कासूतरी 'a small lance', गोणीतरी 'a small sack'

२०४६ । वत्सोक्षाश्वर्षभेभ्यश्च तनुत्वे । ५ । ३ । ९१ ॥

वत्सतर । द्वितीयं वय प्राप्त । उक्षतर । अश्वतर । ऋषभतर । प्रवृत्तिनिमित्ततनुत्वे एवायम् ॥

2056 The affix shtarach expresses slenderness, after the words vatsa, ukshan, aśva, and ṛishava

The anuvṛitti of ह्रस्व ceases Thus वत्सतर 'a weaned calf' becoming slender in reaching the second period of its age उक्षतर 'a slender bull' being the third age of a वत्स ॥ अश्वतर 'a mule' (तस्य तनुत्वमन्यपितृकता), वृषभतरः 'a slender bull or that cannot draw the load'

२०४७ । किंयत्तदोर्निर्धारणे द्वयोरेकस्य डतरच् । ५ । ३ । ९२ ॥

अनयो कतरो वैष्णव । यतर । ततर । महाविभाषया क । य । स ॥

2047 After the words किम, यद् and तद्, in determining of the one out of two, comes the affix datarach (अतरँ with the elision of the final इम् and अद्) ॥

Note —This affix comes in the svârtha sense The differentiation of a portion from the whole by means of its peculiar caste, action, attribute or name is called निर्धारण or specification

Thus अनयो कतरो वैष्णव amongst these two, who is a Vaishnava'

Similarly यतर 'of the two the one who', ततर 'of that two—the one'

The taddhita affixes being optional by the Great option of sutra IV 1 82 S 1072 this idea may be expressed by the word क, य or स also As, को भवतो देवदत्त स आगच्छतु 'who amongst you two is Devadatta, let him come'

२०४८ । वा बहूनां जातिपरिप्रश्ने डतमच् । ५ । ३ । ९३ ॥

बहूना मध्ये एकस्य निर्धारणे डतमच् वा स्यात् । जातिपरिप्रश्न इति प्रत्याख्यातमाकरे । कतमो भवता कठ । यतम । ततम वाग्रहणमकजर्थम् । यक । सक । महाविभाषया य स ॥ किमोऽस्मिन्विषये डतरजापि * ॥ कतर ॥

2048 The affix datamach (अतमँ with the elision of the last syllable) comes after kim, yat and tat, optionally, when the object is the determining of the one out of many the question being that of jâti

The phrase the question being that of caste ' is redundant

The words कियत्तर and निर्धारणे एकस्य are to be read into the sûtra Thus कतमो भवता कट 'which of you, Sirs, is a Katha Brâhmana ?' यतमो भवता कठ सतम आगच्छतु 'that one of you, Sirs, who is a Kaṭha, let him come' The word वा 'optionally' indicates that the affix अकच् (V 3 71 S 2026) also comes, as यको भवताकट, सक, आगच्छतु ॥ This idea may be expressed by कः य and स also, owing to the महाविभाषा (IV 1 82 S 1072) as, को भवता कठ यो, भवता कठ, स आगच्छतु ॥

Vârt —The affix डतर has also this force, after the word किम, as, कतरो भवता कठ 'which of you, Sirs, is a Katha Brâhmana ?' As may be inferred from the sûtra कतरकतमौ जातिपरिप्रश्ने (II 1 63 S 742)

२०४६ एकाच्च प्राचाम् । ५ । ३ । ६४ ॥

डतरच् डतमच स्यात् । अनयोरेकतरो मैत्र । एषामेकतम ॥

2049 After the word एक, according to the opinion of Eastern grammarians, may be added the affixes ḍatarach and datamach in the above senses

The च draws in डतरच ॥ That is डतरच् comes when one out of two is to be specified, and डतमच् when one out of many is to be specified The word जातिपरिप्रश्न does not govern this sûtra it being a general rule Thus अनयोरेकतरो मैत्र । एषामेकतमः ॥

The word प्राचाम् is for pujârtha, because the word वा is already understood in the sûtra

२०५० । अवक्षेपणे कन् । ५ । ३ । ६५ ॥

व्याकरणकेन गर्वित । येनेतर कुत्स्यते तदिहोदाहरणम् । स्वत कुत्सिते तु कुत्सित इत्यस्य ॥

2050 The affix kan (क) comes after a nominal stem, in expressing scoffing

Thus व्याकरणक 'Grammar' used in a derisive sense, when its study produces pride As व्याकरणकेन नाम त्व गर्वित 'thou art proud, because thou hast read *grammar* only' Here the word व्याकरण is used in a mocking sense When, however, the derision applies to the person itself, then कन् is added by V. 3 14 S 2029 as देवदत्तक &c

So far the governing power of क V. 3 70 S 2025

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अथ तद्धित तद्राज प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XXXIX

TADRÂJA AFFIXES

२०५१ । इवे प्रतिकृतौ । ५ । ३ । ९६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । अश्व इव प्रतिकृति अश्वक । प्रतिकृतौ किम् । गौरिव गवय ॥

2051 The affix कन् means also 'like this', when the imitation of a thing is to be expressed

The word कन् is understood here Thus अश्व इवायमश्व प्रतिकृति = अश्वक 'an imitation of a horse' in wood or clay &c Why do we say 'imitation?' Observe गौरिव गवय "The gayal cow"

२०५२ । सञ्ज्ञायां च । ५ । ३ । ९७ ॥

इवार्थे कन् स्यात्समुदायेन चेत्सञ्ज्ञा गम्यते । अप्रतिकृत्यर्थमारम्भ । अश्वसदृशस्य सञ्ज्ञा अश्वक । उष्ट्रक ॥

2052 The affix kan comes in the sense of 'like this', when the whole word so formed is a Name

This applies when imitation is not meant Thus अश्वसदृशस्य सञ्ज्ञा = अश्वक· 'a thing reminding a horse' उष्ट्रक· ॥

२०५३ । लुम्मनुष्ये । ५ । ३ । ९८ ॥

सञ्ज्ञाया विहितस्य कनो लुप्स्यान्मनुष्ये वाच्ये । चञ्चा तृणमय पुमान् । चञ्चेव मनुष्यश्चञ्चा । वध्रिका ॥

2053 When in the same way a Man is denoted, the affix is elided by lup, the word retaining its number and gender.

Thus चञ्चा (चञ्चेवमनुष्य) 'straw man' i e an effigy in straw So also वाध्रका &c For accent see VI 1 204 S 3692

Note —Why do we say 'a man'? Observe अश्वक, उष्ट्रक &c This sûtra may be considered to be an enlargement of V 3 100, S 2055

२०५४ । जीविकार्थे चापण्ये । ५ । ३ । ९९ ॥

जीविकार्थं यदविक्रीयमाण तस्मिन्वाच्ये कनो लुप्स्यात् । वासुदेव । शिव । स्कन्द । देवलकाना जीविकार्थासु देवप्रतिकृतिष्विदम् । अपण्ये किम् हस्तिकान्विक्रीणीते ॥

2054 A similar elision of the affix कन् takes place then also, when the figure is made a means of livelihood, it being presumed, that no traffic is driven thereby

That which is bought and sold is called पण्य, that which is not so dealt with is अपण्य ॥ The rule applies to the *images* of gods which are made means of subsistence by a low order of Brâhmanas, not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door Thus वासुदेव 'the idol of Vâsudeva' शिव 'the idol of Śiva' स्कन्द &c

Why do we say अपण्ये? Observe, हस्तिकान् विक्रीणीते 'he sells the images of elephants' अश्वकान्, रथकान् ॥

Note —This rule is also an amplification of V 3 100 S 2055

२०५५ । देवपथादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ३ । १०० ॥

कनो लुप्स्यात् । देवपथ । हंसपथ । आकृतिगणोऽयम् ॥

Note —अर्चासु पूजनार्यासु चित्रकर्म्मध्वजेषु च ।
इवे प्रतिकृतौ लोप कनो देवपथादिषु ॥

2055 After the words devapatha &c, there is similar elision of the affix kan, (V 3 96 S 2051 and 97 S 2052) expressing an image or a Name

The देवपथ class is आकृतिगणः ॥ Thus देवपथ, हंसपथ ॥

1 देवपथ, 2 हंसपथ, 3 वारिपथ, 4 रथपथ, 5 स्थलपथ*, 6 करिपथ*, 7 अजपथ*, 8 राजपथ, 9 शतपथ' 10 शङ्कुपथ, 11 सिन्धुपथ (सिंहपथ), 12 सिद्धगति (सिंहगति), 13 उष्ट्रग्रीव (उष्ट्रग्रीवा), 14 वामरज्जु (चामरज्जु), 15 हस्त, 16 इन्द्र, 17 दण्ड, 18 पुष्प 19 मत्स्य, 20 जलपथ, 21 रज्जु, It is आकृतिगण ॥

Note —The affix कन् is elided when the imitation is an image of a god that is worshipped, or a picture, or a design on a flag As शिव, विष्णुः are examples of gods, अर्जुन 'the picture of Arjuna', दुर्योधनः 'the picture of Duryodhana' कपि 'the flag having the figure of monkey' गरुड the eagle-flag

२०५६ । वस्तेर्ढञ् । ५ । ३ । १०१ ॥

इवेत्यनुवर्त्तत एव । प्रतिकृताविति निवृत्तम् । वस्तिरिव वास्तेयम् । वास्तेयी ॥

2056 The affix dhañ ढञ comes after vasti, in the sense of 'like this'

The word इव is understood here The affixes taught hence forward come in a general sense, and are not confined to images Thus वास्तिरिव = वास्तेयः fem वास्तेयी 'like the abdomen'

२०५७ । शिलाया ढ । ५ । ३ । १०२ ॥

शिलाया इति योगविभागाड्ढञपीत्यके । शिलेव शिलेयम् । शैलेयम् ॥

2057 The affix dha (ढय) comes after śilâ, in the sense of 'like this'

Thus शिलेव = शिलेय दधि curd, hard as stone According to some the affix ढञ् also comes after शिला, by dividing this sûtra into two namely (1) शिलाया "the affix dhan comes after śilâ" (2) ढ "So also the affix dha" as शैलेयम् ॥

२०५८ । शाखादिभ्यो यत् । ५ । ३ । १०३ ॥

शाखेव शाख्य । मुख्य । जघनमिव जघन्य । अग्र्य । शरण्य ॥

2058 The affix यत् comes, in the sense of 'like this', after śâkhâ &c

Thus शाखेव = शाख्य, मुख्य (VI 1 213 S 3701) जघन्य, अग्र्य, शरण्य ॥

1 शाखा 2 मुख, 3 जघन, 4 शृङ्ग, 5 मेघ, 6 अभ्र*, 7 चरण, 8 स्कन्ध, 9 स्कन्द 10 उरस्, 11 शिरस्, 12 अग्र, 13 शरण ॥

२०५९ । द्रव्यं च भव्ये । ५ । ३ । १०४ ॥

द्रव्यमयं ब्राह्मण ॥

2059 The word द्रव्य is anomalous, meaning beautiful

The word द्रव्य is formed by adding यत् to the word द्रु ॥ The word भव्य means 'nice, excellent, proper, fit, having or containing in himself all the desired requisites' As द्रव्योऽयं ब्राह्मणः 'how nice is this Brâhmana'.

२०६० । कुशाग्राच्छ । ५ । ३ । १०५ ॥

कुशाग्रमिव कुशाग्रीया बुद्धिः ॥

2060 The affix chha (ईय) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the word kuśâgra

Thus कुशाग्रीया (कुशाग्रमिव सूक्ष्मत्वात्) बुद्धि "Intellect sharp as the point of the kuśa grass" कुशाग्रीयं वस्त्रम् ॥

२०६१ । समासाच्च तद्विषयात् । ५ । ३ । १०६ ॥

इवार्थविषयात्समासाच्छ स्यात् । काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वध । इह काकतालसमागमसदृशो॰ रसमागम इति समासार्थ । तत्प्रयुक्त काकमरणसदृशस्तु प्रत्ययार्थ । अजाकृपाणीय । अतर्कितोपनत इति फलितोऽर्थः ॥

2061. The affix chha (ईय) comes also, only in the sense of 'like this,' after a compound noun which contains in itself the force of 'like this'.

Note.—The word तद् refers to इव, and तद्विषय means इवार्थविषय ॥ A compound which is formed with the force of इव, takes the affix छ, when a second इव is to be

indicated In the chapter on Compounds, no samasa is taught with the force of इव, this sutra, therefore, indicates by implication that such a samâsa of two nouns can be formed, having hidden in it the sense of इव ॥ Such a samasa will come under the head of सुप् सुपा समास (II 1 4 S 649)

Thus काकतालीयम्, अजाकृपाणीयम्, अन्धकवर्त्तकीयम् ॥

The word काकतालीय means 'like the crow and the palm fruit the unexpected and sudden fall of a plam fruit upon the head of a crow so as to kill it, at the very moment of its sitting on a branch of that tree , and is used to denote a very unexpected and accidental occurrence' Thus Devadatta happens to enter a village, and on that very day, robbers happen to attack the village, and in the fray Devadatta is killed, this coincidence of the robbers, and Devadatta is called काकतालीयसमागम, and the killing of Devadatta is like that of the crow by the ताल fruit The first case of समागम will form the compound, the second case of वध will give rise to the affixing of छ, as काकतालीयो देवदत्तस्य वध (the compound काकताल meaning काकतालसमागमसदृशश्चौर समागम and the derivative word काकतालीय meaning काकमरणसदृश)

Similarly अजाकृपाणीय means "like the death of a goat (ajâ) by the accidental falling of a sword (kripâṇa) as the goat was passing" Similarly अन्धकवर्त्तकीय means " like the accidental falling of a quail (vartakâ) in to the hands of a blind person who thus captures it" All these are unintentional (atarkita) and curious (chitrikarana) coincidences In short, these words mean 'accidentally', 'unexpectedly'

२०६२ । शर्करादिभ्यो ऽण् । ५ । ३ । १०७ ॥

शर्करेव शार्करम् ॥

2062 The affix an (अ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words śarkarâ &c

Thus शर्करेव = शार्करम्,

1 शर्करा, 2 कपालिका, 3 कपाटिका, 4 कनिष्ठिका (कपिष्ठिका पिष्ठिका, कनिष्ठिक), 5 पुण्डरीक, 6 शतपत्र, 7 गोलोमन, 8 लोमन्*, 9 गोपुच्छ, 10 नराची (नरालि), 11 नकुल (नकुला), 12 सिकता ॥

२०६३ । अङ्गुल्यादिभ्यष्ठक् । ५ । ३ । १०८ ॥

अङ्गुलीव आङ्गुलिक । भरुजेव भारुजिक ॥

2063 The affix thak (इकँ or कँ) comes in the sense of 'like this', after the words angulî &c.

Thus आङ्गुलिक (= अङ्गुलीव) भारुजिक ॥

1 अङ्गुलि (अङ्गुली), 2 भरुज, 3 बभ्रु 4 वल्गु, 5 मण्डर, 6 मण्डल, 7 शष्कुली (शष्कुल) 8 हरि*, 9 कपि, 10 मुनि*, 11 रुह*, 12 खल*, 13 उदश्वित्, 14 गोणी, 15 उरस् 16 कुलिश, 17 शिखा ॥

२०६४ । एकशालायाष्ठजन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ३ । १०९ ॥

एकशालाशब्दादिवार्थे ठञ्वा पक्षे ठक् । एकशालेव एकशालिकः । ऐकशालिकः ॥

2064 The affix thach (इकॅ) also comes optionally after the word ekaśâlâ, with the force of 'like this',

Thus एकशालिक by thach or ऐकशालिक by ठक् ॥

२०६५ । कर्कलोहितादीकक् । ५ । ३ । ११० ॥

कर्कः शुक्लोऽश्वः स इव कार्कीकः । लौहितीकः स्फटिकः ॥

2065 The affix ईक comes in the sense of 'like this' after karka and lohita

Thus कार्कीक 'like कर्क or white horse' लौहितीक स्फटिक 'a crystal though not itself red, appears red, owing to the reflection of some thing behind it'

२०६६ । पूगाञ्ञ्योऽग्रामणीपूर्वात् । ५ । ३ । ११२ ॥

इवार्थो निवृत्तः । नानाजातीया अनियतवृत्तयोऽर्थकामप्रधानाः सङ्घाः पूगास्तद्वाचकात्स्वार्थे ञ्यः स्यात् । लौहितध्वज्यः ॥

2066 The affix ñya (ञ्य) is added without changing the connotation, to a word denoting a horde, but not when the word is derived from the name of their leader.

The anuvṛitti of इव ceases The word पूग means a crowd of men of various castes, having no fixed livelihood, connected together with the object of acquiring wealth &c Thus लौहितध्वज्य 'the red bannered horde' *dual* लौहितध्वज्यौ, pl लौहितध्वजा ॥ Similarly, शैब्य, शैब्यौ, शिबय, चातक्य, चातक्यौ, चातका ॥ In the plural, the affix is elided by II 4 62 S 1193

Note —Why do we say अग्रामणीपूर्वात् ? Observe देवदत्तका (V 2 78 S 1878) 'a horde whose leader is Devadatta' From this sutra, commence the तद्राज affixes &c, the affixes that have the sense of 'King thereof' The affix ञ्य, therefore has this meaning also viz 'the leader of the horde' Here we repeat V 3 113 S 1100 owing to the context

२०६६ । क ॥ व्रातच्फञोरस्त्रियाम् । ५ । ३ । ११३ ॥

व्राते । कापोतपाक्यः । च्फञ् । कौञ्जायन्यः । ब्राध्नायन्यः ॥

2066 A The affix ñya comes after the name of a wild band, and after a word ending in chphañ (आयनँ IV 1. 98 S 1049) without change of sense, but not in the feminine

A collection of persons of different castes, having no determined livelihood, and living by violence are called व्रात or 'wild band' Thus कापोतपाक्य

'a wild band living on pigeons', d कापोतपाक्यौ and pl कपोतपाकाः ॥ So with words ending in ञ्यङ्, as कौञ्जायन्य, d कौञ्जायन्यौ, pl कौञ्जायनाः, ब्राध्नायन्य d ब्राध्नायन्यौ pl ब्राध्नायनाः ॥

Note —Why do we say "not in the Feminine"? Observe कपोतपाकी व्रीहिमती, कौञ्जायनी, ब्राध्नायनी ॥

२०६७। आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात्। ५। ३। ११४॥

वाहीकेषु य आयुधजीविसङ्घस्तद्वाचिनः स्वार्थे ञ्यट्। क्षौद्रक्य। मालव्य। टिड्ढाणञिति ङीप्। क्षौद्रकी। आयुधेति किम्। मल्लाः। सङ्घेति किम्। सम्राट्। वाहीकेषु किम्। शबराः। अब्राह्मणेति किम्। गोपालकाः। शालङ्कायनाः। ब्राह्मणे तद्विशेषग्रहणम्। राजन्ये स्वरूपग्रहणम्॥

2067 To a name expressing a multitude living by the trade of arms, is added the affix ñyaṭ (य with the fem in ई), when it is the name among the Vâhîkas, but not when it is the name of a Brâhmana, nor when the word is Râjanya

The anuvṛitti of अस्त्रियाम् does not govern this sutra Thus कौण्डीवृस्य, कौण्डीवृस्यौ pl कौण्डीवृसाः, fem कौण्डीवृसी, क्षौद्रक्य, क्षौद्रक्यौ, pl क्षुद्रकाः fem क्षौद्रकी, मालव्य, मालव्यौ pl मालवाः fem मालवी ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? Observe मल्लाः ॥ Why do we say 'a multitude'? Observe सम्राट् ॥ Why do we say 'amongst the Vâhîkas'? Observe शबराः ॥ Why do we say "not a Brâhmana or the word form Râjanya"? Observe गोपालका ब्राह्मणाः, the Brâhmana cow-herds शालङ्कायना राजन्याः ॥ In the case of a Brahmana the rule applies to a word that is *qualified* by the word Brâhmana, while in the case of राजन्य, the sûtra teaches that the very word-form râjanya' should be taken

२०६८। वृकाट्टेण्यण्। ५। ३। ११५॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचकात्स्वार्थे। वार्केण्य। आयुधेति किम्। जातिशब्दान्मा भूत्॥

2068 The affix teṇyaṇ (एण्य) with the fem in ई, comes after the word Vṛika, a class of persons living by trade of arms

Thus वार्केण्य (वार्केण्यौ, pl वृकाः, fem वार्केणी) ॥

Why do we say 'living by the profession of arms'? The affix will not come when वृक means 'a wolf' As कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविव ॥

२०६९। दामन्यादित्रिगर्तषष्ठाच्छः। ५। ३। ११६॥

दामन्यादिभ्यस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठेभ्यश्चायुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्यः स्वार्थे छः स्यात्। त्रिगर्तः षष्ठो वर्गो येषां ते त्रिगर्तषष्ठाः॥

आहुस्त्रिगर्तषष्ठास्तु कौण्डोपरथदाण्डकी॥
क्रोष्टुकिर्जालमानिश्च ब्रह्मगुप्तोऽथ जालकिः॥ १॥

दामनीय। दामनीयौ। दामनयः। औलपि। औलपीय। त्रिगर्त। कौण्डोपरथीय। दाण्डकीय॥

2069 The affix chha (ईय) comes without changing the sense, after dâmini &c, and after the six warrior-stocks called Traigarta shashtha

The following are the six warrior races of Trigarta -कौण्डोपरथ दाण्डकि क्राष्टुकि, जालमानि ब्रह्मगुप्त and जालकि ॥

Thus दामनीय दामनीयौ pl दामनय । औलपीय औलपीया, pl उलपय । कौण्डोपरथीय pl कौण्डोपरथा । दाण्डकीय pl दाण्डकय ,

1 दामनि, 2 औलपि 3 बैजवापि*, 4 औदकी (औतकि औतकि) 5 औञ्छि* 6 अच्युतन्ति, (अच्युतान्ति), 7 आच्युतदन्ति* (आच्युतदन्ति) 8 शाकुन्तकि*, 9 आकिदान्ति 10 औडवि*, 11 काकदन्तकि (काकन्ति) 12 शत्रुन्तपि, 13 सार्वसेनि 14 बिन्दु, 15 बैन्दवि* 16 तुलभ 17 मौञ्जायन, 18 काकन्दि 19 सावित्रीपुत्र, 20 काकरन्ति 21 देववापि 22 अपच्युतकी, 23 कर्की 24 पिण्ड ॥

२०७० । पर्श्वादि यौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ । ५ । ३ । ११७ ॥

आयुधजीविसङ्घवाचिभ्य एभ्य क्रमादणञौ स्त स्वार्थे । पार्शव । पार्शवौ । पर्शव । यौधेय । यौधेयौ । यौधया ॥

2070 The affix an (अ) comes after parśu &c, and the affix añ (अ) comes after yaudheya &c, without changing the sense when these words denote warrior classes

Thus पार्शव , d पार्शवौ pl पर्शव । यौधेय d यौधेयौ pl यौधया ॥

1 पर्शु 2 असुर, 3 रक्षस्, 4 बाहीक (बाल्हीक) , 5 वयस् , 6 वसु 7 मरुत् , 8 सत्वत् , 9 दशाह 10 पिशाच, 11 अशनि 12 कार्षापण ॥

1 यौधेय 2 कौशेय, 3 शौक्रेय, 4 शौभ्रेय 5 धार्तेय, 6 धार्तेय 7 ज्यावाणेय (ज्यावालेय), 8 त्रिगत, 9 भरत, 10 उशीनर 11 क्रौशेय, 12 वार्त्तेय ॥ See IV 1 178

२०७१ । अभिजिद्विदभृच्छालावच्छिखावच्छमीवदूर्णावच्छ्रुमदणो यञ् । ५ । ३ । ११८ ॥

अभिजिदादिभ्योऽणन्तेभ्य स्वार्थे यञ्स्यात् । अभिजितोऽपत्यमाभिजित्य । वैदभृत्य । शालावत्य । शैखावत्य । शामीवत्य । और्णावत्य । श्रौमत्य ॥

2071 The affix yañ (अ) comes without changing the sense, after the words abhijit, bidabhṛit, śâlâvat, śikhâvat śamîvat, ûrnâvat, and śrumat, when those words end in the Patronymic affix अण् ॥

The anuvṛitti of आयुधजीविसङ्घात् ceases Thus अभिजितोऽपत्यम् = आभिजित, add यञ् to this, आभिजित्य , pl आभिजिता, वैदभृत्य pl वैदभृता , शालावत्य pl शालावता , शैखावत्य pl शैखावता , शामीवत्य pl शामीवता , और्णावत्य , और्णावता, श्रौमत्य and श्रौमता ॥

Note —The अण् here is Patronymic Otherwise आभिजितो मुहूर्त्त and आभिजित स्थालीपाक , the affix here is अण of नक्षत्रेण युक्त काल IV 2 3 S 1204 and of सास्यदेवता IV 2 24 S 1226 respectively

२०७२ । ञ्यादयस्तद्राजाः । ५ । ३ । ११९ ॥

पूगाञ्ञ्य इत्यारभ्य उक्ता एतत्संज्ञाः स्युः । तेनास्त्रियां बहुषु लुक् । लोहितध्वजाः । कपोतपाकाः । कौञ्जायनाः । ब्राध्नायनाः इत्यादि ॥

2072 The affixes ñya &c, (V 3 112 &c 2066) are called tadrâja

The illustrations of Tadrâja affixes have been given above The word तद्राजा occurs in Sûtra II 4 62 S 1193

Being tadrâja, the affix is elided in the plural number of non feminine words As लोहितध्वजाः (S 2066), कपोतपाकाः (S 2066 A), कौञ्जायनाः (S 2066 A), ब्राध्नायनाः (S 2066 A) &c

२०७३ । पादशतस्य संख्यादेर्वीप्सायां वुन् लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । १ ॥

लोपवचनमनैमित्तिकत्वार्थम् । अतो न स्थानिवत् । पादः पत् । तद्धितार्थ इति समासे कृते प्रत्ययः । वुन्नन्तः स्त्रियामेव । द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति द्विपदिकाम् ॥ द्विशतिकाम् ॥

पादशतग्रहणमनर्थकमन्यत्रापि दर्शनात् * ॥ द्विमोदकिकाम् ॥

2073 The affix vun (अक) comes after the words pâda and sata when preceded by a numeral, the sense being that of distributive relation, and the final of the stem is elided

Prâtipadikas preceded by a numeral and ending in the words पाद or शत take the affix वुन् when a distributive sense (वीप्सा)is to be expressed and by the addition of this, the final is elided

By VI 4 148 the final अ of pâda and sata would have been elided before the taddhita affix vun, even if such elision was not taught in this rule The repetition of the word लोप in this rule, therefore, indicates that the elision ordained here is not one *caused* by the affix For if the elision had been *caused* by the affix, then by I 1 57, such लोपादेश or "substitute" would be equivalent to the principal (sthânivat), and would thus debar the application of the rule VI 4 130 by which पाद् pâd (and *not* Pâda) is changed into पद् ॥ In other words, the lopa taught by यस्येति च is परनिमित्तक or caused by some thing which is subsequent, namely, by a taddhita affix or by इ or ई affix, therefore, this lopa would be sthani vat for the purposes of the rule which would apply to something preceding it (I 1 57 S 50) Therefore, pad becomes sthâni-vat to pâd Therefore, the anga or base ending with 'pâda' will be called भ, and not the base ending with 'pâd', and therefore VI 4 130 which applies to भ bases will not apply, and there will be no substitution of पद् for पाद्, as there is not in the form पादाय ॥ But we want such substitution and hence the employment of words "the final of the stem is elided

Thus द्वौ द्वौ पादौ ददाति "he gives two quarters to each" = द्विपादिका ददाति (द्विपाद + वुन् = द्विपाद् + वुन् = द्विपद् + वुन् VI 4 130 = द्विपदिका VII 3 44 S 463 by which अ of अक is changed into इ) Similarly द्वे द्वे शते ददाति = द्विशतिका ददाति ॥

The compounds above formed are taddhitârtha Tatpurusha compounds, viz compounds containing the sense of a taddhita affix, by rule II 1 51 S 728 After the compound is formed, then the affix वुन् is added Thus first we have द्विपाद and द्विशत compounded by II 1 51 S 728 then the affix is added The words पाद and शत when not so compounded, take वुन् affix only in the feminine

Note —Why do we say "of the words पाद and शत"? Observe द्वौ द्वौ माषौ ददाति, no affixing Why do we say "preceded by a numeral"? Observe पादं पादं ददाति ॥ Why do we say "in a distributive sense"? Observe द्वौपादौ ददाति "He gives two quarters" द्वे शते ददाति ॥

Vârt —The enumeration of पाद and शत is useless, as the affix is found after other words also As, द्विमोदकिका ददाति "he gives two cakes to each" त्रिमोदकिका ददाति ॥

२०७४ । दण्डव्यवसर्गयोश्च । ५ । ४ । २ ॥

वुन् स्यात् । अवीप्सार्थमिदम् । द्वौपादौ दण्डित द्विपदिकाम्, द्विशतिकाम्, व्यवसृजति ददातीत्यर्थ ॥

2074 Also when the sense is of a punishment or a donation

The word दण्ड means "punishment", and व्यवसर्ग means "gift or donation" The prâtipadikas पाद and शत preceded by a numeral, and conveying the sense of punishment or donation, take the affix वुन्, and the final अ is elided This sûtra is begun to show that the "distributive sense" does not apply here Thus द्वौ पादौ दण्डित = द्विपदिकान् दण्डित "punished with the infliction of a fine of two Padas (a quarter coin)" द्वौ पादौ व्यवसृजति = द्विपदिका व्यवसृजति "he makes a gift of two Padas" Similarly द्विशतिका दण्डित "punished with a fine of two hundreds" द्विशतिका व्यवसृजति &c

२०७५ । स्थूलादिभ्य प्रकारवचने कन् । ५ । ४ । ३ ॥

जातीयरोऽपवाद । स्थूलक । अणुक ॥ चञ्चद्बृहतोरुपसंख्यानम् * ॥ चञ्चत्क । बृहत्क ॥ सुराया अहौ * ॥ सुरावर्णोऽहि सुरक ॥

2075 The affix kan क comes in the sense of "like that or specialty", after the words sthûla &c

This debars the affix जातीयर् (V 3 69 S 2024) Thus स्थूलप्रकारः = स्थूलक "bulky" So also अणुक, माषक ॥

Vârt —The words चञ्चत् and बृहत् should be included in the list of sthûlâdi words As, चञ्चत्क, बृहत्क ॥ According to one version the words सुरा

चचा and वृहा and not चचत् and वृहत्॥ So the derivatives will be वृहक and चंचक the words that end in long vowels आ, ई or ऊ, shorten their vowels before this affix, by VII 4 13 S 834

Gana sûtra—The word कृष्ण takes कन् when tila is meant, as कृष्णप्रकाराः तिला = कृष्णका ॥

Gana sutra —यव takes कन् when meaning व्रीहि, as यवका ॥

Gana sutra —इक्षु तिल, पाद्य, काल and अवदात take this affix when wine is meant, a पाद्यिका कालिका अवदातिका "a kind of wine"

Gana-sûtra —गोमूत्र takes this affix when meaning a covering, as गोमूत्रक 'a covering of the colour of cow's urine, or go-mutra may mean a certain arrangement of colours such as white and black'

Gana sutra —सुरा takes कन् when meaning a snake, as सुरक (VII 4 13 S 834) "a kind of snake of the color of wine"

Note —As सुरा + कन् = सुरक "snake like"

Gana sutra —जीर्ण takes the affix कन् when meaning sâli grain, as जीर्णका = जीर्णकल्पा शालय ॥ The following is a list of Sthulâdi words

1 स्थूल, 2 अणु, 3 माष 4 इषु, 5 कृष्ण तिलेषु 6 यव व्रीहिषु, 7 इक्षुतिलपाद्यकालावदाता सुरायाम, 8 गोमूत्र आच्छादने 9 सुरा अहौ, 10 जीर्ण शालिषु, 11 पत्रमूले समस्तव्यस्ते, 12 कुमारीपुत्र, 13 कुमारीश्वशुर (कुमार, श्वशुर), 14 मणि ॥

२०७६। अनत्यन्तगतौ क्तात् । ५ । ४ । ४ ॥

छिन्नकम् । भिन्नकम् । अभिन्नकम् ॥

2076 After a participle ending in kta, comes the affix kan, when the meaning is something not yet wholly completed

The word अत्यन्तगति means "an act which has been fully accomplished", अनत्यन्तगति therefore, means, "an act which has not been fully accomplished" Thus भिन्न + कन् = भिन्नकम् "not yet wholly divided" So also छिन्नकम् &c

Note —Why do we say "something not wholly completed"? Observe भिन्नम् "totally divided", छिन्नम् "totally cut"

२०७७। न सामिवचने । ५ । ४ । ५ ॥

सामिपर्याये उपपदे क्तान्तान्न कन् । सामिकृतम । अर्धकृतम् । अनत्यन्तगतेरिह प्रकृत्यैवाभिधाना त्पूर्वेण कन् न प्राप्त । इदमेव निषेधसूत्रमत्यन्तस्वार्थिकमपि कन ज्ञापयति । बहुतरकम् ॥

2077 Not so, when a word in the sense of "half", precedes such participle

When the word सामि or any other word having this sense, is compounded, with a partciple in क्त, the affix कन् is not added to denote the sense of incompleteness Thus सामिकृतम्, सामिभुक्तम् &c (II 1 27 S 689) The word वचन shows that the synonyms of सामि are also to be taken, Thus अर्धकृतम् ।

Note —*Objection* —It is redundant to have prohibited कन् after a word preceded by 'half', because the word "half" itself shows that the action has not been completed

Note —*Answer* —The prohibition contained in this sûtra does not refer to the कन् of the last sûtra where it has the sense of "incompleteness" It refers to that कन् which comes after a word, without changing the sense of that word (स्वार्थेकन्) ॥ Thus the words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम (the comparative and superlative degrees of भिन्न) show by the very fact of their comparison, that the action denoted by them is not complete These words भिन्नतर and भिन्नतम also take the affix कन् without change of sense As भिन्नतरक and भिन्नतमक and बहुतरक &c as used by Pâtanjali himself in the following sentences —एव हि सूत्रमभिन्नतरक भवति, एतैर्हि बहुतरक व्याप्यते ॥ This कन् is also prohibited in the case of compounds with आमि ॥

In fact, the prohibition of this sûtra teaches by implication (Jñâpaka) that कन् comes also in the sense af svârtha As बहुतरकम् ॥

२०७८ । बृहत्या आच्छादने । ५ । ४ । ६ ॥

कन् स्यात् । द्वौ प्रावारोत्तरासङ्गौ समौ बृहतिका तथा ॥ आच्छादने किम् । बृहती छन्द ॥

2078 The affix kan comes after the word brihati when it means "an article of dress"

The word कन् is to be read into this sûtra and not its prohibition The force of this कन् is *nil*, or it is an example of स्वार्थे कन् ॥ Thus बृहति + कन् = बृहतिका (प्रावार) (VII 4 13 S 834, by which long vowel is shortened) "an upper garment or mantle" see Amarakosha II 9 117

Why do we say "when it means dress"? Observe बृहतीछन्द "the metre called Brihatî".

२०७९ । अषडक्षाशितङ्ग्वलंकर्मालंपुरुषाध्युत्तरपदात्ख । ५ । ४ । ७ ॥

स्वार्थे । अषडक्षीणो मन्त्र । द्वाभ्यामेव कृत इत्यर्थ । आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्निति आशितङ्गवीनमरण्यम् । निपातनात्पूर्वस्य मुम् । अल कर्मणे अलंकर्मीण । अलंपुरुषीण । ईश्वराधीन । नित्योऽय ख । वक्ष्यमाणसूत्रे विभाषाग्रहणात् ॥ अन्येऽपि केचित्स्वार्थिका प्रत्यया नित्यमिष्यन्ते । तमवाव प्राकृत । आवम प्राग्घुण । आमावय प्राङ्मवद । बृहती आलन्ता समरसान्वावेति ॥

2079 The affix kha (ईन) comes after the words ashadksha, âsitangu, alankarma, alampurusha, and after a stem ending with adhi

The force of ख is स्वार्थे i e it does not change the sense of the word.

Note —The word अषडक्ष means "that which has not six eyes" षडक्ष is compounded from षट् + अक्षिन् by adding षच् V 4 113 S 852 "having six eyes", The affix ख is to be added to this word already ending in the affix shach

Thus अषडक्षीणो मन्त्र "a secret not having six eyes" i. e. "a secret

known or determined by two persons (four eyes) only, to the exclusion of a third " Similarly आशितंगवीन अरण्यम् = आशिता गावोऽस्मिन्नरण्ये = प्रभूतयवस " a forest where formerly cattle had grazed " The augment मुम् is added to आशित् by nipâtana, or irregularly So also अलंकर्मीण = अलं समर्थं कर्मणे पर्याप्त = competent to do any act, clever So अलं पुरुषीण = अलं समर्थं पुरुषाय = प्रतिमल्लादि = fit for a man

A word ending with अधि, will be a Tatpurusha compound, by II 1 40, as the word अधि belongs to Śaunḍâdi class As ईश्वराधीनः ॥

The affix kha in the case of these words is invariable (nitya); because the word विभाषा occurs in the next sûtra , (and it is a maxim of interpretation that a rule occurring between two optional rules is nitya)

According to others the above words always occur with this affix and never without it while in the case of other words taught hereafter this affix comes optionally

There are other affixes also which are *Svârthika* and *nitya*

Such as तमप् &c up to the affix कन् (V 3, 55 to 95).

ष्यङ् &c upto वुन् , (V 3 112 to V 4 1)

आकिनिच् &c upto मयट् , (V 4 11 to 21).

And affixes taught from V 4 61 e अम् to V 4 9, (ख) ending in जाति ॥

And all Samâsânta affixes

२०८० । विभाषाञ्चेरदिक्स्त्रियाम् । ५ । ४ । ८ ॥

अदिक्स्त्रीवृत्तेरञ्चत्यन्तात्प्रातिपदिकात्खः स्याद्वा स्वार्थे। प्राक्, प्राचीनम् । प्रत्यक्, प्रतीचीनम् । अवाक्, अवाचीनम् । निकृष्टमतिकृष्टार्थेरफेवाप्याचमाधमा । अर्वन्तमञ्चतीति अर्वाक्, अर्वाचीनम् । अदिक्स्त्रिया किम् । प्राची दिक् । प्रतीची दिक् । दिग्ग्रहणं किम् । प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी । स्त्रीग्रहणं किम् । प्राचीनं ग्रामाद् आम्राः ॥

2080 The affix kha (ईन) may optionally be added without change of sense to a stem ending in anch (अञ्च्), when it does not mean a point of the compass used in the feminine gender

Thus प्राक् or प्राचीनम् "old", प्रत्यक् or प्रतीचीनम्, अर्वाक्, or अवाचीनम् " new ".

Why do we say " when not denoting a direction in the feminine?" Observe प्राची दिक् " eastern region ", प्रतीची दिक् " western region " Why do we say " a point of the compass "? Other words in the feminine will take this affix As प्राचीना ब्राह्मणी ॥ Why do we say "in the feminine"? A direction or दिक् used in any other gender will take this affix As प्राचीनं ग्रामाद् आम्राः ॥

२०८१ । जात्यन्ताच्छ बन्धुनि । ५ । ४ । ९ ॥

ब्राह्मणजातीय । वस्तुनि किम । ब्राह्मणजाति शोभना । जातेर्व्यक्तिवाचक द्रव्य वस्तु ॥

2081 The affix chha (ईय) is added without change of sense, to a stem ending in the word जाति, when it means appropriateness

Note —The word वस्तु means the substance or substratum in which jâti or generic quality adheres or any thing by which a thing is regulated and individualised, (वध्यते नियम्यते स्वलक्ष्यो क्रियते) ॥

Thus ब्राह्मणजातीयः "appropriate to a Brâhmaṇa" क्षत्रियजातीय वैश्यजातीय &c

Why do we say "when meaning appropriateness". Observe ब्राह्मणजाति शोभना "the Brâhmaṇa caste is beautiful"

वस्तु means that substance by which the genus Brâhmaṇa, Kshatriya &c is distinguished

२०८२ स्थानान्ताद्विभाषा सस्थानेनेति चेत् । ५ । ४ । १० ॥

सस्थानेन तुल्येन चेत् स्थानान्तमर्थवदित्यर्थः । पितृस्थानीय । पितृस्थानः । सस्थानेन किम । गो स्थानम् ॥

2082 The affix chha (ईय) is optionally added to a stem ending in स्थान, if it is compounded with something with which another is made to take an equal place

The word सस्थान means समान स्थानमस्य 'whose place is the same' or तुल्य or equal Thus पिता तुल्य = पितृस्थानीय, or पितृस्थान (पितुरिव स्थानमस्य whose place is that of a father)

Why do we say "when it means equal to" Observe गोस्थानम "cowshed"

Note —The word इति in सस्थानेनेति is for the sake of distinctness The word सस्थान as a Bahuvrihi compound is the appropriate word to be taken here, and not when it is taken as a Tatpurusha compound like समानं च तत् स्थानं च ॥ The word चेत् "when" is a conjunction and joins the two meanings

The rule S 2081 occurring beetween this rule and S 2080 both of which are optional must be a nitya rule, as explained above द्वयोर्विभाषयोर्मध्ये नित्या विधय ॥

२०८३ । अनुगादिनष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । १३ ॥

अनुगदतीत्यनुगादी । स एव आनुगादिकः ॥

2083 The affix thak comes after the word anugâdin, without changing its sense

Thus आनुगातिक "repeater or who echoes back"

२०८४ । विसारिणो मत्स्ये । ५ । ४ । १६ ॥

अण् स्यात् । वैसारिण । मत्स्येति किम् । विसारी देवदत्तः ॥

2084 The affix aṇ is added to the word विसारिन् when a word expressing "fish" is to be made

Thus वैसारिण "a fish" Why do we say "when it means a fish"? Observe विसारी देवदत्तः "Devadatta who is gliding out".

२०८५ । सङ्ख्यायाः क्रियाऽभ्यावृत्तिगणने कृत्वसुच् । ५ । ४ । १७ ॥

अभ्यावृत्तिर्जन्म । क्रियाजन्मगणनवृत्तेः सङ्ख्याशब्दात्स्वार्थे कृत्वसुच् स्यात् । पञ्चकृत्वो भुङ्क्ते । संख्यायाः किम् । भूरिवारान्भुङ्क्ते ॥

2085. The affix kṛitvasuch (कृत्वसुच्) is added to a Numeral, when the repetition of an action is to be counted

This is also a svârtha affix The word अभ्यावृत्तिः means "again and again or repetition" The counting of actions belonging to the same class and having the same agent, which occur again and again is called क्रियाभ्यावृत्तिगणनम् ॥ Thus पञ्चवारान् भुङ्क्ते = पञ्चकृत्वो भुङ्क्ते "he eats five times"

Why do we say "after a Numeral"? Observe भूरीन् वारान् भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times"

२०८६ । द्वित्रिचतुर्भ्यः सुच् । ५ । ४ । १८ ॥

कृत्वसुचोऽपवादः । द्विर्भुङ्क्ते । त्रिः । रात्सस्य । चतुः ॥

2086 The affix "such" (सुच्) is added to the numeral dvi, tri and chatur, in the same sense of counting the repetition of an action

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ Thus द्वि—द्विस्, त्रि—त्रिस्, चतुर्—चतुर् in द्विर्भुङ्क्ते, त्रिर्भुङ्क्ते, चतुर्भुङ्क्ते ॥ The स् in the last example is elided by VIII 2 24 S 280

Note —But चतुर् meaning "four", and चतुर् 'four times', are differently accented the च् of सुच् indicating that the accent udatta falls on the last syllable Thus चतुर् (चतेरुरन् Un V 58, being formed with the affix 'uran' added to चत्), and चतुर् (with सुच्) ॥

२०८७ । एकस्य सकृच्च । ५ । ४ । १९ ॥

सकृदित्यादेशः स्याच्चात्सुच् । सकृद्भुङ्क्ते । संयोगान्तस्येति सुचो लोपः । न तु हल्ङ्यादिति । अभिरत्वीति सिच इव सुचोऽपि तद्योगात् ॥

2087 The word सकृत् is substituted for एक before the affix सुच्, when an action is to be counted

This debars कृत्वसुच् ॥ The 'repetition' being impossible, the action

alone is counted so the anuvṛitti of क्रिया only runs into this sûtra and not of अभ्यावृत्ति ॥ Thus सकृद्भुङ्क्ते "he eats once" सकृदधीते ॥ The स् of भुज् is elided by VIII. 2 23 S 54 and not by VI 1, 68 S 252, because the स् of that sûtra refers to the स् of सुप् and not to the स् of सुच्, as the सि of that sûtra refers to सिप् and not to सिच् as in अभैत्सीत् (See page 1 28) But not here in एक पाक as being against usage

२०८८। विभाषा बहोर्धाऽविप्रकृष्टकाले । ५ । ४ । २० ॥

अविप्रकृष्ट आसन्न । बहुधा दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते । आसन्नकाले किम् । बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते ॥

2088 The affix धा is optionally added to the numeral बहु, to count the repetition of an action occurring in a not distant period of time

This debars कृत्वसुच् which comes in the alternative The word अविप्रकृष्ट "not remote", qualifies क्रियाभ्यावृत्ति , i e when the recurring of the action takes place within a short time, it is अविप्रकृष्टकाल ॥ Thus बहुधा or बहुकृत्व दिवसस्य भुङ्क्ते "he eats many times a day" But when a remote time is denoted then धा does not apply Thus बहुकृत्वो मासस्य भुङ्क्ते 'he eats many times in a month, not daily owing to poverty &c'

२०८९। तत्प्रकृतवचने मयट् । ५ । ४ । २१ ॥

प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुत प्रकृत तस्य वचन प्रतिपादनम् । भावेऽधिकरणे वा ल्युट् । आद्ये अन्नमन्नमयम् । अपूपमयम् । यवागूमयी । द्वितीये अन्नमयो यज्ञ । अपूपमय पर्व ॥

2089 The affix mayat (मय with the feminine in grave ई) is added to a word in first case in construction, when the sense is "made thereof", or "subsisting therein", (or 'made abundantly')

Note —The translation of the sûtra given above is according to the rendering of Prof Bohtlingk According to Kâsikâ —तत् signifies that the word in construction to which the affix is to be added should be in the nominative case, (IV 1 82) the word प्रकृतम means "happening to be in abundance" So that according to this interpetation the sûtra should be translated, as done by Dr Ballantyne 'The affix mayat may be employed after a word denoting some substance, when we require an expression for it as abundant,' Thus अन्न प्रकृतम् = अन्नमयम् "abundance of food" अपूपमयम् "abundance of cake" According to others that in which there is abundance of the thing signified by the word to which the affix मयट् is added, is denoted by the whole word Thus अन्न प्रकृतमस्मिन् = अन्नमयो यज्ञ "a feast in which there is abundance of food" अपूपमय पर्व, वटकमयोयात्रा ॥ Both senses are possible, as the sûtra is constructed

The word prakrita is made up of pra and krita, pra has the force of abund-

antly and kṛita means made Prakrita therefore means "made in abundance" That which expresses (vachana) this is called prakṛita vachana

The word वचन in the sûtra has two senses It being made by the affix ल्युट् conveys the force both of the *nature* (III 3 114) and the *site* In the former case, (taking तत् प्रकृतवचन to mean "the mention of that as abundantly made"), we have अन्नमयम् "abundance of grain" अपूपमयम्, वटकमयम् ॥ But in the second case, (taking it to mean "that in which something is spoken of as abundant)" we have अन्नमयो यज्ञ "a sacrifice at which food is abundant" so also अपूपमयं पर्व ॥

२०९० । समूहवच्च बहुषु । ५ । ४ । २२ ॥

सामूहिका प्रत्यया अतिदिश्यन्ते चान्मयट् । मोदका प्रकृता मौदकिकम् । मोदकमयम् शाष्कुलिकम् । शाष्कुलीमयम् । द्वितीयेऽर्थे । मौदकिको यज्ञ । मोदकमय ॥

2090 When that, whereof something is made or subsists in, is a multitude, then the affixes expressing a great quantity (IV 2 37 &c S 1243) may also be employed to denote "made thereof, subsisting therein"

The च shows that मयट् also comes in the same sense Thus मोदका प्रकृता प्राचुर्येण प्रस्तुता =मौदकिकम् (IV 2 47 S 1256) or मोदकमयम्, so also शाष्कुलिकम् or शाष्कुलीमयम् ॥ In the second sense we have, मोदका प्रकृता अस्मिन् यज्ञे =मौदकिको or मोदकमयो यज्ञ, शाष्कुलिक or शाष्कुलीमय ॥

२०९१ । अनन्तावसथेतिहभेषजाञ्ञ्य । ५ । ४ । २३ ॥

अनन्त एवानन्त्यम् । आवसथ एवावसथ्यम् । इतिहेति निपातसमुदाय, ऐतिह्यम् । भेषजमेव भैषज्यम् ॥

2091 The affix ñya (य) comes, without changing the sense, after the words ananta, âvasatha, itiha and bheshaja

Thus आनन्त्यम्=अनन्त, आवसथ्यम्=आवसथ 'a dwelling place, a sanctuary for sacred fire' ऐतिह्यम्=इति ह traditional account', the affix here is added to a word which is not a prâtipadika The word इति ह means tradition, as इति ह स्मोपाध्याया: कथयन्ति ॥ भैषज्यम्=भेषजम् ॥

Note —It is optional to add this affix, owing to the general optional nature of all-taddhita affixes, See IV 1 82 S 1072

२०९२ । देवतान्तात्तादर्थ्ये यत् । ५ । ४ । २४ ॥

तदर्थ एव तादर्थ्यम् । स्वार्थे ष्यञ् । अग्निदेवतायै इदम् अग्निदेवत्यम् । पितृदेवत्यम् ॥

2092 After a stem ending in the word देवता, being in the fourth case in construction, comes the affix यत्, in the

sense of "appointed for it"

The word तादर्थ्य has the same meaning as तदर्थ "for the sake of that" (II 1 36 S 698), Thus अग्निर्देवतायै इदं=अग्निदेवत्यम् "offering &c, sacred to Agni" So also पितृदेवत्यम् ॥

२०९३ । पादार्घाभ्यां च । ५ । ४ । २५ ॥

पादार्थमुदकं पाद्यम् । अर्घ्यम् ॥ नवस्य नूआदेशो त्नप्तनप्खाश्च प्रत्यया वक्तव्याः * ॥ नूत्नम् । नूतनम् । नवीनम् । नश्च पुराणे प्रात् * ॥ पुराणार्थे वर्तमानात्प्रशब्दान्नो वक्तव्यः । चात्पूर्वोक्ताः । प्रणम् । प्रत्नम् * प्रतनम् । प्रीणम् । भागरूपनामभ्यो धेयः ॥ भागधेयम् । रूपधेयम् । नामधेयम् ॥ आग्नीध्रसाधारणादञ् * ॥ आग्नीध्रम् । साधारणम् । स्त्रियां ङीप् । आग्नीध्री । साधारणी ॥

2093 The affix यत् comes after the words पाद and अर्घ, being in the fourth case in construction, when the meaning is 'for the purpose of that'

The word तादर्थ्य is understood here also Thus पादार्थमुदकं=पाद्यम् "water meant for washing the feet" So also अर्घ्यम् ॥ The accent of these words is governed by VI 1 213, S 370 the udâtta being on the first syllable

Note :—The च in the sûtra implies the inclusion of words other than पाद and अर्घ, not mentioned here The affix यत् applies to other words also, as एव वै सावरसावर शक्त्यः प्रजापतिः । So also वसु, अयस्, ओक, कवि, क्षेम, उदक, वर्चस्, निष्केवल, उक्थ, जन, पूर्व, नव, सूर, मर्त, यविष्ठ ॥ These words take यत् in the Vedas Thus वसव्य, अयस्य, ओक्य, कव्य, क्षेम्य, उदक्य, वर्चस्य, निष्केवल्यम्, उक्थ्य, जन्य, पूर्व्य, नव्य, सूर्य, मर्त्यः and यविष्ठ्य in अग्निरीशे वसव्यस्य । अयस्यो वसानाः (द्वितीयाबहुवचनस्याल्लुक् अपो वसाना इत्यर्थः) स्वमोक्ये । कव्योसि । क्षेम्यस्य वस्याति । वायुर्वर्चस्य ॥ निष्केवल्यं शसति । उक्थ्यं शसति । जन्यताभि । पूर्व्या विश । स्तोमैर्जनयामि नव्यम् । सूर्यः । मर्त्यः । यविष्ठ्य ॥ So also the words आतुष्याय and आतुष्यपुत्रिका ॥

Vârt —नू is the substitute of नव, and the affixes त्नप्, तनप् and ख are added to it, as, नूत्नम् नूतनम् नवीनम् ॥

Vârt —To the word प्र meaning 'old', the affix न is added as well as the affixes त्न, तन and ख e g प्रणम् and प्रत्नम्, प्रतनम् and प्रीणम् ॥

Vârt —The affix धेय is added to the words भाग, रूप and नाम e g भागधेयम्, रूपधेयम् नामधेयम् ॥

Vârt —The affix अञ् comes after आग्नीध्र and साधारण, as, आग्नीध्रम्, साधारणम् ॥ The feminine is formed by ङीप् as आग्नीध्री साधारणी ॥

Note :—All these are illustrations of the option allowed by IV 1, 82, S, 1072 so that sometimes these affixes do not apply as अग्नीध्रा शाला साधारणा भूः ॥

२०९४ । अतिथेर्ञ्यः । ५ । ४ । २६ ॥

तादर्थ्ये इत्येव । अतिथये इदमातिथ्यम् ॥

2094 The affix ñya (य) comes after अतिथि in the fourth case in construction, in the sense of " for the purpose of that "

The word तादर्थ्य is understood here also Thus अतिथये इदम् = आतिथ्यम् ॥

२०९५ । देवात्तल् । ५ । ४ । २७ ॥

देव एव देवता ॥

2095 The affix तल् comes after देव, without change of sense

The anuvṛitti of तादर्थ्य does not apply here and ceases Thus देवता = देव ॥

Note — This word is always in the feminine, another example of the rule that a word derived by a svârthika affix does not always follow the gender of its primitive

२०९६ । अवेः कः । ५ । ४ । २८ ॥

अविरेवाविकः ॥

2096 The affix क comes after अवि, without change of sense

Thus अविक = अवि ॥

२०९७ । यावादिभ्यः कन् । ५ । ४ । २९ ॥

याव एव यावकः । मणिकः ॥

2097 The affix कन् comes after the words याव &c, without changing their sense

Thus यावक = याव, मणिक = मणि ॥

1 याव 2 मणि, 3 अस्थि, 4 तालु*, 5 जानु*, 6 सान्द्र*, 7 पीत, 8 स्तम्ब (पीतस्तम्ब पोत, स्तम्ब), 9 ऋतावुष्णशीते, 10 पशौ लूनवियाते (वियाते), 11 अणु निपुणे, 12 पुत्र कृत्रिमे, 13 स्नात वेदसमाप्तौ 14 शून्य रिक्ते, 15 दान कुत्सिते, 16 तनु सूत्रे, 17 ईयसश्च (श्रेयस्क), 18 ज्ञात, 19 अज्ञात*, 20 कुमारीक्रीडनकानि च 21 चण्ड ॥

G S The affix कन् is added to उष्ण and शीत when denoting a season as, उष्णक ऋतु । शीतक ऋतु ॥ Otherwise उष्णोऽग्नि ,शीतमुदकं ॥ G S लून and वियात take कन् when denoting an animal, as लूनक or वियातक पशु , otherwise लूनादर्भा , वियातो नीच , ॥ G S अणु takes कन् when meaning 'clever', as अणुक सूक्ष्मदृक् otherwise अणु only G S पुत्र take कन् when meaning 'artificial', as, पुत्रको लोहादिनिर्मित ॥ G S स्नात takes कन् when denoting a student who has completed his study of the Vedas, as स्नातकः ॥ G S शून्य takes कन् when meaning empty, as उदकादिना रिक्तोघट शून्यक , otherwise शून्य प्रत्यय i e बाह्यार्थ रहित ॥ G S दान takes कन् when contempt is meant, as कुत्सितदान = दानकम् ॥ G S तनु takes कन् when meaning thread, as तनुक सूत्र सूक्ष्मतन्तु , otherwise तनु शरीरम् ॥ G S The word ending in ईयसुन् takes कन् as श्रेयस्क ॥ G S The words denoting play things of girls take कन् as कण्डुकम् ॥

२०९८ । लोहितान्मणौ । ५ । ४ । ३० ॥

लोहित एव मणिर्लोहितक ॥

2098 The affix कन् comes, without changing the sense, after the word लोहित, when it means a precious stone

Thus लोहितक =लोहित "Ruby'

Note —Why do we say 'when it means a precious stone?' Observe, लोहित red

२०९९ । वर्णे चानित्ये । ५ । ३ । ३१ ॥

लोहितक कोपेन ॥ लोहितालिङ्गबाधन वा ॥ लोहितिका लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

2099 The affix कन् comes after लोहित, when it means color which is not permanent

Thus लोहितक कोपेन "red with anger" लोहितक पीडनेन ॥

Note —Why do we say "not permanent" Observe लोहितो गौ "a red cow" लोहित रुधिरम् "the red blood"

Vârt —The derivative of लोहित may not take the gender of the primitive, as लोहितिका or लोहिनिका कोपेन ॥

२१०० । रक्ते । ५ । ४ । ३२ ॥

लाक्षादिना रक्ते यो लोहितशब्दस्तस्मात्कन्स्यात् । लिङ्गबाधन वेत्येव । लोहितिका लोहिनिका शाटी ॥

2100 The affix कन् comes after the word लोहित meaning a substance dyed red.

As लोहितक कम्बल or पट "a blanket or cloth colored red with shellac &c" The vârtika of the preceding sûtra applies here also Similarly लोहितिका or लोहिनिका शाटी ॥

२१०१ । कालाच्च । ५ । ४ । ३३ ॥

वर्णे चानित्ये रक्ते इति द्वयमनुवर्तते । कालक मुख वैलक्ष्येण । कालक पट । कालिका शाटी ॥

2101 The affix कन् is added to the word काल, when it means a passing color, or dyed with color

The word वर्णेच अनित्ये and रक्ते are both understood here Thus कालक मुख वैलक्ष्येण 'the face black with shame or confusion" कालक· पट 'a cloth dyed blue black' कालिका शाटी ॥

२१०२ । विनयादिभ्यष्ठक् । ५ । ४ । ३४ ॥

विनय एव वैनयिक । सामयिकः । उपायो ह्रस्वत्व च ॥ औपयिक ॥

2102 The affix ठक् (क or इक) comes without changing the sense after the word विनय and the rest

Thus वैनयिक = विनय , सामयिक ॥

Gana sûtra :—The आ of उपाय is shortened, as, औपयिक ॥ The word अकस्मात् should be read as अकस्मात् in order to apply इक् and not क as आकस्मिक ॥ The टि is elided, because it is an Avyaya See VI 4 149 S 499 The affix is optional by IV 1 82 S 1072

1 विनय, 2 समय, 3 उपायो (उपायाद्) ह्रस्वत्व च (औपयिक), 4 सम्प्रति*, 5 सम्गति, 6 कथचित्, 7 अकस्मात्, 8 समाचार, 9 उपचार, 10 समयाचार, 11 व्यवहार, 12 सम्प्रदान, 13 समुत्कर्ष, 14 समूह, 15 विशेष, 16 अत्यय, 17 अस्थि, 18 कण्डु ॥

२१०३ वाचोऽव्याहृतार्थायाम् । ५ । ४ । ३५ ॥

सन्दिष्टार्थाया वाचि विद्यमानाद्वाक्शब्दात्स्वार्थे ठक् स्यात् । सन्देशवाग् वाचिक स्यात् ॥

2103 The affix ठक् comes after वाच् when it means the purport of the message spoken by another

Note —The word व्याहृत means 'declared, expressed' That which was spoken formerly by another, and which is carried by a third party as a 'tiding' or news', is called व्याहृतार्थ ॥ Thus वाचिक कथयति 'he relates the verbal message' वाचिक श्रद्धे ॥ Some say it applies to written message also

Thus वाचिकम् = सन्देशवाक् ॥ See Amarakosha I 6 17

Note :—Why do we say "when it means a verbal message ?" Observe मधुरा वाक् देवदत्तस्य 'the speech of Devadatta is sweet'

२१०४ । तद्युक्तात्कर्मणोऽण् । ५ । ४ । ३६ ॥

कर्मैव कार्मणम् । वाचिक श्रुत्वा क्रियमाण कर्मेत्यर्थ ॥

2104 The affix अण् comes after the word कर्मन् 'occupation' when it occurs in connection therewith (i e when it is the result of an oral message or commission)

Thus कार्मणम् = कर्म 'an occupation of a commission agent (?)' i e when an act is done in pursuance to or on hearing of a verbal message or commission

२१०५ । ओषधेरजातौ । ५ । ४ । ३७ ॥

स्वार्थेऽण् । औषध पिबति । अजातौ किम् । ओषधयः क्षेत्रे रूढा ॥

2105 The affix अण् comes after ओषधि when it does not mean a species

Thus औषध पिबति "he drinks medicine' Why do we say "when not meaning a जाति or species" Observe, ओषधय क्षेत्रे रूढा भवन्ति "the herbs are growing in the field'

२१०६ । प्रज्ञादिभ्यश्च । ५ । ४ । ३८ ॥

प्रज्ञ एव प्राज्ञ । प्राज्ञी स्त्री । दैवत । बान्धव ॥

2106 The affix अण् comes after the words प्रज्ञ &c (the words retaining their sense)

Thus प्राज्ञ = प्रज्ञ "a wise person", feminine प्राज्ञी so also वैदत, बान्धव ॥

Note —While प्राज्ञ "a man possessed of wisdom" with feminine प्राज्ञा comes from प्रज्ञा "wisdom" by the affix ण having the sense of मतुप् ("being possessed of"), taught in V 2 101 S, 1908 The प्रज्ञ of this sûtra comes from the root प्रजानाति = प्रज्ञ "he who knows fully"

The word विदत् occurs in the list of प्रज्ञादि words It is formed by the addition of the affix शतृ (III 2 124 S 3100) to the root, as, विद् + शतृ = विदत् nom s विदन् ॥ The very fact that we have such a form विदत् shows that the substitution of वसु for शतृ after the word विद् taught in VII 1 36 S 3105 (by which we get विद्वान्) is an optional substitution, the word "optionally" being drawn in from Sûtra VII 1 35 S 2197

The word श्रोत्र takes अण् when meaning 'body', as श्रौत्रम्, otherwise श्रोत्रम् 'the sense of hearing', जुहत् takes अण् when meaning 'a black antelope', as जौहत ॥ The word कृष्ण takes अण् when meaning 'a black antelope', as कार्ष्ण ॥

1 प्रज्ञ 2 वणिज्, 3 उशिज्, 4 उष्णिज् (उष्णिक् उष्णिह्) 5 प्रत्यक्ष, 6 विद्वस्, 7 विदत्, 8 षोडन्, 9 विद्या, 10 मनस्, 11 श्रोत्र शरीरे, 12 जुहत्, 13 कृष्ण मृग, 14 चिकीर्षत् 15 चोर, 16 शत्रु (शक), 17 योध, 18 चक्षुस् (वक्षस्), 19 वसु (वस् !), 20 एनस् (एत् !), 21 मरुत्, 22 क्रुञ्च (क्रुङ्), 23 सत्वन्तु (सत्वत्, सत्वन्त), 24 दशार्ह 25 वयस्, 26 व्याकृत*, 27 असुर (आतुर!) 28 रक्षस्, 29 पिशाच, 30 अशनि, 31 कर्षापण (का), 32 देवता, 33 बन्धु, 34 षोडश, 35 धूर्त 36 राजा ॥

२१०७ । मृदस्तिकन् । ५ । ४ । ३९ ॥

मृदेव मृत्तिका ॥

2107 The affix तिकन् comes after मृद् (the word retaining its sense).

Thus मृत्तिका = मृद् 'mud'

Note —Of course, this is also an optional affix not a nitya affix like many of the svârthika affixes enumerated in V 4 7 S 2079

२१०८ । सस्नौ प्रशंसायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४० ॥

रूपपोऽपवाद । प्रशस्ता मृत् मृत्सा । मृत्स्ना । उत्तरसूत्रेऽन्यतरस्यामग्रहणान्नित्योऽयम् ॥

2108 The affix स and स्न comes after मृद् when it means 'excellence'.

This debars the affix रूपप् V 3 66 S 2021 Thus प्रशस्ता मृद् = मृत्सा or मृत्स्ना ॥ These two affixes are nitya or invariable, i e whenever superiority is to be expressed we *must* add these affixes The reason for our calling it *nitya* is that the word अन्यतरस्याम् 'optionally' follows it in V 4, 42 S 2109 so that this affix is not optional cf V 4 7, 10 &c

२१०९ । बह्वल्पार्थाच्छस्कारकादन्यतरस्याम् । ५ । ४ । ४२ ॥

बहूनि ददाति बहुशः । अल्पानि अल्पशः ॥ बह्वल्पार्थान्मङ्गलामङ्गलवचनम् * ॥ नेह बहूनि ददात्यनिष्टेषु । अल्पं ददात्याभ्युदयिकेषु ॥

2109 After a word signifying much or little, comes the affix शस् optionally, when the word stands in agreement with a verb (as a kâraka)

No especial कारक being mentioned, all cases such as accusative &c are to be taken Thus बहूनि ददाति = बहुशो ददाति, बहुभिर्ददाति = बहुशो ददाति ॥ So also बहुभ्य आगच्छति or बहुश आगच्छति &c Similarly अल्पशो ददाति = अल्पं or अल्पेन &c

Why do we say "signifying much or little"? Observe गां ददाति, अश्वं ददाति ॥

Why do we say 'when it is a kâraka"? Observe बहूनां स्वामी "lord of many" Here the words are in genitive case and a genitive or 6th case is not a कारक or case, dependent or related to a verb and so the affix is not applied here

Vârt —By the word *signifying* the synonyms of बहु and अल्प are also included Thus भूरिशो ददाति, स्तोकशो ददाति ॥

Vârt —This affix is to be applied to bahu and alpa only when the action refers to an auspicious or inauspicious act respectively Thus बहुशो ददाति = अभ्युदयिकेषुकर्मसु । अल्पशो ददाति = अनिष्टेषु कर्मसु ॥ Thus बहुशो देहि "Give much on auspicious occasions as sacrifices &c" अल्पशो देहि 'give a little on inauspicious occasions as funeral feasts &c" But not here बहूनि ददाति (अनिष्टेषु), or अल्पं ददाति (आभ्युदयिकेषु)

२११० । संख्यैकवचनाच्च वीप्सायाम् । ५ । ४ । ४३ ॥

द्वौ द्वौ ददाति द्विशः । माषं माषं माषशः । प्रस्थशः । परिमाणशब्दा वृत्त्या काया एव । संख्यैकवचनात्किम् । घटं घटं ददाति । वीप्सायां किम् । द्वौ ददाति । कारकादित्येव । द्वयोर्द्वयोः स्वामी ॥

2110 The affix शस् comes optionally after crude forms denoting numbers, and words denoting units of a coin in the singular number, when a distributive sense is to be expressed (and the word is a kâraka)

Thus द्वौ द्वौ मोदकौ ददाति = द्विशो मोदकौ ददाति "He gives two sweet-meats to each" So also त्रिशः ॥ Similarly after words in the singular number as कार्षापणशो ददाति "he gives a Karshâpana coin to each" So also माषशः, पादशः प्रस्थशः ॥ That by which the sense of unit is expressed is called eka-vachana The words kârshâpana &c denote quantity, but their function in the sentence is to denote one-ness i e one to each, though in fact many are given

Why do we say "after Numberals and units of coin"? Observe घट घट ददाति "he gives a pot to each" Why do we say "when a distributive sense is meant"? Observe द्वौ ददाति "He gives two" कार्षापणम् ददाति "he gives a kârshâpaṇa"

This rule, of course, applies when the word is in relation with a verb viz when it is a kâraka, and not when it is in the genitive case governing another noun As द्वयोर्द्वयो स्वामी "Lord of two each" कार्षापणस्य कार्षापणस्य स्वामी "Possessor of a kârshapanas each" In fact the work "kârakât" of the last sûtra is understood here also This sûtra is exception to VIII 1 4.

२१११ । प्रतियोगे पञ्चम्यास्तसि । ५ । ४ । ४४ ॥

प्रतिना कर्मप्रवचनीयेन योगे या पञ्चमी विहिता तदन्तात्तसि स्यात् । प्रद्युम्न कृष्णत प्रति ॥ आद्यादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् * ॥ आदौ आदित मध्यत । पृष्ठत । पार्श्वत । आकृतिगणोऽयम् । स्वरेण स्वरत । वर्णत ॥

2111 The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which is ordained owing to the union with the Karma-prava-chanîya word प्रति ॥

This Ablative case is ordained by Sûtra II 3 11 S 600 Thus प्रद्युम्न कृष्णत प्रति ॥ The anuvritti of वा "optionally" runs here also thus it is an optional rule, we have the regular forms कृष्णात् &c, also

Vârt —The affix तसि comes after the word आदि &c as, आदित, मध्यत, अन्तत पार्श्वत पृष्ठत &c This is an âkṛitigaṇa, no complete list being given, so we have स्वरत or स्वरेण, वर्णत &c

२११२ । अपादाने चाहीयरुहोः । ५ । ४ । ४५ ॥

अपादाने या पञ्चमी तदन्तात्तसि स्यात् । ग्रामादागच्छति । ग्रामत । अहीयरुहो किम् । स्वर्गा द्धीयत । पर्वतादवरोहति ॥

2112 The affix तसि comes after that Ablative case which has the force of an Apâdâna Kâraka, except when this apâdâna relation arises owing to the union with the verbs हीय (passive of हा) and रुह ॥

Thus ग्रामत आगच्छति or ग्रामात् ॥ See Sûtra I 4 24. 25, and 26 &c Why do we say "excepting hîya and ruha"? Not so when the verbs हीय and रुह govern the ablative as स्वर्गाद् हीयते पर्वताद् अवरोहति ॥

Note —The form हीय is given in the sûtra to indicate that the verb हा whose present is जहाति is to be taken, and not जिहीते ॥ Thus we have भूमित उज्जिहीते or भूमेरुज्जिहीते ॥ How do you explain the use of "tasi" in the following well-known verse "मन्त्रो हीन स्वरतो वर्णतो वा"? The words here are not in the ablative, but in the Instrumental case i e स्वरेण वर्णेन वा हीन ॥

२११३ । अतिग्रहाऽव्यथनक्षेपेष्वकर्तरि तृतीयायाः । ५ । ४ । ४६ ॥

अकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसि स्यात् । अतिक्रम्य ग्रहोऽतिग्रह । चारित्रेणातिगृह्यते । चारित्रतोऽतिगृह्यते । चारित्रेणान्यानतिक्रम्य वर्तते इत्यर्थ । अव्यथनमचलनम् । वृत्तेन न व्यथते । वृत्ततो न व्यथते । वृत्तेन न चलतीत्यर्थ । क्षेपो वृत्तेन क्षिप्त । वृत्तत क्षिप्त । वृत्तेन निन्दित इत्यर्थ । अकर्तरीति किम् । देवदत्तेन क्षिप्त ॥

2113 The affix tasi comes after that Instrumental case which does not denote an agent, and is governed by a verb having the sense of "to excel", "not to give way", and "to blame",

Thus चारित्रेण or चारित्रतोऽतिगृह्यते ॥ This means when a person of good conduct surpasses others through his conduct he is said "to have excelled through his conduct and character" So also वृत्तेन or वृत्ततो न व्यथते, similarly चरित्रेन or चारित्रतो &c, the sense being he does not succumb or is not moved owing to his strength of conduct or character Similarly वृत्तेन or वृत्तत क्षिप्त, चरित्रेण or चरित्रत क्षिप्त "blamed owing to his bad conduct",

Why do we say "when not denoting an agent"? Observe देवदत्तेन क्षिप्त "blamed by Devadatta"

२११४ । हीयमानपापयोगाच्च । ५ । ४ । ४७ ॥

हीयमानपापयुक्तादकर्तरि तृतीयान्ताद्वा तसि । वृत्तेन हीयते । वृत्तेन पाप । वृत्तत । क्षेपस्याविवक्षायामिदम् । क्षेपे तु पूर्वेण सिद्धम् । अकर्तरि किम् । देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

2114 And the affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the third case-affix, when such word is joined to the verb "hîya", or the noun "pâpa", not denoting an agent

The words अकर्तरि and तृतीयायाः are understood in this aphorism Thus वृत्तेन हीयते or वृत्ततो हीयते ॥ चरित्रेण हीयते or चारित्रतो हीयते ॥ So also in construction with the word पाप, as, वृत्तेन पाप or वृत्तत पाप ॥ चारित्रेण पाप or चारित्रतः पाप ॥ Thus use of the affix is in places other than those where censure is meant in other words, it comes where no censure is implied, but a simple fact is mentioned Where censure is implied, the affix tasi would come by force of the preceding aphorism V 4 46 S 2113

The word अकर्तरि being understood here also, the affix does not come when the 3rd case-affix has the force of an agent as देवदत्तेन हीयते ॥

२११५ । षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये । ५ । ४ । ४८ ॥

षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसि स्यान्नानापक्षसमाश्रये । देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन् । आदित्या कर्णतोऽभवन् । अर्जुनस्य पक्षे इत्यर्थ । व्याश्रये किम् । वृक्षस्य शाखा ॥

2115 The affix tasi comes optionally after a word ending in the sixth case, when the sense is that of a party name or faction

Taking sides with one faction or another is called व्याश्रय ॥ Thus देवाअर्जुनस्य पक्षेऽभवन् = देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन् ॥ 'The Devas became Arjunites' So also आदित्या कर्णतोऽभवन् "The Adityas became Karnāites'

Why do we say "when it denotes a Party name?" Observe वृक्षस्य शाखा "the branch of the tree"

२११६ । रोगाच्चापनयने । ५ । ४ । ४९ ॥

रोगवाचिन षष्ठ्यन्ताद्वा तसिश्चिकित्सायाम् । प्रवाहिकात कुरु । प्रतीकारमस्या कुर्वित्यर्थ । अपनयने किम् । प्रवाहिकाया प्रकोपन करोति ॥

2116 The affix tasi comes optionally after a word denoting a disease, ending in the sixth case, when the healing of the same is denoted

The words रोग means 'disease', and अपनयन means 'healing', 'curing.
Thus प्रवाहिकाया प्रतीकार कुरु = प्रवाहिकात कुरु ॥

Why do we say 'when healing is meant? Observe प्रवाहिकायाः प्रकोपनकुरु ॥

२११७ । कृभ्वस्तियोगे संपद्यकर्तरि च्विः । ५ । ४ । ५० ॥

अभूततद्भाव इति वक्तव्यम् * ॥विकारात्मतां प्राप्नुवत्यां प्रकृतौ वर्तमानाद्विकारशब्दात्स्वार्थे च्विर्वा स्यात्करोत्यादिभिर्योगे ॥

2117 The affix chvi comes after a word, when the agent has attained to the new state expressed by the word, what the thing previously was not, and when the verbs kṛi 'to make', भू 'to be', and अस् 'to be' are conjoined with it

Vârtika —When something or somebody has become that which is expressed by the stem, when it was not that previously, then this affix च्वि is added When the cause of a thing arrives at the state of being that very thing so produced, it is said to be abhûtatadbhâva—'the state of that what it was not' The agent of the action of attaining is called sanpadya kartâ

२११८ । अस्य च्वौ । ७ । ४ । ३२ ॥

अवर्णस्य ईत्स्यात् च्वौ । वेर्लोप । च्व्यन्तत्वादव्ययत्वम् । अकृष्ण कृष्ण सपद्यते त करोति कृष्णीकरोति । ब्रह्मीभवति । गङ्गीस्यात् । अव्ययस्य च्वावीत्व नेति वाच्यम् * ॥ दोषाभूतमह । दिवाभूता रात्रि । एतच्चाव्ययीभावश्चेति सूत्रे भाष्येउक्तम् ॥

2118 Long ई is substituted for the final अ or आ of a nominal stem, before the Adverbial affix च्वि

The वि being aprikta is elided The chvi ending word is an Indeclinable Thus अकृष्णः कृष्णः सम्पद्यते तं करोति = कृष्णीकरोति ' He blackens', when some one who is not black becomes black i e some one makes him so Similarly ब्रह्मी भवति । गङ्गी स्यात् ॥

Vârt —The final अ of an indeclinable is not changed to long ई before chvi Thus दोषाभूतमहः दिवाभूता रात्रिः ॥ This is enunciated by Patanjali in his gloss on I 1 41 S 451,

२११९ । क्यच्व्योश्च । ६ । ४ । १४५ ॥

हलः परस्यापत्ययकारस्य लोपः स्यात् क्ये च्वौ च परतः । गार्गीभवति ॥

2119 The य् belonging to a Patronymic affix, preceded by a consonant, is elided before the Denominative affix क्य and the adverbial affix च्वि ॥

Thus गार्गीभवति = गार्गीयति or गार्गीयते ॥

२१२० । च्वौ च । ७ । ४ । २४ ॥

च्वौ परे पूर्वस्य दीर्घः स्यात् । शुचीभवति । पटू स्यात् । अव्ययस्य दीर्घत्वं नेति केचित्तन्निर्मूलम् । स्वस्ति स्यादिति तु महाविभाषया च्वेरभावात्सिद्धम् । स्वस्ती स्यादित्यपि पक्षे स्यादिति चेदस्तु । यदि नेष्यते तर्ह्यनभिधानात् च्विरेव नोत्पद्यते इत्यस्तु । रीङृतः । मात्रीकरोति ॥

2120 A long is substituted for the final vowel of the stem, before the Abverbial affix च्वि (V 4 50 S 2117)

As शुची भवति, पटू स्यात् ॥ Some say the final vowel of an indeclinable is never lengthened This is without authority The non lengthening in स्वस्ति स्यात् can be explained by the non application of chvi under the great option of IV 1 82 S 1072 and as there is no च्वि added, so there is no lengthening

Obj As the great option IV 1 82 S 1072 declares an option only, so in the alternative there will be affixing of च्वि, and then if we do not make the above exception about indeclinables, there will be lengthening and we shall get स्वस्ती स्यात् ॥ Ans Let it be so, where is the harm ?

Obj But this is not desired for we never find it in usage

Ans Then let us say that chvi never comes after svasti, so there is no difficulty, and, we have come to our former point that under the great option no chvi is ever added to svasti

By VII 4 27 S 1234 the final ऋ is changed to री before chvi Thus मात्री करोति ॥

२१२१ । अरुर्मनश्चक्षुश्चेतोरहोरजसां लोपश्च । ५ । ४ । ५१ ॥

एषां लोपः स्याच्च्विश्च । अरूकरोति । उन्मनीस्यात् । उच्चक्षूकरोति । विचेतीकरोति । विरहीकरोति । विरजीकरोति ॥

2121 The affix chvi comes after the words arus, manas, chakshus, chetas, rahas, and rajas, and there is elision of their final consonant

The affix च्वि would have come after these words by force of the sûtra V 4 50 S 2117 which is of universal application the present sûtra is made in order to teach the elision of the consonant Thus अनरुः अरुः सम्पद्यते, तं करोति = अरूकरोति, अरू भवति अरू स्यात् ॥ So also उन्मनी करोति, भवति, or स्यात्, so also उच्चक्षू, विचेती, विरही, and विरजी करोति or भवति or स्यात् ॥ The short उ of अरुः and चक्षु is lengthened by VII 4 26, S 2120 and the अ of the other words is changed into ई by VII 4 32 S 2118

२१२२ । विभाषा साति कार्त्स्न्ये । ५ । ४ । ५२ ॥

च्विविषये सातिर्वा स्यात्साकल्ये ॥

2122 The affix sâti may be employed optionally in the sense of chvi, when something is changed in all its parts into something else

The whole phrase "when the agent has attained to a state it previously had not and the verbs kṛi, bhû and asti are in conjunction", is understood here

२१२३ । सात्पदाद्योः । ८ । ३ । १११ ॥

सस्य षत्वं न स्यात् । दधिसिञ्चति । कृत्स्नं शस्त्रमग्निः सम्पद्यतेऽग्निसाद्भवति । अग्नीभवति । महाविभाषया वाक्यमपि । कार्त्स्न्ये किम् । एकदेशेन शुक्लीभवति पटः ॥

2123 The ष् substitution does not take place in the affix सात् and for that स which stands at the beginning of a word

Thus सा here is the affix ordained by V 4 52 S 2122 and it would have been changed to ष by VIII 3 59 S 212 The present sutra prevents that The Padâdi स refers to those verbs which in the Dhâtupâtha are taught with a ष, and for which a स is substituted This also is exception to VIII 3 59 S 212 Thus अग्निसात् । दधिसात् । मधुसात् ॥ So also with Padâdi स as दधि सिञ्चति, मधु सिञ्चति ॥

The affix साति is employed when the original is changed in its totality (कृत्स्न) Thus अग्निसाद् भवति शस्त्रम् "the whole weapon is in a blaze—has become fire" We may also say अग्नी भवति शस्त्रम् ॥

Why do we say "in its totality"? Observe एकदेशेन पट शुक्ली भवति "the cloth whitens in part"

The word "optionally" shows that the affix chvi also comes in the same sense While the optional affixing of these terminations chvi, sâti &c is governed by the Mahâ vibhâshâ of sûtra IV 1 82 S 1072 (see V 3 1)

२१२४ । अभि विधौ सपदा च । ५ । ४ । ५३ ॥

सपदा कृभ्वस्तिभिश्च योगे सातिर्वा स्यादभिव्याप्तौ । पक्षे कृभ्वस्तियोगे च्विः । सपदा तु वाक्यमेव । अग्निसात्सम्पद्यते अग्निसाद्भवति शस्त्रम् । अग्नीभवति । जलसात्सम्पद्यते जलीभवति लवणम् । एकस्या व्यक्तेः सर्वावयवावच्छेदेनान्यथाभावः कार्त्स्न्यम् । बहूनां व्यक्तीनां किंचिदवयवावच्छेदेनान्यथात्वं त्वभिविधिः ॥

2124 The affix sâti comes after a word in the sense of chvi, when it is in construction with the verb sam-pad, and the meaning is that all things of a kind are changed into some thing else, though partially

The word अभिविधि means 'pervasion' The force of the word च in the sûtra is that the same is expressed when the verbs कृ, भू and अस are in construction as well By drawing the anuvritti of the word vibhâshâ into this sutra, we may, in the alternative, employ the affix च्वि in the same sense of abhividhi but then it must be followed by the verbs कृ, भू and अस् only and not by the verb सपद ॥

Thus अग्निसात् सपद्यते or अग्निसात् भवति, उदकसात् सपद्यते or भवति &c Or उदकी भवति or अग्नी भवति ॥

What is the difference between the words abhividhi and kârtsnya of these two sûtras? Where all things of similar origin get changed, though it be partially only, it is called abhividhivikâra As, अस्यां सेनायाम् उत्पातेन सर्वम् शस्त्रम् अग्निसात् सम्पद्यते or वर्षासु सर्वम् लवनम् उदकसात् सम्पद्यते ॥ Here सर्व has the force of प्रकार कार्त्स्न्य, namely, all things belonging to the kind of weapons such as swords, lances &c and all things of the nature of salt, but not these things individually in its totality While the word kârtsnya means that one thing in all its parts assumes the form of another thing In short, the difference between these two words is this when one object is changed in all its parts, it is kârtsnya change, when *many* objects are changed in *some* of their parts, it is abhividhi change

२१२५ । तदधीनवचने । ५ । ४ । ५४ ॥

साति स्यात्कृभ्वस्तिभिः सपदा च योगे । राजसात्करोति । राजसात्सम्पद्यते । राजाधीनमित्यर्थः ॥

2125. The affix sâti comes after a word expressing a master or lord', in the sense of 'dependent upon this',

when it is in conjunction with the above verbs kṛi, bhû, asti, and sam-pad

The anuvṛitti of अभूततद्भावे ceases here, as a different sense altogether is assigned to the affix The anuvritti of the four verbs Kṛi &c, however, runs into the sûtra The word तदधीन means 'under the supremacy or control of that', 'under the proprietorship of that' The proprietor in general and the object of rulership in general are indicated by the word tadadhîna Thus राजाधीन करोति = राजसात् करोति " he (a king) brings it (a kingdom) under his dominion " Similarly राजसात् स्यात् or भवति or सम्पद्यते ॥ So also ब्राह्मणसाद् भवति, करोति, स्यात् or सम्पद्यते ॥

२१२६ । देये त्रा च । ५ । ४ । ५५ ॥

तदधीने देये त्रा स्यात्सातिश्च कृभ्वादियोगे । विप्राधीनं देयं करोति विप्रत्राकरोति । विप्रत्रासंपद्यते । पक्षे विप्रसात्करोति । देये किम् । राजसाद्भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

2126 The affix trâ comes in the sense of 'to be given to that', as well as the affix sâti, in conjunction with the above verbs kri, bhû, asti and sampad

The phrase "dependent upon that" is understood here also The word देय qualifies the above phrase When a thing which is known as a proper gift for the Brahmanas, is put under their control by offering it to them, then the affix trâ is employed Thus ब्राह्मणाधीन देय करोति = ब्राह्मणत्रा or ब्राह्मणसात् करोति ॥ " He gives it to the Brahmana, as it is an object which ought to be given to them " ब्राह्मणत्रा भवति " it becomes given to the Brahmana " So also with स्यात् and सम्पद्यते ॥ Why do we say " when the sense is that of to be given "? Observe राजसात् भवति राष्ट्रम् ॥

२१२७ । देवमनुष्यपुरुषपुरुमर्त्येभ्यो द्वितीयासप्तम्योर्बहुलम् । ५ । ४ । ५६ ॥

एभ्यो द्वितीयान्तेभ्यः सप्तम्यन्तेभ्यश्च त्रा स्यात् । देवत्रा वन्दे रमे वा । बहुलोक्तेरन्यत्रापि । बहुत्रा जीवतो मनः ॥

2127 After the words deva, manushya, purusha, puru and martya ending in the 2nd or 7th case, the affix trâ is diversely employed, having the force of the accusative or locative case

The anuvṛitti of sâti ceases, that of trâ continues The verbs kṛi, bhû and asti also have no scope here This is a general sûtra Thus देवान् गच्छति = देवत्रा गच्छति, देवेषु वसति = देवत्रा वसति ॥ So also मनुष्यत्रा, पुरुषत्रा, पुरुत्रा, मर्त्यत्रा ॥ देवत्रा वन्दे रमे वा ॥

By using the word 'diversely' in the aphorism it is intended that the affix comes in this sense after other words also, as बहुत्रा जीवतो मनः ॥

२१२८ । अव्यक्तानुकरणाद् द्व्यजवरार्धादनितौ डाच् । ५ । ४ । ५७ ॥

द्व्यच् अवरं न्यूनं न तु ततो न्यूनम् अनेकाजिति यावत् । तादृशमर्धं यस्य तस्माड्डाच् स्यात्कृभ्वस्तिभिर्योगे ॥ डाचि विवक्षिते द्वे बहुलम् * ॥ नित्यमाम्रेडिते डाचीति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ डाच्परं यदाम्रेडितं तस्मिन्परे पूर्वपरयोर्वर्णयोः पररूपं स्यात् । इति तकारपकारयोः पकारः । पटपटाकरोति । अव्यक्तानुकरणात्किम् । ईषत्करोति । द्व्यजवरार्धात्किम् । श्रत्करोति । अवरेति किम् । खरटखरटाकरोति । त्रपटत्रपटाकरोति । अनेकाजित्येव सूत्रयितुमुचितम् । एवं हि डाचीति परसप्तम्येव द्वित्वे सुलभमित्यवधेयम् । अनितौ किम् । पटिति करोति ॥

2128 The affix dâch comes after the half of a word denoting an imitation of an inarticulate sound, when such half consists of at least two syllables, and when it is not followed by the quotation-word 'iti'

The sound in which the letters अ आ &c are not distinctly expressed is called avyakta 'unmanifest' or 'inarticulate' The imitation of such a sound is called avyaktâ anukarana That whose half consists of at least two syllables is called dvyajavarârdha, that is a polysyllabic word of four syllables or more when doubled, the smallest number of whose vowels are two, not less, when halved The phrase "when joined with kri, bhû and asti" is understood here The affix comes after that word which when reduplicated is such that its half (ardha) is at least (avara) of two syllables (dvyach)

Vârtika —When the affix डाच् is to be added there is diversely the reduplication of the word That is, first the word is reduplicated and then the affix is added The force of the locative in डाचि is that of विषयसप्तमी and not परसप्तमी ॥ Had it been the latter then there would be the fallacy of petitio principii By adding dach and doubling we must see whether the half is at least of two syllables If it is, then dach is to be added Thus पटत् is a sound imitation word By reduplication it becomes पटत् पटत् ॥

Now applies the following *Vârtika* —

Vârtika —Of such a doubled sound imitation word, to which the affix आ is added which causes the elision of the final अत्, for the final त् of the first member and the initial consonant of the second member, such subsequent consonant is always the single substitute

Thus पटत् पटत् = पटप् पटत् = पट पटत्, with डाच = पटपटा ॥

The final त् of the first word is changed in to the form of the next letter प्, and then for two प s one is substituted by this vârtika Thus पटपटत् करोति = पटपटा करोति "he makes a sound like patat patat" So also with भवति and स्यात् ॥ So also दमदमा करोति, भवति or स्यात् ॥ The final अत् of पटपटत् is elided by VI 4 143 S 316 before the affix डाच् having an indicatory ड् the real affix being आ ॥

Why do we say "when it is name of an imitative sound"? Observe दृषत् करोति, 'it makes or turns to stone" Why do we say 'after that half which consists of at least two vowels"? Observe श्रत् करोति 'he utters the exclamation srat' Why do we say 'at least"? Observe खरटखरटा करोति where the half consists of more than two syllables and the rule still applies But had the sûtra been "द्व्यजार्धात् half two syllables" then it would not have applied here as the half consists of *three* syllables So also पपटपटा करोति ॥

The sûtra ought to have used the word अनेकाच् "after a word of more than one syllable" instead of dvyajavarârdhât Thus before the affix डाच् the doubling takes place by reason of the affix which is exhibited in the seventh case (डाचि in the vârtika) this doubling being caused by something which follows Why do we say "when इति does not follow"? Observe पटिति करोति (VI 1 98 S 81) The च् of डाच् is for the sake of accent, it prevents the circumflex (swarita) accent Thus, पटपटाँ + असि ॥ Here first the अ of असि which was udâtta, becomes anudâtta by VIII 1 28 S 3935 Then by VIII 2 5 S 3658 आँ of टा and अ of असि coalesce into an udâtta आ, as पटपटाँसि ॥ But then comes in rule VIII 2 6 S 3659 which would make this आ optionally svarita, the indicatory च् prevents it Some read द्व्यजवरार्ध्यात्, the य however does not change the sense

२१२९। कृञो द्वितीयतृतीयशम्बबीजात्कृषौ। ५। ४। ५८ ॥

द्वितीयादिभ्यो डाच् स्यात्कृञ एव योगे कर्षणेऽर्थे। बहुलोक्तेरव्यक्तानुकरणादन्यस्य डाचि न द्वित्वम्। द्वितीय तृतीय कर्षण करोति द्वितीयाकरोति। तृतीयाकरोति। शम्बशब्द प्रतिलोमे। अनुलोम कृष्ट क्षेत्र पुन प्रतिलोम कर्षति शम्बाकरोति। बीजेन सह कर्षति बीजाकरोति ॥

2129 The affix dâch comes after the words dvitîya, tritîya, śamba, and bîja when connected with the verb kri, and meaning "to plough in such a way"

By force of the word diversely in the vârtika under the last sûtra, there is doubling only when inarticulate sound is imitated and nowhere else

The repetition of the word कृ in this sûtra indicates that the भू and अस्ति are not to be taken Thus द्वितीया करोति = द्वितीय कर्ष (= विलेखन) करोति 'he makes the second ploughing of the field' So also तृतीया करोति शम्बा करोति 'he makes the field ploughed contrariwise to what it was ploughed before = अनुलोम कृष्ट क्षेत्र पुन प्रतिलोम कृषति ॥ So also बीजा करोति = सहबीजेन विलेखन करोति ॥

Note —Why do we say when meaning "to plough"? Observe द्वितीय करोति पदम ॥

२१३०। संख्यायाश्च गुणान्ताया। ५। ४। ५९ ॥

कृञो योगे कृषौ डाच् स्यात्। द्विगुणाकरोति क्षत्रम्। क्षेत्रकर्म क द्विगुण कर्षण करोतीत्यर्थ ॥

2130 The affix ḍâch comes after a Numeral followed by the word guna, the sense being to plough so many times'

The word कृ is understood here Thus द्विगुणा or त्रिगुणा करोति क्षेत्रम् "he ploughs the field twice or thrice" = द्विगुण विलेखन करोति क्षेत्रस्य ॥

Why do we say "when meaning to plough'? Observe द्विगुणा करोति रज्जुम् "he doubles the rope"

२१३१ । समयाच्च यापनायाम् । ५ । ४ । ६० ॥

कृषाविति निवृत्तम् । कृञो योगे डाच् स्यात् । समयाकरोति । कालं यापयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2131 The affix dâch comes after the word samaya when कृ follows, and the sense is that of 'neglecting'

The word कृ is understood here also The anuvṛitti of कृष ceases The getting of leisure from the duties is called समय or 'time', the neglect or loss of such time is meant by the word यापना ॥ Thus समया करोति = कालक्षेपं करोति (अद्य मे पारवश्य, श्व परश्वो वास्य समय इत्येव यो बहुषु दिवसेषु अतिवर्तते, स एवमुच्यते) 'who procrastinates'

Note —Why do we say when the sense is that "neglecting"? Observe समय करोति "he makes time"

२१३२ । सपत्रनिष्पत्रादतिव्यथने । ५ । ४ । ६१ ॥

सपत्राकरोति मृगम् । सपुङ्खशरप्रवेशनेन सपत्र करोतीत्यर्थः । निष्पत्राकरोति । सपुङ्खस्य शरस्याऽपरपार्श्वेन निर्गमनान्निष्पत्र करोतीत्यर्थः । अतिव्यथने किम् । सपत्र निष्पत्र वा करोति भूतलम् ॥

2132 The affix dâch comes after the words sapatra, and nishpatra followed by the verb kṛi, when the sense is that of causing intense pain

The word कृ is understood here also The word ati-vyathana means "violent pain" Thus सपत्रा करोति मृग व्याध = सपत्र शरमस्य शरीरे प्रवेशयति "the hunter pierces the stag with the arrow so violently that the feathered part of the arrow also enters the body' So also निष्पत्रा करोति = शरीराच्छ शरमपरपार्श्वे निष्क्रामयति "he pierces so violently that the arrow entering one side comes out of the other with its feathers" Why do we say "when meaning to cause violent pain"? Observe सपत्र or निष्पत्र करोति भूतलम् ॥

• २१३३ । निष्कुलान्निष्कोषणे । ५ । ४ । ६२ ॥

निष्कुलाकरोति दाडिमम् । निर्गत कुलमन्तरवयवानां समूहो यस्मादिति बहुव्रीहेर्डाच् ॥

2133 The affix dâch comes after the words nishkula followed by the verb कृ, when the sense is 'to disembowel'

The verb कृ should be read into the sûtra The word निष्कोषण means to bring the inner organs out or to eviscerate निष्कुला करोति दाडिमम् "he takes out the kernel or seeds of the pomegranite"

Note —Why do we say "when meaning to disembowel or take out the kernel'? Observe निष्कुलान् करोति शत्रून् "he makes the enemies family less"

२१३४ । सुखप्रियादानुलोम्ये । ५ । ४ । ६३ ॥

सुखाकरोति । प्रियाकरोति गुरुम् । अनुकूलाचरणेनानन्दयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2134. The affix dâch comes after the words sukha and priya, followed by kṛi, when the meaning is ('to concede' 'gratify') 'to go with the grain'

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeability', 'to conform to the wishes of the object of adoration' Thus सुखा करोति, प्रिया करोति गुरुम् = स्वाम्याशेर्चित्तमाराधयति "tries to please the heart of the master &c"

Note —This affix comes when, while doing a pleasant or agreeable thing, the idea is to please another by such an act Otherwise observe सुख करोति or प्रिय करोति औषधपानम् "the drinking of medicines gives pleasure &c"

२१३५ । दुःखात्प्रातिलोम्ये । ५ । ४ । ६४ ॥

दुःखाकरोति । स्वामिनम् पीडयतीत्यर्थः ॥

2135 The affix dâch comes after the word duhkha followed by kṛi, when meaning to do something against the grain or "to contravene"

The verb कृ is understood and prâtilomya means 'to oppose' or 'to act against anothers wishes", "to pain the heart of one's master &c" As दुःखा करोति भृत्य स्वामिनम् "the servant pains the master"

Note —Why do we say 'when meaning to go against the grain"? Observe दुःख करोति कदन्नम् ॥

२१३६ । शूलात्पाके । ५ । ४ । ६५ ॥

शूलाकरोति मांसम् । शूलेन पचतीत्यर्थः ॥

2136 The affix dâch comes after the word śula followed by kṛi, when the sense is that of "roasting".

Thus शूले पचति = शूला करोति मांसम् "he roasts the meat on a spit".

Note —Why do we say "when meaning to roast"? Observe शूल करोति कदन्नम् "the bad food causes colic'

२१३७ । सत्यादशपथे । ५ । ४ । ६६ ॥

सत्याकरोति भाण्ड वणिक् । क्रेतव्यमिति तथ्य करोतीत्यर्थः । शपथे तु सत्यं करोति विप्र ॥

2137 The affix dâch comes after the word satya, followed by kri, when not meaning to swear

The word सत्य means 'truth' as opposed to 'falsehood' Sometimes it means 'to swear', as in the sentence "सत्येन शापयेद् विप्रम्" ॥ This latter sense is prohibited Thus सत्या करोति वणिक् भाण्डम् 'the merchant concludes the bargain of the goods i e he settles that he will purchase these wares" Why do we say 'when not meaning to swear'? Observe सत्यं करोति विप्र "the Brahmana swears"

२१३८ । मद्रात्परिवापणे । ५ । ४ । ६७ ॥

मद्रशब्दो मङ्गलार्थः । परिवापणं मुण्डनम् । मद्राकरोति माङ्गल्यमुण्डनेन संस्करोतीत्यर्थः । भद्राच्चेति वक्तव्यम् * ॥ भद्राकरोति । अर्थः प्राग्वत् । परिवापणे किम् ॥ मद्रंकरोति । भद्रंकरोति ॥

2138 The affix dâch comes after the word madra followed by kri, in the sense of 'to shave'

The word परिवापण means 'to shave' 'to raze' The word मद्र means 'auspicious' Thus मङ्गलं मुण्डनं करोति = मद्रा करोति ॥

Vârt —So also after the word भद्र as भद्रा करोति नापित कुमारं "the barber shaves the hair of the boy on the auspicious occasion"

Why do we say when meaning 'to shave' Observe मद्रं or भद्रं करोति ॥

Here end the Taddhitas.

—— o ——

अथ द्विरुक्त प्रकरणम् ॥

CHAPTER XL

ON REITERATION

२१३६ । सर्वस्य द्वे । ८ । १ । १ ॥

इत्यधिकृत्य ॥

2139 From here upto VIII 1 15 S 2150 inclusive, is to be supplied always the phrase "the whole word is repeated"

Note —This is an adhikâra sûtra Whateve will be taught hereafter upto पदस्य (VIII 1 16 S 401) exclusive, there the phrase सर्वस्य द्वे should be supplied to complete the sense Thus VIII 1 4 S 2140 teaches 'when the sense is that of 'always', and 'each" Here the phrase 'the whole word is repeated' should be supplied to complete the sense i e 'The whole word is repeated when the sense is that of *always* and *each*' What is to be repeated? That which is most appropriate in sound and sense both Thus one पचति becomes two, as, पचति पचति 'he always cooks' Similarly ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful'

The sutra 'sarvasya dve', should not be confounded as meaning 'the word form *sarva* is doubled' For then rules like VI 1 99 S 82 and VI 1 100 S 2128 will find no scope The word sarva has several meanings (1) the totality of *things* (द्रव्य) as सर्वस्वंददाति (2) the totality of *modes* (प्रकार) सर्वांश्रीनतोभिक्षु =सर्वप्रकारमन्नं भक्षयति, (3) the totality of *members* (अवयव) as सर्वं पटोदग्ध ॥ In the present sûtra, the word *sarva* has this last sense namely *all* the *members* of a word are doubled, no portion is omitted The force of the genitive case in sarvasya, is that of sthâna, i e, in the *room* of the *whole* of the words like पचति &c there is doubling So one meaning of the sûtra is, that in the *room* of the one word, two are *substituted* In making such *substitution*, we must have regard to the rule of nearness

Another meaning of the sûtra, however is, that it does not teach *substitution* but *repetition* or *employment*, not âdeśa, but prayoga That is to say, one word is *employed* twice In this sense, of course, there is no room left for finding out the proper substitute The very word form, पचति &c, is employed twice, i e is repeated twice or pronounced twice

The word sarvasya is employed in the sûtra for the sake of distinctness only Otherwise one may double only the last *letter* of a word by the rule of अलोऽन्त्यस्य, though that rule is not, strictly speaking, applicable to such cases

Obj The word पदस्य should be employed in the sûtra, in order to prevent the application of the rule to Samâsa (compound), to taddhitas and to vâkyas (sentences) Thus सप्तपर्णोऽयं वृक्षः ॥ Here there is the sense of vîpsa with regard to seven leaves, and does not mean a tree having seven leaves There ought to have been doubling, but it would not take place, if we take the word padasya in the aphorism Similarly द्विपदिकां ददाति, here also the sense is that of vipsâ, and there ought to have been doubling, before the affixing of the taddhita affix So also in ग्रामे ग्रामे पानीयम् the *sentence* ग्रामे पानीयम् is not doubled, if we employ padasya So the word padasya, should be employed in the sutra Moreover, it would prevent our employing the word padasya again in VIII 1 16 S 401

Ans We could not employ the word padasya in this sutra, for then the rule would become very much restricted Moreover in the above examples, there can be no doubling, for सप्तपर्णं means 'that whose every twig bears seven leaves, पर्वणि पर्वणि सप्तपर्णानि अस्य, so that the sense of vîpsâ is not here inherent in the word sapta or parna In the case of the taddhita example, there would be no doubling, because the *force* of vipsâ is there denoted by the taddhita *affix* itself, and so doubling is not *necessary* Moreover, a sentence can never be doubled, because vipsâ can take place with regard to a *word*, and not a sentence Therefore the word पदस्य should not be employed in the sûtra

On the contrary, if we employ the word padasya in the sûtra, it would give rise to the following anomalies We could not have प्रपचति प्रपचति for upasarga being considered as a separate pada, only पचति would be doubled, and प्र would not So also, we have two forms ध्रोग्धा and ध्रोढा ॥ Here तृच् is added to the root द्रुह्, and ह is optionally changed to घ by VIII 2 77, S 354 and in the other alternative there is ढ ॥ As घ and ढ are both asiddha (VIII 2 1 S 12) the doubling would take place without making this घ or ढ substitution So that having first doubled the word (something as द्रोहृता द्रोहृता) *then* optional घ or ढ change will take place, and we shall get wrong forms, like ध्रोग्धा ध्रोढा, ध्रोढा ध्रोग्धा in doubling While the correct forms are ध्रोढा ध्रोढा, or ध्रोग्धा ध्रोग्धा, and not the hybrid doubling as given above Hence the necessity of the vârtika पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचने (See VIII 2 3 S 439 last vârtika)

Or the word सर्व may be considered to be formed by अच् affix of अर्शआदयच् meaning सर्वं कार्यं यस्मिन्नस्ति तदिदं सर्वं, तस्य द्वे भवतः ॥ That is, all operations having been *first* performed, *then* the word is doubled, so that a word in its inchoate state is not doubled

२१४० । नित्यवीप्सयोः । ८ । १ । ४ ॥

आभीक्ष्ण्ये वीप्सायां च द्योत्ये पदस्य द्विर्वचनं स्यात् । आभीक्ष्ण्यं तिङन्तेष्वव्ययसंज्ञककृदन्तेषु च । पचतिपचति । भुक्त्वाभुक्त्वा । वीप्सायाम्, वृक्षंवृक्षं सिञ्चति । ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः ॥

2140 The whole word is repeated when the sense is of 'always' and 'each'

What words express 'always'? The finite verbs, and the Indeclinable words, formed by kṛit affixes What 'always' is meant here? The word 'nitya' here means 'again and again', and this idea of 'repetition' is the quality of an action That action which the agent does principally, without cessation, is called "nitya" So that *nitya* refers to an action (See III 4 22 S 3343) Thus पचति पचति, he cooks continually' भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति or भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'each one, when he has eaten goes away' See III 4 22 S 3343 लुनीहि लुनीहीत्येवायं लुनाति (See III 4 2 S 2825)

Note — The words formed by affixes ktvâ and ṇamul and the Imperative mood express the idea of 'again and again', only when they are repeated While the words formed with the affix यङ् (Intensive) express this idea by the inherent force of the affix, without repetition Thus पुनः पुनः पचति = पापच्यते । And when this intensive action is continually done, then this word also should be repeated, as पापच्यते पापच्यते ॥ In the above, examples have been given of nitya, as illustrated by finite verbs like पचति, Indeclinable kṛit words like भुक्त्वा, and like भोजं ॥

Note —Now for वीप्सा ॥ In what words the वीप्सा is found? It is found in nouns (सुप् formed words) As finite verbs (तिङ्) express nitya, so inflected nouns (सुप्) express vîpsâ or a distributive sense What is meant by the word vîpsâ? It is the wish of the agent to pervade (vyâptum ichchhâ) an object through and through with a certain quality or action That is, when many objects are wished to be pervaded by the speaker with a particular attribute or action simultaneously, it is vîpsâ Thus वृक्षं वृक्षं सिञ्चति "He waters every tree" ग्रामो ग्रामो रमणीयः 'every village is beautiful' So also जनपदो जनपदो रमणीयः, पुरुषः पुरुषो निधनमुपैति ॥

When a finite verb is repeated owing to the idea of nityatâ, and we also wish to add to such a verb the affix denoting comparative or superlative degree, such affix must be added after the word has been repeated, as पचति पचतितराम् ॥ But in the case of a noun, which is repeated owing to vîpsâ, the whole superlative or comparative word should be repeated, as आढ्यतरमाढ्यतरमानय ॥

२१४१ । परेर्वर्जने । ८ । १ । ५ ॥

परिपरि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः । वङ्गान्परिहृत्येत्यर्थः ॥ परेर्वर्जने वा वचनम् ॥ * ॥ परिवङ्गेभ्यः ॥

2141 The word परि is repeated when employed in the sense of 'with the exception or exclusion of'

As परि परि वङ्गेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः (I 4 88 and II 3 10) 'It rained round about (but with the exclusion of) Banga

Note —Why do we say when meaning exclusion? Observe ओदनं परिषिञ्चति ।

Vârt —Optionally परि meaning 'exclusion', is repeated when it occurs not in a compound as परि परि वङ्गे = परि वङ्गेभ्यः ॥ In a compound, there is no repetition as परित्रिगर्तं वृष्टो देवः, because the word परि has not the meaning of exclusion only here, in fact, the whole compound word denotes the idea of exclusion, and not the word परि alone

Note —The word परि is here a Karmapravachaniya (I 4 88 S 596) and governs the fifth case by II 3 11 In परिषिञ्चति the word is an upasarga.

२१४२ । उपर्यध्यधसः सामीप्ये । ८ । १ । ७ ॥

उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् । ग्रामस्योपरिष्टात्समीपे देश इत्यर्थः ॥ अध्यधि सुखम् । सुखस्योपरिष्टात्समीपे काले दुःखमित्यर्थः । अधोऽधो लोकम् । लोकस्याधस्तात्समीपे देश इत्यर्थः ॥

2142 उपरि, अधि, and अधस् are repeated, when they express uninterrupted nearness

The word sâmipya means 'proximity' whether in time or space As उपर्युपरि ग्रामम् "any locality in the immediate vicinity of a village" अध्यधिग्रामम्, अधोऽधो लोकम् "a place near a loka" Similarly अध्यधिसुखम् 'anything immediately following after pleasure" i e pain Why do we say 'meaning near'? Observe उपरि चन्द्रमा ॥ Why the word is not repeated here उपरि शिरसो घटं धारयति ॥ The relation expressed here is not that of nearness, but that of above and below

उपर्युपरि पश्यन्तः सर्व एव दरिद्रति ।
अधोऽधो दर्शने कस्य महिमा नोपजायते ॥

Here the doubling is in the sense of vipsâ

२१४३ । वाक्यादेरामन्त्रितस्याऽसूयासम्मतिकोपकुत्सनभर्त्सनेषु । ८ । १ । ८ ॥

असूयायाम्, सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् । सम्मतौ देवदेव वन्द्योऽसि । कोपे दुर्विनीतदुर्विनीत इदानीं ज्ञास्यसि । कुत्सने, धानुष्कधानुष्क वृथा ते धनुः । भर्त्सने, चौरचौर घातयिष्यामि त्वाम् ॥

2143 A Vocative, at the beginning of a sentence is repeated, when envy, praise, anger, blame, or threat is meant by the speaker

A collocation of words, expressing one idea is called a sentence or vâkya Thus (1) envy —सुन्दर सुन्दर वृथा ते सौन्दर्यम् "O beauty! O beauty! in vain is thy beauty!!" (2) praise —देव देव वन्द्योऽसि "O Deva! O Deva! adorable art thou!" (3) anger —दुर्विनीत दुर्विनीत इदानी ज्ञास्यसि "O arrogant! O arrogant! now thou shalt know" (4) blame —धानुष्क धानुष्क वृथा ते धनु "O archer! O archer! in vain is thy bow" (5) Threat—चौरचौर घातयिष्यामि त्वा, बन्धयिष्यामि त्वा "O thief O thief I shall kill thee" The first word becomes pluta as well as gets svarita accent, by VIII 2 103, in the case of the first four, in the case of 'threat', the second word or the âmredita becomes pluta by VIII 2 95 S 3614 Why do we say "at the beginning of a sentence"? The Vocative in the middle or the end of a sentence is not to be repeated, as शोभना खल्वासि माणवक ॥ Why do we say of Vocative? Observe उदारो देवदत्त ॥ Why do we say 'when meaning envy &c'? Observe देवदत्त गामभ्याज शुक्लाम् ॥

In some books, the vâkya is defined as 'a collocation of words having one finite verb', (एकतिङ् पदसमूहो वाक्य) ॥

२१४४ । एक बहुव्रीहिवत् । ८ । १ । ९ ॥

द्विरुक्त एकशब्दो बहुव्रीहिवत्स्यात् । तेन सुब्लोपपुंवद्भावौ । एकैकमक्षरम् । इह द्वयोरपि सुपोर्लुकि कृते बहुव्रीहिवद्भावादेव प्रातिपदिकत्वात्समुदायात्सुप् । एकैकयाहुत्या । इह पूर्वभागे पुंवद्भावाद्विशेष । न बहुव्रीहावित्यत्र पुनर्बहुव्रीहिग्रहणं मुख्यबहुव्रीहिलाभार्थम् । तेनातिदिष्टबहुव्रीहौ सर्वनामतास्त्येवेति प्राञ्च । वस्तुतस्तु भाष्यमते प्रत्याख्यातमेतत् । सूत्रमतेऽपि बहुव्रीह्यर्थेऽलौकिके विग्रहे निषेधक न तु बहुव्रीहाविति नातिदेशशङ्कैव नास्ति । एकैकस्मै देहि ॥

2144 When एक is repeated, it is treated like a member of a Bahuvrîhi compound

The making it a Bahuvrîhi is for the sake of eliding the case affix, and treating the word as a masculine, even when it refers to a feminine Thus एकैकमक्षर पठति (not एकमेकम्) Here the case affixes after both words being elided they assume the form एकैक and being treated as a Bahuvrîhi they become a prâtipadika or nominal stem and then to this whole as a crude form is added the case affix एकैकयाहुत्या जुहोति (not एकैकया) Here the first member has become masculine The difference is brought out when analysing namely, it will be एक + एकया and not एका + एकया ॥ The accent is regulated by VI 2 1 the case affix is elided by II 4 71 and masculinising by VI 3 34

Note —According to the Kâsikâ this double word एकैक should not however be treated like a Bahuvrîhi for the purposes of the application of the following three rules, (1) The sûtra I 1 29 by which pronouns are not declined as pronouns when members of a Bahuvrîhi compound The word एकैक however is declined like a pronoun, as एकैकस्मै देहि ॥ For sûtra I 1 29 applies to a compound which is *really* a Bahuvrîhi, and not to a word form which is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi The repetition of the word Bahuvrîhi in that sutra, though its anuvritti was understood from the preceding one, indicates this (2) The application of the rule of accent Thus by the following sûtra, a word is repeated when a mental pain or affliction over something is expressed Thus न न करोति, सुसुजागर्ति ॥ This double word is treated *like* a Bahuvrîhi, but not for the purposes of accent For by VI 2 172 a Bahuvrîhi preceded by न or सु gets acute on the final, but not so नन or सुसु ॥ Here four rules of accent present themselves —1st, VI 1 223 S 3734 ordaining acute on the final, 2nd, VI 2 1 the first member retaining its accent, 3rd, VI 2 172 S 3906 already mentioned 4th VIII 1 3 S 3670 by which the second member becomes anudâtta The rule VI 2 1, however regulates the accent, in supersession of the other three (3) The third rule which does not apply to this Bahuvrîhi-vat एकैक is the rule of samasânta affixing Thus ऋक् ऋक्, पू पू (doubled by VIII 1 10 S 2145) do not get the samasânta affix अ by V 4 74

" In the sûtra न बहुव्रीहौ (I 1 29 S 222), the repetition of the word Bahuvrîhi, when its anuvritti was current from the preceding sûtra I 1 28

S 292, is for the sake of making that rule applicable to the Primary Bahuvrîhi, (and not to *analogical* Bahuvrîhi like that of this sutra VIII 1 9 S 2144) Therefore in the case of words which are Pseudo Bahuvrîhis or analogical Bahuvrîhis, the prohibition of S 222 does not apply, and the word remains a Sarvanâman, and is declined as such" This is the opinion of the ancients But as a matter of fact, this whole sutra I 1 29 has been over-ruled by the opinion of the Bhâshya author Patanjali Even in the opinion of the sûtra author Pânini, the prohibition of I 1 29 S 222 applies to the stage of grammatical analysis of a Bahuvrîhi compound and not to the Bahuvrîhi compound as such That is to say, a sarvanaman is not to be declined as such, if it is going to form the member of a Bahuvrihi compound So that in the analytical stage *before* composition, the word will not be declined as a pronoun *After* composition, of course, the word loses its pronominal character by the vârtika under I 1 29 S. 222 So there can be no question of that sutra applying to an analogical Bahuvrîhi, for such a Bahuvrîhi can never be grammatically analysed like the primary and true Bahuvrîhis Therefore, we have एकैकस्मै देहि and not एकैकाय देहि ॥

२१४५ । आबाधे च । ८ । १ । १० ॥

पीडायां द्योत्यायां द्वे स्तो बहुव्रीहिवच्च । गतगत । विरहात्पीड्यमानस्येयमुक्तिः । बहुव्रीहिवद्भावात्सुब्लुक् । गतगता । इह पुंवद्भावः ॥

2145 A word is repeated, and is treated like a member of Bahuvrîhi compound, when a mental distress over something is expressed

Thus गतगत 'gone, gone to my affliction', नष्टनष्ट, पतितपतित, in the masculine Here the case affix is elided after the first word by treating it as a Bahuvrihi, and गतगता, नष्टनष्टा, पतितपतिता in the Feminine, here the first term becomes masculine and (not गतागता for the reasons given in the preceding aphorism) The accent is governed by VI 2 1 S 3735

२१४६ । कर्मधारयवदुत्तरेषु । ८ । १ । ११ ॥

इत उत्तरेषु द्विर्वचनेषु कर्मधारयवत्कार्यं स्यात् । प्रयोजनं सुब्लोपपुंवद्भावान्तोदात्तत्वानि ॥

2146 In the following rules, the double-word is treated like a Karmadhâraya compound

The reason for making it a Karmadhâraya is to elide the case affix (II 4 71 S 650), to make the first member a masculine term even when the word refers to a feminine (VI 3 42 S 746), and to regulate the accent by making the final acute VI 2, 23 S 3757, or S 3734